

A GENERAL
HISTORY of the WORLD,
FROM THE
CREATION to the present Time.

INCLUDING

All the EMPIRES, KINGDOMS, and STATES; their REVO-
LUTIONS, FORMS of GOVERNMENT, LAWS, RELIGIONS,
CUSTOMS and MANNERS; the PROGRESS of their LEARN-
ING, ARTS, SCIENCES, COMMERCE and TRADE;

Together with

Their CHRONOLOGY, ANTIQUITIES, PUBLIC BUILDINGS, and
CURIOSITIES of NATURE and ART.

By WILLIAM GUTHRIE, Esq;
JOHN GRAY, Esq;

And others eminent in this Branch of Literature.

————— *cui lecta potenter erit res*
Nec facundia deferet hunc, nec lucidus ordo.

HOR.

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M DCC LXIV.

A

GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

WORLD.

The History of Persia.

SO much has been said concerning the history of this country, in the preceding part of our work, that we shall be very concise upon it here. The family of the modern emperors of *Persia* is called *Sofian*, from one *Sefi*, or *Sofi*, who, for his sanctity, was held in great veneration by *Tamerlan*, whom he prevented from murdering, in cold blood, great numbers of his unhappy countrymen and others. Upon *Tamerlan*'s departure, the *Persians*, in a manner, adored *Sefi*; and, upon his death, continued to respect his descendants as their head.

The most powerful amongst them was one *Juneyd*, who, after a variety of adventures, acquired a very considerable principality; but, in endeavouring to render himself quite independent of the *Koyounlu* princes, who then reigned in *Persia*, a conspiracy was formed against him at *Shirwan*, and he was cut off. He left a son, one *Hayder*, who was king of *Frellizand*, both in his father's life-time and after his death, and he had two sons, *Potshah* and *Ismael*; but was himself killed in endeavouring to revenge his father's death. *Ismael* survived him, and assumed the family name of *Sofi*; and, though he was but fourteen years of age, he put himself at the head of seven thousand followers, devoted to his family; and, after conquering and killing *Ferozad*, prince of *Shirwan*, who had defeated and slain his father and grandfather, he took possession of that principality, and, by degrees, of the greatest part of *Persia*, by defeating the *Turks*, of which nation the *Koyounlu* family was. He was, however, about the

His wars with the *Turks*. year 1514, defeated by the *Ottoman* emperor *Selim*, who conquered great part of his dominions, but was obliged to march into *Egypt*; by which *Ismael* passed the rest of his reign in tranquility. He died in the year 1523, and may be called

His death and character. the founder of the *Sofian* dynasty. He is said to have been a great but a cruel prince. He took advantage of the natural enthusiasm of his subjects, to make them look upon him as something more than man; and he sustained that character by his vast abilities. This is all we can say with certainty, or indeed with propriety, of *Ismael*; so miserably contradictory are all authors concerning him, notwithstanding the lateness of the period in which he lived.

Succeeded by *Thomas*. *Ismael* was succeeded by his son *Thomas*, or *Thomas*, who retook the city of *Tauris* from *Solyman*, the *Othman* emperor, with whom he had great wars with various success. In the

who is murdered. year 1575, he was poisoned by the mother of *Hayder*, one of his sons, whom she wanted to advance to the empire; but that young prince, in going to visit his father's treasury, was murdered by his sister. Other writers say that *Hayder* had the presumption to appear before his father, when he was upon his death-bed, with a crown upon his head, though he had an elder brother, who refused, on account of his religious turn, to accept of the empire.

Death of *Hayder*. *Hayder* reigned but four days, being killed when he was but seventeen years old; and was succeeded by his brother *Ismael*, who, from jealousies of state, had been twenty-five years in prison. Though he owed his advancement entirely to his sister, yet one of the first actions of his government was to order her to be put to death; and, in all his other conduct, he proved himself a bloody and inhuman tyrant.

His death. He reigned, however, only twenty-two months; some said he was poisoned, and others that he was assassinated, by some of his grandees, who had disguised themselves like women, and were headed by his sister, whose name was *Periakokonna*, in resentment of his ingratitude.

Character of his sister. This lady is said to have been equally devoted to ambition and gallantry; and intended to have advanced one of her lovers, *Amir Kan*, to the throne after her brother's death: but the eldest of her brothers, *Mohammed*, was still alive. He had been spared by his brother, the late tyrant, only because he was thought too insignificant to be put to death; and he was called *the Blind* from a weakness he had in

He is succeeded by *Mohammed*, who puts his sister to death. his eyes. Upon *Ismael's* death, the grandees of *Persia* made it a point of conscience for him to ascend the throne; which with great difficulty he was at last prevailed upon to do, but not before the head of his sister was brought him. Authors are greatly divided with regard to his character. Some represent him as weak, indolent, and pusillanimous; but others, with greater appearance of truth, say he was a brave and active prince. It is certain, at least, that he was engaged in wars with the *Turks*; and, that his generals often de-
feated

feated them, and sometimes were defeated by them. One *Mohammed's* wars of his generals, *Arez Beg*, in particular, was defeated and hanged by the *Tartars*. But *Mohammed's* eldest son, *Hamza*, with the amply revenged his death, by defeating them in their turn, *Turks* and taking their general, and cutting in pieces prodigious numbers of them. The *Georgians*, ever since the reign of *Thomas*, had refused to be subject to the *Persians*, who had subdued them. *Georgia* was then governed by a *Christian* prince, called *David*; and *Mohammed* sent an army to reduce him, which forced *David* to fly: upon which, his brother *Simon*, who had turned *Mahometan*, mounted the throne of *Georgia*, with the title of khan, and under the protection of *Mohammed*. He could not, however, afford him sufficient protection against the growing power of the *Turks*, who, notwithstanding the prodigious valour of *Hamza*, made themselves masters of *Tauris*.

So amazingly ignorant are authors of the modern affairs of *Uncertain Persia*, at this period, to which we are greater strangers than to transactions in that country two thousand years ago, that it is uncertain who was the successor of *Mohammed*. *Hamza* history, probably was, tho' some say that he was put to death in his father's life-time, and by his order; but that is improbable, and contradictory to the accounts of the most creditable travellers who were then in *Persia*. It is certain that *Hamza* was a very brave prince, and, in his father's life-time, had given many surprising proofs of valour. The *Persian* court Degenerated, at that period, the theatre of unpunished incest, lust, and murder. The sovereign was despotic; and the people, the court, the greatest, equally as the meanest, subjects, the most abject of slaves: so that nothing was more common than for the wives of the most considerable noblemen there, to prostitute themselves, with the knowledge and consent of their husbands, to the reigning prince. Fratricide, however shocking it is in all senses, was, though not the least, the most excusable, of the crimes of their monarchs: for their sons, being begotten upon different mothers, who mortally hated one another, and instilled the same sentiments into their children, did not think themselves relations in blood so much as rivals in interest, and, with their first milk, they sucked in a detestation for one another. Such are the dreadful effects of polygamy in an arbitrary country; and, from that source, most of the evils have proceeded which shock humanity to read.

Hamza had a brother, named *Ismael*, who is said to have murdered him; though others pretend that he was killed in battle in the year 1585. He was succeeded by *Ismael*, the third of that name, whose throat was cut by his barber; an assassin employed for that purpose by the partizans of his brother *Abbas*, whose death he had resolved upon. Neither *Hamza*, nor *Ismael* III. reigned above eight months; for

which reason, they, by some writers, are left out of the list of *Persian* monarchs.

Succeeded by *Abbas*, who next mounted that throne, had a governor, called *Murshed*, assigned to him by his father; and to this *the Great*. *Murshed* he was principally indebted for the death of his brother and his own accession to the crown. We must not forget that the barber, who cut *Ismael's* throat, was instantly torn in pieces, and his body burned by the conspiring lords who were present. *Murshed* could not preserve his moderation after so many important services, and, presuming to treat *Abbas* still as his pupil, that monarch, attended by four of his principal lords, broke into *Murshed's* apartments, and made one of the grooms kill him with a hatchet; for which he was rewarded with the dignity of khan, and the government of *Herat*.

He recovers the provinces of *Persia*. *Abbas* was a man formed for the re-establishment of a tottering empire. The fairest provinces of his dominions had been dismembered by *Turks*, *Tartars*, and other barbarians; particularly the *Uzbeks*, who were then possessed of the once glorious and flourishing empire of *Bukharia*; but were driven out of *Korasan* by *Abbas*. He next turned his arms against the *Turks*, and, by an incredible march, he surprized and made himself master of the city of *Tauris*, where they had built a strong fortress, and of many other places in *Georgia* and its neighbourhood. Finding resistance at a place called *Remy*, and that he could not master it without the assistance of the *Kurds*, or mountaineers, who assisted the *Turks*, he dealt with them so effectually, that he took the place; but afterwards he most treacherously put all their chiefs to death; and he recovered all the provinces that had been dismembered from his empire, with a most horrible slaughter of the *Turks*, and the inhabitants, who opposed his arms.

The conquest of the great province of *Shirwan*, and its capital *Shamakiya*, cost him but seven weeks; and he made himself master of the rich principality of *Arran* about the same time. Upon this, the inhabitants of *Derbent* submitted to his yoke; tho', as we have already seen, it was deemed to be impregnable. His next expedition, which happened about the year 1593, was against the province of *Kilan*. Here, we are told, he was in danger of being drowned in passing a river, in which he lost four thousand of his troops; he, however, soon completed the conquest of the province with the slaughter of sixty thousand of its inhabitants; and made the country more accessible than it had been to strangers as well as to his armies.

Invades *Kilan*, and is in danger.

The vast successes of *Abbas*, who, in history, is justly sur-named *the Great*, gave such jealousy to the *Turks*, that they invaded his dominions with an army of five hundred thousand men, by the way of *Tauris*. The intention of *Shah Abbas*,

Abbas, when this invasion happened, was to have given some repose to himself and his dominions; and he resolved to avail himself of the strength of the country, which was excessively mountainous, and to act on the defensive. For this purpose, he sent out flying parties, and promised every man, who should enter as a volunteer, which five thousand did, fifty crowns for each *Turk's* head he should bring in. This had a great effect; and the *Turkish* general, *Chakal Ogil*, finding he could not force him to a general engagement, provoked him so, by bravading messages, that *Shah Abbas* gave him battle, and forced him to retire to the frontiers. But *Shah Abbas*, fearing a surprize, kept his army, for three days, under arms; nor did he himself, during that time, enter his tent. Though the *Turks* retired, yet a cruel war was continued between them and *Abbas*, who, about this time, narrowly escaped poison; and *Tauris*, after it had been taken by the *Turks*, was retaken by *Abbas*, who every day became more and more formidable, though he received, in the course of the war, several checks from his enemies. They, however, left him at peace for many years; and then the war between them broke out with more fury than ever. They were opposed by the *Persians* under *Kuchiki*, the ablest general *Abbas* had; who not only checked their progress, by defeating them in several engagements, but took many of their generals prisoners; all whom *Abbas* generously released without ransom, and with marks of favour. The next expedition of *Abbas* was into *Georgia*, where he defeated *Tamuras*, whom we shall mention more particularly afterwards, and he continued in that country for nine months.

But the military virtues of *Abbas*, to which were added many civil ones, were stained by the most inhuman, unheard of cruelties ever perpetrated. When he was upon his *Georgian* expedition, he ordered the noses and lips of all his soldiers to be cut off who made use of tobacco; and a poor merchant, who knew nothing of this order, having imported some tobacco into the camp, he was, by his command, placed upon a pile of faggots and burned to death. The bags in which the commodity was, hung round him. The other instances of his cruelty are shocking to the last degree, for he knew no distinction between justice and barbarity. Under pretence of providing for the poor, he used to go disguised round the streets of his capital, and, upon the slightest offence, he would order a baker to be baked alive in his own oven, and a cook to be roasted upon his own spit; and, at one time, he was upon the point of putting to death the governor and all the magistrates of *Ispahan*, for some frauds practised in the markets. His great master of the ordnance, having, through jealousy, killed some people, he not only put him to death, but all his wives, children, and domestics. He sometimes caused, upon the slightest grounds of suspicion, the ladies of his harran, or seraglio, to be buried alive,

with the lovers they were accused to favour; and he often caused the bellies of those who offended him, to be ript up before his face.

Excuse for
the same.

Conspira-
cy against
him.

He puts
his eldest
son to
death.

His ex-
cessive
grief for
the mur-
der.

Those inhuman barbarities admit of no extenuation, but that the nature and genius of the *Persians* themselves, required such horrible examples to be made to keep them in awe. This excuse however, cannot be urged with regard to his unnatural treatment of his own sons and family. Two of them had their eyes burnt out, and by his command were shut up in prison. His eldest son, who gave extraordinary proofs of a military genius, was poisoned, by his father's command, and *Sefi*, his second son, met if possible, with a still more cruel fate. He was the darling of the people, and he had a son called *Sain*, the same who afterwards mounted that throne, by a beautiful *Circassian*, whom he had married. *Sefi* was the favourite of his father, and he strove to merit all his tenderness. For the cruelty of *Abbas* becoming intollerable to the grandees, written intimations were thrown into *Sefi's* apartment, that he might if he pleased, immediately mount the throne of *Persia*. *Sefi* discovered the whole to his father; but the discovery, though attended with the warmest protestations of duty and obedience, instead of endearing him to the tyrant, proved his ruin. *Abbas* was struck with horror, in thinking he had a son about him, who had it in his power to dethrone him. His apprehensions deprived him of his rest, in so much, that he shifted his bed several times every night. They were increased, by a trifling accident at hunting, the prince happening to shoot at a wild boar before his father; and the declared love the people had for *Sefi*, at last determined his father to put him to death. He proposed that *Kirchuki* should undertake the execution, but he declined it with horror. One *Babut*, however, undertook it, and attended by some of his slaves, he stabbed the innocent prince dead, as he was returning from a bath, followed by a single page.

It was soon known by whose command this inhuman murder had been perpetrated; and it was with difficulty the people were prevented from pulling *Abbas* out of his palace. Nothing could have appeased them but the excessive grief he discovered. It was so great that he suffered the prince's mother in her rage to pull him by the hair, and to beat him with her fists. In short, his mourning and grief for what he had done, was almost equal to his cruelty, in the commission; and ever after he wore the dress of one of his lowest subjects; for when *Herbert*, the traveller, afterwards saw him, though he was giving an audience to the *English* ambassador, he was dressed in a coat of plain red callico, quilted with cotton. But he gave far more dreadful proofs of his grief, than fasting and mourning. For he invited all the khans, who had either given, or caused, a suspicion, or had encouraged his jealousy of his son, to a banquet, where he ordered poison to be admini-
stered

stered to them, and he saw them all expire, before he left the Story and room. The tyrant however, probably fearing, that it might death of be difficult for him to get a future executioner of his cruelty, the murder was so far from putting *Babut* to death, that he rewarded him with the government of the principality of *Kaswin*. He forced *Babut* at last, with his own hand, to cut off his son's head, whom he tenderly loved, and to throw it at his feet. Observing *Babut*, on this occasion, oppressed with grief, "Think, *Babut*, said he, what I must have felt, when you brought me the news of my son's death. Be gone, and comfort thyself with one reflection, that thy son and mine are no more; and that in this respect, thou art on a footing with thy sovereign." It is said that *Babut* soon after was murdered by a conspiracy of his own slaves.

Though the above relation of *Sefi's* death seems to be Various most consonant to truth, and to the manner of proceed-relations ing in that country, yet *Herbert* has embellished it with of the many particulars, that have been several times worked up murder. into a drama. He tells us, that *Abbas*, upon some provocation, purposely given his son, that obliged him to draw his sword in his presence, ordered his eyes, as is usual in that country, to be put out with a red hot iron; and that the prince, in a fit of phrensy, strangled his own daughter, and was groping about to do the same by his son, when the mother removed him; and that he perished a few days after by poison. If this story is true, it must be laid to another son of *Abbas*, besides the prince who was put to death by *Babut*, which is by no means improbable, when we consider the inhumanity of this tyrant to his own family. For though he doated upon *Sain*, his grandson by *Sefi*, yet had it not been for his mother's attention, who took care to give him proper antidotes, he soon would have poisoned him likewise.

Abbas found no relief from the stings of remorse, but in war; and about the year 1594, he reduced to his subjection a vast part of *Proper Persia*, which had been seized by the *Kurds*, and then by the *Arabs*, but it was several years after before he compleated the conquest of the whole. But *Tamuras*, the Georgian prince, whom we have already mentioned, was at this time the most formidable enemy *Abbas* had; and as we have so good an authority, as that of Sir *John Chardin*, who was both judicious, and well informed, it may not be improper, to give here some idea of the history of that prince.

Abbas
subdues
Pars.

Georgia is divided into two provinces, or as they are called, History kingdoms, *Kaket*, and *Kardnel*. *Tamuras*, whose true name and ad- was *David*, was the eldest son of *Alexander* king of *Kaket*, ventures who, besides him, had two sons and two daughters. In his of *Ta-* youth he had been a hostage at the court of *Persia*, where *muras*, his education was the same with that of *Abbas*. But upon prince of his father's death, he was exchanged for his brother, after *Georgia*, taking an oath of vassalage to the *Persian* crown. *Luarzab*, the

and of
Luarzab,
another
prince of
the same
country.

Barbarity
of *Shah*
Abbas.

the king of *Kardnel*, was then a minor; but happening to be too familiar with the daughter of his first minister, *Meru*, who was but of a mean extraction, and refusing to fulfil a promise of marriage he had made her, for fear of family resentments; *Meru*, who had some reason to be afraid of his life, fled to *Ispahan*, where he put himself under the protection of *Abbas*, as being the sovereign lord of *Georgia*. It does not appear, that *Abbas*, at that juncture, was either able or willing to make war upon *Georgia*, merely upon *Meru*'s account; but being of a very amorous complexion, he sent to demand in marriage the sister of *Luarzab*, the most celebrated beauty in all *Asia*. Nothing was more common, than for the *Christian* princes of *Georgia* to send their daughters to the haram of the *Persian* monarchs; and the mothers of all the children of *Shah Abbas*, had been *Georgian Christians*. *Luarzab*, however, flatly refused to comply, under pretence that his sister had been promised to *Tamuras*; and upon the demand being repeated, he even insulted the ambassadors of *Abbas*; who was then in no condition to force him into compliance. He proceeded therefore with art and caution, and though then very old, he pretended the princess was in love with him, and on this pretext, about the year 1610, he invaded *Georgia*; where by the help of gold, and *Meru*'s intrigues, he found a great party among the *Georgian* nobility, many of whom turned *Mahometans*, to qualify them for holding places at the *Persian* court. But his chief dependence was upon his arts, to divide *Luarzab*, and *Tamuras*; by privately promising each of them the other's crown. It happened fortunately, that the two *Georgian* princes, were befriended not only by the *Russians*, the *Pope*, and other *Christian* powers, but by the *Ottoman* emperors, in hatred to *Abbas*, whose artifices they discovered; and they cemented the friendship between them still stronger, by *Tamuras* actually marrying the beautiful sister of *Luarzab*.

Abbas, at that time, had not only a powerful army on the frontiers of *Georgia*, but had in his possession two sons of *Tamuras*, and a brother and sister of *Luarzab*, whom he kept as hostages; and whom he threatened to put to death. At the same time, he ordered his general to advance in person, at the head of thirty thousand horse, against *Tamuras*; who seeing his ruin inevitable, sent his mother *Mariana*, who, notwithstanding her age, was still lovely, to *Ispahan*, to interceed for the lives of her two grand-children. The tyrant fell in love with her, and offered to marry her. But she refused to turn *Mahometan*, and was therefore shut up in prison, where at last she expired, under the torments he inflicted upon her; while her two grand-sons were made eunuchs. *Abbas* then resolved to march in person against *Georgia*; and with infinite danger and difficulty he penetrated into the kingdom of *Kaket*; where he committed great ravages. Most of the *Georgian* lords being in his interest

terest, *Luarzab*, like *Tamuras*, was intimidated ; and *Abbas* dissembled so well, that he persuaded him to repair to the *Persian* camp ; where, at first, he was greatly caressed, and sent to *Shiras*. During his confinement the czar of *Muscovy* ordered an ambassador to set out for the *Persian* court, to interceed for him : which coming to the knowledge of *Shah Abbas*, *Luarzab* was privately put to death ; and *Abbas* dis-
Luarzab murdered,

Tamuras, by this time, began to be sensible of his own danger, and obtained a powerful supply of troops from the *Turks*, by which he gave several defeats to the *Persians*, who were commanded by *Bagrat*, *Luarzab*'s brother, who had turned *Mahometan*, and had obtained from *Abbas* the government of *Georgia*. But the *Ottoman* forces being withdrawn, and *Tamuras* was obliged to submit to give *Abbas* his daughter *muras* sub-
in marriage ; to receive the yoke of his authority, and to reign as a tributary prince. Upon this, *Abbas* not only bridled the *Georgians* with strong garrisons, but transplanted eighty thousand of their families into other parts of his dominions.

At last, well knowing their passion for independency, he but makes gave them a kind of charter of rights, exempting them from terms for taxes ; and confirming them in the possession of their the *Geor-*
churches, without any mosques being built among them ; he *gians*. likewise granted them the privilege of being governed by a prince of the royal blood of *Georgia*, provided he was a *Mahometan* ; together with other privileges ; with which all the other *Georgians*, during his reign were satisfied.

All this happened about the year 1613, when *Shah Abbas*, undertook an expedition against *Baghdad*. He had been invited thither by *Bikir*, the *Turkish* commandant there, upon some disgust at the *Ottoman* court ; but changing his mind, when *Abbas* came to demand the keys of the city, *Bikir* told him, he could give him nothing but powder and ball. Upon this *Abbas* ordered a general assault to be given, and carrying the place sword in hand, he put *Bikir* to
Abbas takes *Baghdad*.

The loss of so great a city enraged the court of *Constantinople* so much, that they made many efforts to retake it ; and they several times besieged it but were always repulsed. *Kuschiki* continued still to be the favourite general of *Abbas*, and when the province of *Baghdad* was invaded by *Kalil*, a *Turkish* bashaw, at the head of five hundred thousand men, and de-
Kuschiki gave them an entire defeat, near *Baghdad*, where *Abbas* was in person. Leaving that city to meet his general, *great army*. he declared, as he approached him, that he could not have of the
asked from God a greater victory : and would not be satisfi- *Turks*.
ed till *Kuschiki*, almost by force, mounted the horse on which *Joy of*
Abbas rode, while he led him by the bridle. This great *Abbas*.
victory however, did not put an end to the wars between the
Persians

Persians and the *Turks*, which lasted all the remainder of the reign of *Abbas*, with various successes.

History of
the con-
quest of
Ormus,

by the
English.

The *Per-*
sians un-
service-
ble soldi-
ers.

Abbas, equally politic as brave, had the art to turn every circumstance to his own account. In 1607, the *Portuguese* had taken the isle of *Ormus*, with some adjacent islands, from the petty king who reigned there; and, by this important conquest, they were in hopes to engross to themselves all the trade of the *Persian Gulph*; and to dispossess the *English* of all commerce there. An officer, *Ruy Frera*, the *Portuguese* general and governor, accordingly, in the year 1621, attacked a squadron of *English* ships trading there, killed one *Andrew Shilling* their commodore; and obliged their ships to return to *India*. During their absence, *Shah Abbas*, who had reunited to his crown so many other dominions, ordered his governor of *Shiras* to besiege the city of *Ormus* with a great army. While he was lying before the place, upon which *Ruy Freras* had raised new fortifications, the *English* squadron being now augmented to nine ships, returned to drive the *Portuguese* out of *Ormus*, which they already found besieged by the *Persian* army. The chief *English* commanders in this expedition were *Waddel*, *Blythe*, and *Woodcock*; and when they appeared before the place, it was intimated to them by the *Persian* general *Kouli Kan*, that if they expected the benefit of trading in the *Persian Gulph*, they must join his army against the common enemy the *Portuguese*. Upon this, a treaty was set on foot, and it was agreed, that the *English* should be put in possession of the castle of *Ormus*, with all its cannon and ammunition; but the *Persians* were at liberty, if they pleased, to build another fort on the same island. The spoil was to be equally divided, and the *Persians* were to pay half the expence of the warlike operations; but the *English* were ever after to be free from imposts in those parts. Those conditions being settled, the *English* commanders took a view of the dispositions of the siege, which had lasted seven months, without the *Persians* making the smallest progress in it, according to the most authentic accounts received from the *English* and other *Europeans*, who were present at the siege. The soldiers of *Shah Abbas the Great*, who had conquered so many great kingdoms, were most wretched practitioners in the art of war. The three captains above mentioned, besieged the castle of *Kishme*, which was defended by *Ruy Frera* in person; but he was obliged to surrender the place, and he himself was sent prisoner to *Surat*. In the mean while, the other six *English* ships landed a large body of *Persians* upon the island of *Ormus*; and while the *Persians* were making themselves masters of the town, which they did, the *English* cannonaded the *Portuguese* gallies, in which the chief strength of the besieged lay, and sunk five of them. This service took up about five weeks, but still the castle held out, being garrisoned by twenty-six thousand men, and defended by one hundred

hundred and fourteen pieces of cannon. It is hard to say whether the *Persians* or *Portuguese* were the more wretched soldiers. The first were incapable of attacking, and the others of defending. The *Portuguese* however, after a breach had been made, repulsed the *Persians*; and the place would have remained impregnable by them, had not the *English* undertook the siege, and forced the garrison to surrender.

The reader, from the above relation, may easily conclude, that all the courage and skill of the *Persians*, who made so great a figure under *Abbas*, was only comparative, and that in both respects, they were as much inferior to the *Portuguese*, the most cowardly of the *European* nations, as they were superior to their own barbarous neighbours. Great historical instruction is to be gained from the fate of *Ormus*. By its situation in the mouth of the *Persian Gulph*, it was Situation once the greatest mart of trade in the known world. It is and im- celebrated by all antiquity on that account; and even be- portance fore the discoveries of the *Portuguese*, it was talked of by of *Ormus*. *Europeans*, as the paradise of the earth, and the mine of riches. The *Portuguese*, about the beginning of the sixteenth century, were the most enterprizing and the most insolent people in *Europe*; and the kings of *Ormus* had formerly been possessed of immense treasures, and territories upon the continent. After various revolutions in their government, *Albulquerque*, the famous *Portuguese* general and admiral, by incredible efforts of courage and good management, rendered the king of the island tributary; and in process of time his slave. For though *Albulquerque* continued the government in the persons of the royal family, yet they had no power, but in some very immaterial points of religion and trifling disputes, over subjects; and they subsisted upon a pitiful stipend allotted to them by the *Portuguese* governors; nor were they even permitted, without leave, to depart from the island. It was in vain for the kings of *Persia*, who some time before the reduction of the island by the *Portuguese*, had rendered it tributary, to complain of losing their tribute, and of being insulted by a handful of beggarly *Europeans*, for so the *Asiatics* considered the *Portuguese* to be. *Albulquerque* not only held them at defiance, but brought them to treat with him upon the footing of a sovereign prince. It would tire description to give an account of the vast riches and luxury of the *Portuguese* settlements in The *Por- Ormus*: which was said to contain forty thousand people, *tugueze*, though no more than seven miles in circumference. They arrived to such a pitch of wealth and arrogance, as to boast, that instead of gilding, as they did, the bolts and bars of their doors and windows, they would make them of solid gold and silver. In the fair time, the island itself was the rendezvous of commerce. The soil of it being hid under the most magnificent carpets below their feet, and rich pavilions above their heads, made the whole island appear as a camp,

in which none but princes and general officers resided; while the air was impregnated by all the finest odors and perfumes that nature can produce.

Its natural
history.

After saying so much with regard to this terrestrial paradise, the reader must be surprized to understand, that this delightful spot was no other than a rock of salt; destitute of water, herbage, trees, vegetables, and all those products of the earth which contribute either to the happiness, or the subsistence of mankind. But trade, industry, and a happy situation, (it being no more than five miles distant from the continent of *Persia*,) supplied them all; till all were destroyed by luxury. The immense riches the *Portuguese* acquired, the adulations paid them by the slaves of the east, and the precautions taken by *Albulquerque*, and their wise predecessors, to render the island impregnable, made them lose all their virtue: animosities among themselves succeeded, and the pride inherent to their nation, with the desire of being revenged upon one another, finished their ruin, by a handful of *English* sailors, upon that once happy spot. May the same never be the fate of other *Europeans*, or their descendants, who are now in circumstances of prosperity and affluence, from valour and industry.

Reflection

The city
goes to
ruin.

Abbas knew too well the importance of *Ormuz* to think of preserving it. He knew his own ignorant and indolent subjects never could support the state it was in, when it came into his hands; and that therefore, it must in course fall a prey to any enterprizing *European* power who should attempt to reduce it. He therefore resolved to reduce it to the state in which it came out of the hands of nature, the most uncomfortable and despicable that can be conceived. The *Portuguese*, it is true, might have retaken it, had they been supported properly by their governors at *Goa*; but all attempts of that kind proved unsuccessful; and *Shah Abbas* was deaf to the most flattering proposals of the *English*, for making a settlement there. Though the conquest of *Ormuz*, and the expulsion of the *Portuguese*, was entirely owing to them; and though a fair treaty had been concluded between them and the *Persians*, yet after the service was performed, he most ingratelously refused to fulfil the articles; and, upon the whole, the *English* were considerable losers by the success of their own arms. It is said, that they did not carry off above the value of twenty thousand pounds, though the money and effects, which fell into the hands of the conquerors, amounted to two millions sterling. But at the same time, it is acknowledged, that they lost considerable effects by storms and shipwrecks. The trade of *Ormuz* was, by *Shah Abbas* transferred to *Gambron*. The *Dutch*, partly by stealth, and partly by connivance, carried off the materials of the fortifications; and by the latest accounts we have, the whole island now appears like a wreck of nature.

Ingrati-
tude of
Abbas to
the *En-
glish*.

The conquest of *Ormuz*, though stained by ingratitude to Death and the *English*, is reckoned among the most shining acquisitions character made by *Shah Abbas*; who did not long survive it. He had of *Shah* a particular affection for a place called *Farrbad*, in the province of *Mazenderan*; and in going to visit it, he fell sick; but immediately, before the chief lords of his council, he named *Sain*, his grandson by *Sefi*, whom he had murdered, his successor. Some of them objected to his nomination, on account of a ridiculous prophecy made by a fortune-teller, who had foretold that that prince could not reign above eight months: but *Abbas* replied, That, as his father must have inherited the crown had he been alive, he was resolved it should descend to the son, though he should reign but three days.

After this nomination, all kind of applications, that were in the power of medicine, were made for his recovery; but to no purpose. His passion that his grandson *Sain* should succeed him, was so great, that he not only ordered his death to be concealed till the succession was secured to him, but that his body should be exposed, for some time, in the same state as he used in public audiences. We are accordingly told that this was done, and that his hand and lips were made to move by means of a filken chord which was secretly pulled by a great officer of state; and, that this farce continued for six weeks. At the time of his death, he was seventy years of age, forty-three of which he had been monarch of *Persia*. He died in the year 1629.

All we can say of this prince's character, is, that he had His noboth courage and ability sufficient to deal with the barbarians, whom he either ruled over or fought with; and, perhaps, his horrid cruelties gave them impressions which kept them in awe. He had notions of trade, but they were very impracticable. He wanted to be the chief merchant of silk in his kingdom, and actually sent an ambassador with a merchant and a large cargo of silk into *Spain*. The ambassador was so ignorant of what he was about, that he offered the whole cargo in a present to the king, who treated him with great disdain; and, upon his return to *Ispahan*, *Abbas* ordered his belly to be ripped up in the sight of his people. *Abbas* sent the like cargo of silk to *Venice*, where his project was equally unfortunate. For the person whom he had trusted, instead of reserving the profit to his master, squandered it in so high a manner of living, that the *Venetians* informed *Abbas* of his conduct: for which he returned them his thanks, and sent another merchant to receive what was left of the cargo. It is said, that, finding the *Persians* had little or no ideas of trade, he encouraged the *Armenians*, and that he broke his subjects of the custom of visiting *Mahomet's* tomb at *Mecca*, by repairing himself in pilgrimage to the tomb of *Ridza*, at *Tus*, which is decorated with a leg of *Mahomet's* camel hanging over it.

If

His great
public
works.

If he had any virtues, they consisted in his endeavours to keep the riches of his dominions within themselves; for which purpose, he discouraged the settlement of all *Jewish* and *Indian* merchants in *Persia*, because of their usury and exactions. We must not, however, forget, that he erected some very magnificent public works in his dominions; and that he seems to have been no persecutor of the *Christians*. His person is said to have been low and mean, and his countenance to have been very expressive of his character.

Succeeded
by *Sain*
Sefi.

When *Abbas* died, the mother of *Sain*, his successor, was in her haram, bewailing her own misfortunes, and every day expecting that her son, like her husband, would fall a sacrifice to the tyrant's jealousy. *Zeynel* and *Kofrew*, two great ministers of state in the late reign, with the utmost difficulty persuaded her to give them admittance into her apartments, and not even without threats of breaking open the door. When they entered, she delivered to them her son, telling him, That she was putting him into the hands of his executioners. But she was soon convinced that they were leading him to his coronation, which was performed with all imaginable pomp and regularity, and he took the name of *Sefi*.

His cru-
elty.

Abbas, notwithstanding all the enormous cruelties he was guilty of, was an innocent compared to *Sefi*. His cruelty was insatiable. As if *Persia* could not furnish executioners enough, he put to death, with his own hands, most of his relations; and, soon after his accession to the throne, scarce one of the blood of *Abbas*, but himself, was alive. The reader, from the following instance, which we shall give in place of thousands that may be brought, will, perhaps, conceive some idea of his character and that of his court.

Puts his
uncle to
death,
and his
sons.

Sefi had an uncle, called *Isa*, a man of great consequence, and a favourite with *Abbas*. He was married to a handsome witty lady, who bore him three sons, and was extremely agreeable to *Sefi* on account of her conversation. This familiarity produced a fatal effect; for presuming upon it, she touched upon the possibility of one of her sons succeeding to the empire after the death of *Sefi*, who was childless. The monster dissembled his indignation for that time, but next day he cut off the heads of the three youths, and was present when they were offered, in the most opprobrious manner, to the mother, who fell at his feet, kissed him, and wished him a long and happy reign. The father, *Isa*, was then sent for; and, when *Sefi* insultingly shewed him the heads of his sons, instead of showing any resentment, he told the tyrant, That, had he known his majesty's pleasure, he would have cut them off with his own hands. This incredible meanness, however, did not save his life; for *Sefi*, thinking he had gone too far in provoking him, ordered his head likewise to be taken off.

The

The *Persians*, barbarous and abject as this story shews them Conspirators to have been, could not bear their monster of a shah. The cy against *Turks* had besieged *Baghdad*, and *Sefi* advanced as far as *Hahim*, *madan* to relieve it. There his nobility consulted amongst themselves about removing such a monster out of the world. Their consultation was discovered by *Zeynel*, an old and discovered faithful servant of *Sefi's* family, who was present, and who advised him to put the conspirators to death. *Sefi* replied, conspirators put That he highly approved of the advice; and, to shew that he was determined to follow it, he put *Zeynel* to death with his own hand next day.

Soon after, his high-steward, chancellor, and others of his great officers of state, met with the like fate; some from him, and others from the hands of executioners: and the tyrant, seeing one of his slaves turn his head aside from the horrible murders that were committing, ordered his eyes to be put out; saying, That, as they were so tender, they were useless to him. It is remarkable, that *Sefi*, when he committed all those barbarities, was only a boy; but so ingenious was he in cruelty, that he commonly ordered the nearest friend of the condemned to be his executioner. Not satisfied with that, he Farther obliged sons to testify their approbation of their father's murders: for, at one time, after he had put some noblemen to of excess-death, he ordered their sons to behold their dead bodies; five cruelty. and one of them saying, That the death of a father was nothing to him, for he had no father but the shah, he gave the unnatural wretch his paternal estate. He even obliged a son to cut off the ears, nose, and head of his parent. His tyranny also enabled him to make *Mardid* deliver up *Kandahar*, as has been already mentioned, to *Auringzib*; and *Davir*, another of his great governors, fled into *Georgia*; for which reason, he most brutally revenged himself upon their wives and children. *Kouli Kan*, one of his great lords, who was governor of the *Sheras*, and had done the most important services to *Abbas the Great*, was wantonly beheaded by his order, and after him fifteen of his sons, upon a wicked suggestion that they were begotten by his father *Abbas*.

About the year 1632, *Morad IV.* the *Ottoman* emperor, Wars be-took *Tauris* and *Erivan*, and was within fifteen days march tween the of *Ispahan*. But *Sefi*, ordering the streams to be cut off that *Turks* and supply the inland parts of *Persia*, they could not advance; *Persians*, and it is said that their whole army, consisting of one hundred thousand men, perished for want of water. It is uncertain in what year this event happened, because it is not mentioned by the *Turkish* historians.

Sefi being determined to retake *Erivan* from the *Turks*, led Obstinate an army thither, and besieged it for four months; but find-resolution ing the success did not answer his expectations, he came to the of *Sefi*, resolution of storming the place in person. His mother, from whom he is said to have inherited his thirst for blood, endea-takes *Eri-voured* to dissuade him from this rashness; but her advice was *un-rewarded* by blows. He dressed himself as a foot-boy, with a poll-ax

a poll-ax in his hand ; and, though no breach was made, he put himself at the head of his troops to storm the place. It is almost incredible with what devotion the *Persians* consider the persons of their tyrants. Just as the attack was beginning, all the chief officers and great lords of his army fell at *Sefi's* feet, and besought him, with tears, not to expose himself and his army to inevitable destruction ; but to grant them twenty-four hours to make another attack. *Sefi* consented with difficulty, and they carried the place, though with the loss of fifty thousand men.

This was the most remarkable military action that happened during the reign of *Sefi*, who appears to have been endowed with abundance of natural courage : for we are told that he defeated some of his rebel subjects, and obliged the *Turks* to raise the siege of *Baghdad*.

Sefi poisoned, but recovers.

He murders his mother and other ladies,

Sefi's cruelties, at last, prevailed upon some of the ladies of his haram to conspire his death ; and they gave him poison, but he recovered after a sickness of two months. They had been provoked to this by his having killed several of their companions with his own hand. Upon his recovery, he discovered the conspirators, at the head of whom was his uncle *Isa's* wife. He ordered a pit to be dug in the garden of his palace ; and next night forty ladies, amongst whom was his own mother, were thrown into it and buried alive.

and his chief nobility.

We have already hinted, that *Sefi* inherited great part of his cruelty from this lady ; and some think, that she, and the esteemed *Adawlet*, or prime-minister, were the chief instruments of his cruelty. This minister and *Taketh* supplied the queen-mother with four hundred golden ducats a day, being about one one hundred and fifty pounds sterling, for her own use. Being an eunuch, in the compleat sense of the word, he had free admission, at all times, into her bed-room ; and it was no secret that *Shah Abbas* had left with them instructions to put to death many of the great lords, amongst whom was *Kouli Kan* above-mentioned, the most magnificent and powerful subject in *Persia*. The surviving lords, knowing their danger, put the minister to death, and presented themselves in a body, with his blood upon their hands, before the shah, who seemed to approve of what they had done ; but, in a day or two after, he put them all to death, as they were sitting in council. The truth is, *Sefi* was generally drunk ; to which we must ascribe great part of his cruelty and inconsistency. He had a great kindness for a *Swiss* watch-maker ; but the watch-maker happening to kill a *Persian*, who lay with his mistress, and refusing to return *Mahometan*, *Sefi* put him into the hands of the relations of the deceased, who killed him in 1637.

He puts to death his queen.

But the effects of *Sefi's* intemperance appeared most remarkably in the murder of his *Georgian* queen, the daughter of *Tamuras*, whom he killed in a fit of drunkenness, and next day he called for her. Being told he had stabbed her, he immediately

mediately published an order against drinking wine; and commanded that all the wine in his dominions should be thrown into canals or otherwise destroyed. We are told of another queen he had, the daughter of a *Circassian* lady, to whom his own mother had been a slave; and who had spirit enough to tell him so, when she sent him her daughter, not, as she said, to be his concubine, but his wife. Mention is made of another wife, the daughter of an officer, who was originally a water-carrier; and who was the first wife he married.

In other respects, he was very delicate in his choice of women; and he had three hundred of the handsomest that *Persia*, or the neighbouring countries, could afford. His subjects of all ranks endeavoured to buy his favour, by presenting him with beautiful women; and some of his greatest lords sacrificed even their daughters and nieces to his lust. But it is now time to close the life of such a monster.

Before his death, the *Turks* retook *Baghdad*. Either intemperance or poison destroyed him in the year 1642, after reigning above twelve years. When he was upon his death-bed, he had sense and sobriety enough to bethink himself of a son he had of thirteen years of age, whom he had given orders to be blinded. The eunuch who was to have been the executioner, touched with compassion, had saved the young prince's sight; and, upon hearing *Sefi* bitterly bewail the incapacity (for blindness is such in *Persia*) of his son to succeed him, he produced him before the shah; who, finding he had his eyesight, was so well pleased, that, it is said, he lived twenty-four hours longer than otherwise he could have done. We are, however, to observe, that the order for blinding his son must have been in the early part of his reign; because he afterwards ordered the eyes of all whom he commanded to be blinded, to be dug out of their heads and brought to him in a golden dish.

Sefi was very handsome in his person and face, which gave no indications of his bloody disposition. He was, at the time of his death, about twenty-eight years of age; nor is there a good action recorded of him, but his replacing about three hundred *Georgians*, who had been removed out of their country by his grand-father. He used to excuse his cruelties to the *Europeans*, by telling them they were necessary for keeping such a nation of brutes, as he reigned over, in subjection. Before he died, he made all his great men recognize the right of his son to succeed him.

He accordingly mounted the throne by the name of *Shah Succeeded Abbas II*. His entry into *Ispahan*, from *Kasbon*, where his father died, was the most splendid of any that can well be imagined. He rode, for six miles, upon carpets and cloths of gold and silver, which afterwards became the prey of the populace, they being trod upon only by his own horse; and

the rejoicings made by the *Dutch* company, upon that occasion, cost them above three thousand pounds sterling. His entrance, however, into *Ispahan*, was deferred for three days, because an astrologer told him that the lucky minute was not come.

Rebellion of the prince of *Jaskes*. About a year after his accession, the king of the *Usbek* *Tartars* took refuge in *Persia* against his own sons, who had de-throned him. *Abbas* received him with the greatest politeness and magnificence, and gave him fifteen thousand horse and eight thousand foot, with a vast sum of money, to re-instate him. The same year he recovered *Kandahar* from the great mogul. The prince of *Jaskes*, an almost inaccessible province in the south of *Persia*, had rebelled in the late reign, and refused to pay the tribute imposed upon him by *Abbas* I. after he had conquered *Ormuz*. *Abbas* II. ordered the governor of *Ormuz* to attack him with twenty thousand horse, but that governor died in a bog. He was succeeded in his command by his brother, whom the prince of *Jaskes* defeated; but the superstition of the latter directing him to *Mecca*, to return thanks to his prophet, he was surprized, and carried prisoner to *Ormuz* by the new general. But the princess of *Jaskes*, a woman of more than masculine spirit, hearing of her husband's misfortune, put herself at the head of six thousand horse; and, by prodigious marches, she surprized the quarters of the *Persian* general by night; killed him with her own hand; and, having cut in pieces the greatest part of his army, she carried off her husband, with about a dozen ladies of the general's haram. This disgraceful event so exasperated *Abbas*, that he sent a third brother of the two deceased generals, at the head of thirty thousand horse, to revenge the affront; but he was defeated by the prince of *Jaskes*.

Character of *Abbas* II. The character of *Abbas* has been differently represented. It is certain that he was a friend to the *Christians*, that he possessed fine natural parts, and that he had an inclination to do justice; but that often, like his predecessors, he degenerated into cruelty. He had a genius for drawing and the mechanical arts, which made *European* artists come into high favour at his court. But the virtues he had were stained or perverted by his excessive intemperance in drinking and in women. He ordered several of the latter to be burned alive for mere trifles; and one in particular, who declined his embraces, because she knew, that, if she had a child by him, she must remain in the haram, instead of being given, as generally happened to the ladies who had no children, to some great lord in marriage.

His death. As other instances of his brutal cruelty could convey no instruction to the reader, we shall now bring him to his death, which happened by the violence of venereal diseases he had contracted; and which were heightened by his intemperance. He performed some acts of justice upon his oppressive ministers;

sters; but not sufficient to atone for the cruelties he committed during his drunkenness. His death happened in the thirty-seventh year of his age.

Abbas II. was succeeded by his son *Sefi II.* or *Solyman*, He is succeeded by *Sefi II.* whose mother thought that the officers were come to put him to death, when they knocked at the door of her apartment, that they might conduct him to the throne. Soon after his accession he fell sick; and several other calamities, particularly famine, afflicting *Persia* at the same time, the superstitious astrologers contrived that he should be inaugurated again; because, it seems, they had not chosen a lucky minute for his inauguration. This second inauguration was performed with many ridiculous ceremonies, though the essential part of it was, the putting a rich cap, adorned with feathers, upon the emperor's, or shah's, head, and the girding him with a sword.

In this prince's reign lived a great man, who, in common Remark- with others of the same quality, was called *Ali Kouli Kan*. ble history He had often commanded the *Persian* armies with success, but of *Kouli* being of a temper too plain and boisterous for a court, when *Kan*, his expeditions were over, he was chained up; for which he was called the shah's lion. Having been under one of those confinements for about five years, he prevailed with his keeper to suffer him to go a hunting, promising to return by such a time. He kept his word; but, upon his return, he bastinadoed the keeper severely, for presuming to suffer a prisoner, whom the shah had committed to his charge, to be at liberty.

This piece of humour procured him his liberty from *Sefi*; and, to the amazement of the whole court, he came into the shah's presence, and told him, That his lion was come to kiss his hands. Being graciously received by the shah, the courtiers poured in presents upon him; but being destitute of ready-money, he applied to the *Armenian* merchants, who are *Christians* and the greatest traders in *Persia*; but they refused to lend him any money. As they were immensely who infli- rich, he resolved to be revenged upon them; and he, one gates the high-festival day, conducted the shah to their capital, where shah he was received by their patriarch, or high-priest, at the against the head of their clergy, all of them dressed in their canonical *Christians*, robes; habits which were so strange to *Sefi*, that he asked his conductor, who their persons were that wore them. "They are devils," replied *Kouli Kan*; and persisting in his assertion, he raised such a storm against the *Armenians*, tho' he himself was originally a *Christian*, that they were obliged to buy their peace with large presents to the shah, and about fifteen thousand pounds to *Kouli Kan*; soon after which the Death and emperor died. character

We have little more to add to the history of this prince, of *Sefi II.* but that *Persia*, under him, was over-run with impostors, who called themselves astrologers, who brought his govern- ment

ment into the utmost contempt, and that he suffered the *Usbeck Tartars* to insult him with impunity; and granted the demands of the *Dutch East-India* company, though they had taken from him the island of *Kismis*, situated near *Ormuz*. In short, superstition prevailed so much in his reign, that even armies were headed by astrologers; and, through their folly, ten thousand *Perfians* were drowned in an expedition against the *Kusaks*, who were not above one thousand in number.

We have a vast number of particulars, related by travellers, concerning the personal behaviour of this shah; but all of them tend only to let us know, that he inherited his family vices, those of drunkenness and cruelty; and the particulars are too shocking and indecent to be transmitted by history; being no other than the frolics and barbarities of a man mad by drinking. He was, in his person, a prodigy of strength, but very handsome; and was distinguished from the common ranks of his subjects only by his imperial cap of feathers. Towards the end of his reign, he grew excessively avaritious; and his vast debauches almost emaciated him. In short, he was, like his immediate predecessors, a reproach to human nature; and he died in the year 1694, aged forty-eight, of which he reigned twenty-nine.

He is succeeded by
Husseyu.

Sefi, or *Solyman*, is said to have left behind him no fewer than threescore sons, and was succeeded by one of them. *Solyman* appointed his eunuchs, and infamous favourites, to be the executors of his will; which was, that they should raise to the throne either *Husseyu*, or his elder brother *Mirza Abbas*, a prince endowed with every royal accomplishment. *Husseyu's* indolence gained him the preference; and *Abbas*, upon *Husseyu's* being raised to the throne, was confined in prison: but *Husseyu*, from a principle of religion, or, as some say, from a private contract between him and *Abbas*, could not be prevailed upon to deprive him of his sight.

Husseyu's grandmother, by the mother's side, had been a great instrument of his advancement to the throne; and had brought over the eunuchs, who had then the management of the empire, to his party. *Husseyu*, amongst many other weaknesses, had that of being superstitious to the last degree. This, joined to a puny natural constitution, formed a most despicable character; and he was extremely bigotted in the formalities of his religion, particularly in an aversion he had to wine. It was by no means for the interest of the eunuchs to have a sober sovereign upon the throne. They complained of it to the queen-mother as a breach of their covenant with her. There was a necessity for her inducing her son to get drunk; for the eunuchs, at that time, composed a tribunal, to which all other tribunals in the kingdom were subordinate; and the shah himself could be considered in no other light than that of being their creature, whom they could set

up, or depose, at will. The queen-mother was persuaded to make him drink wine.

wine

wine for her recovery. Her son, the shah, who tenderly loved her, presented it to her lips; but she refused to taste it till he had drank some. He objected the sin he must commit in tasting it; but she quieted his conscience by telling him, That a king of *Persia* could not be guilty of sin. He seemed to be persuaded, and drank up the bowl; which he found to be so pleasing, that he made it, ever after, his constant companion.

The eunuchs having thus succeeded, in keeping the shah His mag- almost perpetually drunk, took care to supply him with mo- nificence ney for gratifying his other favourite passions; which lay in in build- women, and magnificence in his buildings and equipages, ings and which were so excessive, that the ordinary revenues of the equipages. crown could scarcely defray the expence. But the eunuchs took care to supply him, by oppressing the people to such a degree, that all *Persia*, for some time, may be said to have been exposed to the rapine and injustice of those wretches, who were put in by the eunuchs to govern the people; and who, having bought their places, were obliged to sell their justice, and reduce the subjects to the most deplorable situation. It would be both tiresome and uninstruc- tive to the reader, to give particular instances of this. It is sufficient to His aban- say, that, at the time we now treat of, all regular govern- doned go- ment, all principles of morality, and almost all social inter- vernment. course, were lost amongst the *Persians*, who were abandoned to the scourges of those monsters, and the robbers whom they substituted for their governors.

As to the shah himself, he gave himself up to the most un- manly and ridiculous diversions, within the walls of his ha- ram, without giving the least attention to government, and without once reflecting that he was a sovereign.

It is almost incredible that any people could bear such ty- ranny from such wretches as the eunuchs, however they might bear it from their own king; but the *Persians* were made to be slaves, and the greater the burthens that were heaped upon them, the more they thought themselves obliged to crouch under them.

This happened not to be the case with the *Afgans*, a people Character partly subject to the *Moguls*, their residence lying in the pro- and histo- vince of *Kandahar*, in the eastern part of *Herat*, and in the ry of the mountains dividing the *Persian*, *Bukharian*, and *Indian* domi- *Afgans*. nions. Though we call them *Afgans*, because that by that name they made the most considerable figure in the great scenes we are to open, yet, as is usual in those countries, they were divided into a great number of tribes; such as the *Balluchi*, the *Abdolis*, the *Kliji*, and many others. They had been subject to many different princes, according as the *Arabs* and *Tartars*, the *Moguls* of *India*, or the *Persians* had prevailed; and, not being perpetually galled by one yoke, they conceived ideas of liberty. The *Persian* monarchs, however cruel and oppressive to the subjects of the interior

parts of their dominions, found their account in treating the *Afgans* with lenity ; an indulgence which they compensated by a faithful obedience to government. The oppressions of the infamous eunuchs made them feel and reflect that they were men. They complained to the king ; but his ministers, or eunuchs, filed their complaints treason ; and their deputies were dismissed with contempt and neglect ; which brought them into a disposition to become independent.

They complain.

A governor is sent them.

The eunuchs, who governed every thing at court, to reduce them, made one *Gurghim Kan*, who was governor of *Georgia* and *Kirman*, governor of *Kandahar* likewise. He was by birth a *Georgian*, and had once fought against the *Persians* for the liberty of his country ; but perceiving that the principal men in it were corrupted by the *Persian* gold, he turned *Mahometan*, ingratiated himself with *Husseyu* ; and, being of a bold and daring disposition, he undertook to keep the *Afgans* in quiet. With this view, he marched, at the head of a body of *Persians* and *Georgians*, into the country of the *Afgans*, and gave them up to the mercy of his soldiers, who inflicted upon them the most cruel indignities and oppressions.

History and management of the famous *Mir Wis*.

Amongst the other deputies sent to court by the *Afgans*, was one *Mir Wis*, the head of a tribe, and otherwise a man of great quality, rank, and capacity. He had been privately furnished with a large sum of money by his constituents ; and, by observing the course of parties that were formed at court, he put it to an excellent use ; for he employed it in strengthening the party that had been formed against *Gurghim* ; and he had interest enough, while *Gurghim* was in *Kandahar*, to get himself introduced to *Husseyu*. As his appearance was noble, and his eloquence graceful, natural, and pathetic, he prepossessed the shah in his favour, and inspired him with a jealousy of *Gurghim*, who, by this time, thought himself so secure, that he had dismissed the *Persians* who were in his army, and only retained the *Georgians*, as being by far the best soldiers, and the most faithful to his person.

Gets the *Mahometan* doctors on his side.

Notwithstanding this advantage, *Mir Wis* had still a great point to gain. The *Afgans* were zealous *Mahometans* of the *Sunnis* sect ; and it was a matter of conscience with them, how far their law authorized them to take up arms against their *Mahometan* prince, tho' a tyrant. *Mir Wis*, well knowing that the doctors of *Mecca*, who were all *Sunnis*, mortally hated *Husseyu*, who was a *Shiite*, undertook a journey to *Mecca* and *Medina*, to consult the mollahs, for so those doctors were called, upon this point ; and, by painting the government of *Husseyu* in the most detestable colours, he obtained a full resolution in favour of taking arms against his sovereign, who was not only a tyrant but a heretic ; for so they esteemed the *Shiites* ; and who, as *Mir Wis* falsely alleged, had disturbed the *Sunnis* in the practice of their devotion.

Mir

Mir Wis kept this festa, or opinion, secret. Upon his return to the *Persian* court, which he found alarmed by an embassy from the czar, *Peter the Great*, of *Muscovy*, containing some intimations of a claim which the ambassador had, by birth, upon the crown of *Armenia*. Though this claim proceeded, perhaps, only from the vanity of the ambassador, who was originally an *Armenian*, yet *Mir Wis* magnified it into a plot between the ambassador and *Gurghim*, to possess themselves of the sovereignty of *Armenia* and *Georgia*, which His sac- were both of them *Christian*. This insinuation was so art- cels, fully propagated, that the prime-minister, who had been gained by *Mir Wis*, procured *Husseyu's* consent that *Mir Wis* should be honoured with robes of state, and other distinctions of favour; restored to his rank amongst his countrymen, of which he had been deprived; and sent back to *Kandahar*, to be a check upon *Gurghim's* ambition.

Upon the return of *Mir Wis* to *Kandahar*, *Gurghim*, who and pro- more than suspected his commission, by way of trying him, found dis- demanded in marriage his daughter, who was a celebrated simulation beauty; a proposal which, he knew, a bigotted *Sunnite* never would agree to, when coming from a *Shiite*. When this demand was made, *Mir Wis* had occasion for all his dissimulation to concert the measures he was resolved upon; and he easily imposed upon *Gurghim*, who had never seen his daughter, by sending a young lady in her place magnificently dressed. In short, he dissembled so well, and railed so loud against his refractory countrymen, that *Gurghim*, at last, looked upon him as one of his best friends. *Gurghim* had about him, at that time (the year 1709) only a guard of about one thousand *Georgians*, but all of them picked men; and *Mir Wis* found means to persuade *Gurghim* to send off the greatest part of them to reduce the heads of a tribe whom he had secretly persuaded to refuse to pay their taxes, and to whom he professed himself an inveterate enemy. *Gurghim*, at this time, resided in *Kandahar*; but *Mir Wis* and his *Afgans* were encamped, as usual, in tents, and happened to be then near that city.

In the mean while, *Mir Wis* had engaged a large party of his countrymen to take arms for the recovery of their liberty as he called it, and to approach privately towards *Kandahar*, whence he invited *Gurghim* to a feast in his camp. The in- He mur- vitation was accepted of, and *Gurghim*, buried in sleep and ders Gurg- wine, was murdered, with all his *Georgian* and *Persian* at- him. tendants; who, dressing themselves in the arms and habits of the deceased, got, that very night, possession of *Kandahar*.

The behaviour of *Mir Wis*, on this occasion, was wise and moderate. The town, as he had concerted, was full of his *Afgans*; yet he offered a licence for all the inhabitants of *Kandahar* to depart, with their effects, if they were not disposed to accept of the liberty he had it now in his power to

give them. The inhabitants heard him with shouts of applause, and swore they would stand by him with their lives.

He takes the pass of Zibel. Soon after, the detachments of the *Georgians*, who, by the contrivance of *Mir Wis*, had been sent to reduce the rebels, returned towards *Kandahar*; but, though *Mir Wis* was greatly superior to them in number, he could make no impression upon them, and they fought their way into *Persia*, leaving *Mir Wis* to take possession of the important pass at *Zibel*.

His pretended enthusiasm. After this, *Mir Wis* pretended to commence enthusiast; and rejected, with texts taken from the *Koran*, in his mouth, all terms of accommodation offered by the *Persian* court; and even went so far as to imprison the messengers who brought them. After this, he defeated the khan of *Herat*, who advanced against him at the head of fifteen thousand horse, though he had no more than five thousand *Afgans*; and, multiplying victory upon victory, the *Persians*, at last, were obliged to employ *Kozroph*, who was governor of *Georgia*, and nephew to *Gurghim*, to suppress the rebellion. He

The Persians take Zibel, and besiege Kandahar. had an army with him of thirty thousand *Persians*, and one thousand two hundred *Georgians*, and soon made himself master of *Zibel*; and then marching on, he besieged *Kandahar*; while *Mir Wis* remained in the field, with a handful of forces, who continued faithful to him, but were soon increased by tribes of *Afgans* resorting to him from the mountains.

They are defeated. The inhabitants of *Kandahar* offered to surrender the place upon terms. *Kozroph* would hear of none; and drove the inhabitants to despair, till *Mir Wis* finding means to cut off his provisions, the latter gave him so total a defeat, that only seven hundred of his army escaped, he himself remaining amongst the number of the slain. This happened about the year 1710; and, though the *Persians* made several efforts to recover *Kandahar*, yet *Mir Wis* still remained victorious, reduced the whole province of *Kandahar*, and died, in peace, king of it, in the year 1715.

He is succeeded by his brother Abdollah, who is murdered. *Mir Wis*, at the time of his death, had no sons of sufficient age for government; and therefore left his crown to his brother *Abdollah*. This prince was of a very different disposition from *Mir Wis*; and, entering into a negotiation with the *Persians*, he was upon the point of restoring the whole province of *Kandahar* to them, though upon very good conditions, when he was murdered by *Mahmud*, the eldest son of *Mir Wis*, then about eighteen years of age, and who was soon after proclaimed king of *Kandahar*.

Herat becomes an independent state. At the same time that *Kandahar* thus dismembered itself from the *Persian* monarchy, *Herat* did the same, by the means of *Ezadallah*. He was the son of one of the chiefs of the *Abdolis*, an *Afgan* tribe, which had submitted to the *Persian* government; and his father wanting to prostitute him to the infamous lust of the governor, *Ezadallah*, to avoid infamy committed

committed parricide. He then put himself at the head of a small army ; and every where routing the *Persians*, he became, at last, master of the whole province of *Herat*, and the capital itself, by favour of the inhabitants ; who, like *Ezadallah*, were all of them staunch *Sunnis*, and therefore detested the *Persians*.

About the same time, the *Uzbeks*, and other barbarians, broke into *Korasan* and *Sherwin*, and defeated great armies of the *Persians*. But the chief attention of *Husseyu* and his court was turned against *Ezadallah*, who defeated a great army of them, and killed their general, a youth of eighteen years of age, with his father, an old judge, who served as his lieutenant over eight thousand *Persians*, with the loss of three thousand of the *Abdolis*.

The government of *Husseyu* becoming now contemptible, Other re-
the *Arabs* of *Masfat* made themselves masters of *Barayan*, bellions.
and then went to take *Gomron*, to which city *Abbas the Great* had transferred the commerce of *Ormus*. *Fatey*, *Husseyu*'s first minister, offered his service to suppress them ; but *Husseyu*, fearing to put him at the head of an army, gave the command of it to *Lust*, *Fatey*'s brother-in-law. This general endeavoured to engage the *Portuguese* in his master's service ; but either the poverty or avarice of his court, or both, disabled him from paying them, and he was forced to remain upon the defensive.

Mahmud, on the other hand, raised an army to invade *Ker- Mahmud*
man ; and, after undergoing vast difficulties, he made him- takes *Ker-*
self master of the capital which bears the same name ; and *man*, but
laid heavy contributions upon the inhabitants. *Lust*, or, as loses it
he is called, *Lust Ali*, who remained still at the head of an again.
army, flew to their relief and recovered the capital ; but put
the inhabitants under more severe contributions than the *Af-*
gans had done.

This success emboldened the *Persian* court so much, that
a very great army was raised to reduce *Kandahar*. Nothing
could have prevented this but the envy of the *Kerman* lords,
and others, who had suffered by him in their estates, and
who brought the shah's almoner and his physician into their
party. They had great influence with the shah ; and he was *Husseyu* is
prevailed upon to give orders for putting *Lust Ali* and *Fatey* betrayed
under an arrest, and the latter to the torture ; which was ac- by his fa-
cordingly done. But, such was his stupidity, and such the vourites.
dissentions that prevailed amongst their enemies, that even
Husseyu, at last, was convinced of their innocence ; and,
though he had barbarously ordered *Fatey*'s eyes to be put
out, he spared his life ; and, had it been in his power, he
would have restored both him and *Lust Ali* to his favour.

After this, the *Leiji* invaded *Sherwan* ; and *Vustanger*, the
Georgian general, would have defended it, had not *Husseyu*
been prevailed upon to make a peace ; upon which *Vustan-*
ger retired in great disgust, swearing that he never would
again

His armies are defeated.

again draw his sword in the service of the shah. The *Leiji*, who had concluded peace only through fear of that general, hearing of his resentment, recommenced their hostilities; and, after giving the *Persians* repeated defeats, they made themselves masters of all the province of *Sherwan*, and defeated a body of forty thousand *Persians*.

The *Afgans* again take the field,

In the mean while, the *Afgans*, who had been intimidated into a submission by *Lust Ali*, hearing of his disgrace, and that of his brother-in-law the first minister, with the other distractions of *Persia*, recovered their spirits; as *Mahmud*, whose glory had been eclipsed, did his credit. He raised an army of fifteen thousand men, and he was joined by all the tribes related to the *Afgans*. The miserable state the *Persian* empire was then in, gave him hopes of success in his enterprize, which was no less than to attempt the conquest of all *Persia* and the dethronement of *Husseyu*. It is uncertain what the number of the *Afgans* were with which he set out; but it is certain they could not be less than five thousand disciplined men. He marched to *Kerman*, after passing through prodigious deserts, and reached it in *January* 1722; but he found himself unable either to take the fortrels of that city or that of *Yatzd*; and, after the loss of four thousand men, he pointed his march to the capital, *Ispahan*, which was but ill provided to resist him.

and *Mahmud* advances against *Ispahan*.

Husseyu and his court had flattered themselves that it would be impossible for *Mahmud* to surmount such a march as he did before he could reach *Ispahan*; but, when they saw him at the gates of their capital, they sent *Mohammed*, who was then first minister, to offer him money, if he would desist from his enterprize. This unadvised step convinced *Mahmud* of the extreme weakness of the *Persian* court; he rejected the offer, and advanced to *Gulnabad*, in *English*, *The Conserve of Roses*, a town situated within nine miles of *Ispahan*. While he lay there, after many debates in the court of *Persia*, it was resolved to give him battle.

His progress.

Opposed by the *Persian* army,

who, through treachery, are defeated.

Never was there seen such a disparity in the looks of two armies. The *Afgans*, through the incredible length of their march, appeared emaciated, and were destitute of cloaths; even their officers had scarce a rag to cover them; and without all kind of artillery but a few small arms; while the *Persian* army appeared in all the pomp and luxury of their ancestors, under a *Xerxes* or a *Darius*. The battle joined; and, at first, went so hard against the *Afgans*, that *Mahmud* had prepared some of his diomedaries to carry him out of the field; when, by the courage and good conduct of *Naser*, one of his generals, the fortune of the day changed in favour of the *Afgans*. They were assisted by the treachery of an *Arabian* general, who, after plundering *Mahmud's* camp, marched off with the booty, and left the *Persians* to be cut in pieces. The *Afgans* made themselves amends by taking the *Persian* camp, and all its rich furniture. The loss is said to have been no more than two thousand on each side; but the desertion

desertion amongst the *Persian* troops amounted to thirteen thousand.

It appears from the best authorities, which notwithstanding- *Hesseyu* being the lateness of the transaction, are precarious and contrayed by contradictory to one another; that *Makmet*, the *Arabian* prince his general or wali, who had plundered the *Afgan* camp, was in fact *ral*, *Husseyu*'s general on this occasion; and, assisted by the natural cunning of his country, had found means notwithstanding all that had passed, to preserve his confidence. *Ispahan* was unguarded, being little more than an open city, destitute of fortifications that were tenable, ammunition or provisions. Never did prince take more pains to ruin himself, than *Husseyu* did upon this occasion. *Mahmud*, who had little experience in war, made no use of his victory; and had not so much as carried off the artillery, which the *Persians* had abandoned in the late engagement. His inactivity gave time for the *Persian* generals to repair the old fortifications of *Ispahan*, to add new ones, and to fill that city with large bodies of troops, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring country. *Hesseyu*'s prime minister, was for having him retire to *Kasbin*, which was fortified, and there to make a stand. But the *Arab* general, who on this occasion was made governor of *Ispahan*, representing the disgrace who admitted that must attend such a step, and the contemptible number, and the pitiful condition of the rebels, it was resolved to defend *Ispahan*.

who advises him to defend *Ispahan*.

Mahmud seems by nature to have been no great genius, neither in war nor politics, but experience gave him great abilities in both; and he had in his service great generals and wise ministers. He had heard, that *Husseyu* had invited the prince of *Georgia*, whom he most dreaded, to come to his assistance. He understood that troops were marching against him from all parts of *Persia*; and that the very garrison of *Ispahan* was more than sufficient to destroy his army. But he was reassured, by the intelligence he had of the divisions that prevailed in the *Persian* court; and more than probably by secret correspondences he held there. Recovering his spirits and resolution to the astonishment of the *Persians*, he marched towards *Sheristan*, not far to the east of *Ispahan*, and took possession of the magnificent palace of *Ferebad*, which the cowardly *Persians* deserted; and left in the hands of the *Afgans* all the cannon and artillery that was to have defended it. He then laid siege to *Julfa*, a city inhabited by *Armenian* merchants, who for the benefit of commerce, had been settled there by *Abbas the Great*. The merchants, some of whom were very rich, made for some time a vigorous defence, in hopes of being relieved from *Ispahan*; but deceived, in their expectation, and a breach being made in their walls, they were obliged to compound matters with *Mahmud*, and to ransom the plunder of their city, by paying him about one hundred and seventy five thousand pounds, and

Distresses of *Mahmud*.

He takes *Ferebad*, and *Julfa*.

and fifty virgins, who were to be sacrificed to the lust of the conquerors. But money had more charms for the *Afgans*, than beauty, and all of them but a few, who were contented with their new lovers, were suffered to be ransomed; nay some of them without ransom, were sent back to their parents. The contribution imposed upon their city was severely and rigorously exacted, not without circumstances of injustice and cruelty by the conqueror.

He be-
sieges *Is-*
pahan.

Treaty
between
him and
Husseyn

broken
off.

Mahmud
is defeated

but cuts
off a grand
convoy of
provisions.

Ispahan
invested.

As *Julfa* was one of the suburbs of *Ispahan*, *Mahmud* prepared to besiege that city, which is said then to have been of vast extent, and containing in the whole about seven hundred thousand inhabitants. The avenues to it, and the neighbourhood of it, are represented as most enchanting spots, and it was accessible only by bridges. The treachery of the *Arab* general began at this time to be suspected by *Husseyn* himself; and *Ahmed Aga*, a white eunuch, had been made governor of *Ispahan*. Before *Mahmud* begun the siege, a treaty was set on foot between him and *Husseyn*, who to spare the effusion of blood, offered to confirm to him the sovereignty of *Kandahar*, together with the province of *Hafsaray*; and to make him a present of a great sum in ready money besides. *Mahmud* could have no objection to this proposal, but being resolved to be treated with on the footing of a king, and a sovereign prince, he demanded *Husseyn's* daughter in marriage, to prevent all future objections to his blood, or that of his descendants. This demand being imprudently refused by the proud shah, hostilities went on; and *Mahmud* attacked the bridge of *Sheraz*, one of the principal leading to *Ispahan*. *Ahmed* was a brave man and a good soldier, and being served by an *European* engineer, he gave the *Afgan* so severe a repulse, that, had it not been for the private intelligence he had with the *Arab* general, he would have abandoned the siege. But being encouraged by the infidelity of the *Arab*, he turned the siege into a blockade, and endeavoured to cut off all provisions from the city, by ravaging the neighbouring plains, which are wonderfully extensive, populous, and fertile. He could not have succeeded even in this, had it not been for the dissentions of the *Persian* lords, who were marching to the relief of *Ispahan*, and who refused to serve under *Ali Merdan*, the prince *Wali*, or *Lorej-tan*. Those dissentions gave an opportunity for *Aman*, the bravest of *Mahmud's* generals, to attack and defeat them separately, and to cut off a grand convoy of provisions, which were marching to *Ispahan*.

But the want of discipline in the garrison, contributed still more effectually to the ruin of *Husseyn*. The *Georgians* were the flower of his troops, and were entrusted with the important pass of the bridge of *Abbas Abad*. But receiving a supply of brandy, they intoxicated themselves so, that they were cut in pieces without resistance, and the pass was seized by the *Afgans*, who thereupon compleatly invested the city.

city. This investiture proves either the rashness, and ignorance of *Mahmud* in military affairs, or the vast dependance he had upon the traytors about *Husseyu*'s person. The bravest and most sensible of the *Persian* generals represented to the shah how easy it would be, with one brisk sally, to cut in pieces the handful of miserable mountaineers, who kept so great an army cooped up, or at least to besiege the besiegers. But this proposal, by the influence of the *Arab*, who pretended *Husseyu* ed that every day would bring fresh succours, was rejected again by *Husseyu*; and, at the worst, that prince still flattered himself with the possibility of accommodating matters with his enemy.

Mean while, *Aman* the *Afgan*, general, who continued Cruelty with a flying army to scour the plains of *Ispahan*, had been of the guilty of the most shocking cruelties and breaches of faith, *Afgans*, towards the miserable peasants of *Persia*. Having surprized a large body of them who delivered up their arms, on promise of their receiving quarter, he put all of them to death in cold blood, excepting those who could pay a ransom for their lives. The inhabitants of *Little Ispahan*, and the neighbouring country, looked upon this as a common cause; and perceiving that the fatigues of the march had greatly disordered the *Afgans*, assembled in a body, and entirely routed them. On this occasion the baggage and plunder of the *Afgans* fell into the hands of those peasants; which exasperated *Mahmud* himself, who thought the honour of his arms so much concerned, that he pursued them with a body of horse, but the peasants facing about entirely defeated him; and, amongst a great number of other prisoners, they took *Mahmud*'s uncle, and younger brother, with his two cousins. *Mahmud* was extremely mortified, at seeing his arms suffer such checks; and as he loved his relations, he even stooped to apply to *Husseyu*, for his intercession in their favour. This was readily granted, but before the messenger was able to reach *Little Ispahan*, the vindictive peasants had impaled their prisoners, and he saw their bodies upon the stakes; and at the same time was informed, that they had been put to death by way of reprisals. This being related to *Mahmud*, he ordered all his *Persian* prisoners to be put to the sword without distinction.

This seasonable act of valour by an undisciplined body, *Husseyu* is filled *Mahmud* with such apprehensions, that he was about to have raised the siege, and had actually made dispositions for that purpose. It was in vain for the *Armenians*, and the bravest of the *Persian* officers, to remonstrate to *Husseyu*, how very easy it would be to cut off his retreat. *Husseyu* continued to be lulled by the treacherous arts of the *Arab*, who had entirely regained his ascendancy over him, and filled him with suspicions of the fidelity of the *Armenians*. The *Arab* therefore procrastinated matters so much, on pretence that the necessary succours were not arrived, and that the *Armenians*

His generals defeated. *Armenians* were not to be trusted, that the *shah's* troops returned ingloriously into *Ispahan*, without attempting any thing against the enemy. To compleat the misfortunes of *Husseyu*, the khan of *Kokilan*; who was advancing to his assistance with ten thousand men, was defeated; and the other princes, either themselves prompted by motives of ambition, or corrupted by *Mahmud*, or both, refused to act under the generals he had appointed. *Mahmud's* intelligence was so good, that he resumed his spirits, and recommenced the siege of *Ispahan*.

He puts his son in his own place, but imprisons him. Notwithstanding all the arts of the *Arab*, the voice of the people at last convinced *Husseyu*, that he had been betrayed; but the *Arab* still artfully persuaded him, that all the miscarriages of his government were owing to his not having a general of authority enough to make the *Persians* obey him. *Husseyu*, upon this, sent for his eldest son, *Abbas*, and, as some say, resigned the government into his hands; but, perhaps, it is more proper to say, that he put him at the head of the administration. The young prince instantly ordered the *Arab*, the chief physician, and their known accomplices, for execution: but they persuaded the father to shut him again up in the prison from which he had been taken. It thereby appears that the father did not, at least, resign the crown to him.

He is besieged by his subjects. A short trial was made of *Sefi*, the next son in order of birth; but, being found destitute of capacity, he too was remanded to his prison: and the third son was set aside on account of his religious turn: so that, in the end of *May*, 1722, *Thamas*, the fourth son, was declared the presumptive heir of the crown; and, breaking through a post which was commanded by *Asbauf*, son to *Abdollah*, *Mahmud's* murdered brother, he reached *Kosbin*. There he met with cruel disappointments. All the governors, princes, and great lords, upon the frontiers, though subjects to *Husseyu*, and at the head of armies, shewed a great coldness in his service, and *Thamas* was utterly incapacitated to advance to his father's relief. This backwardness was occasioned by the secret hopes most of those great men had of each erecting an independent sovereignty out of the ruins of his country.

Famine rages in *Ispahan*. The absence of *Thamas* served the treacherous views of the *Arab*, because it was a pretext for his not attacking the posts of the *Afgans* until the prince came up with his army, so as to put them between two fires, and utterly to destroy them. The people, however, having sense enough to perceive that the troops in the city were more than sufficient for destroying their enemies, insisted loudly upon their being attacked. They were the more clamorous on account of the famine that began to prevail amongst them; and the *Arab* was obliged to give way so far to them, as to march out several times; but he always returned without fighting; and generally

nerally pleaded in his excuse, that the astrologers told him, the lucky hour was not yet come.

Those pretexts, equally stale and ridiculous, at last exasperated the people into a kind of mutiny; and they beset the *Husseyu's* palace, demanding that he, in person, should lead them on to action. He endeavoured to put them off till next day; but they persisting in an immediate compliance to their demand, they were fired upon by an army of eunuchs, who were always maintained within the palace walls. Upon this, the brave *Abmed*, then the governor of the city, stepped in to his sovereign's relief; attacked the *Afgans*, forced their chief post, and would have entirely defeated them, had it not been for the infamous conduct of the *Arab*, who drew off his men just as victory was about to declare itself for the *Persians*. *Abmed*, seeing the *Arab's* treachery, ordered his *Persians* to fire upon his troops; and, both *Husseyu's* bodies being thereby thrown into confusion, the *Afgans* rallied, recovered their post, and forced their enemies to retreat to *Ispahan*. *Abmed* defeated,

Upon their return, the *Arab* had the art to prevail upon *Husseyu* to disgrace and dispossess *Abmed*; but the loyal eunuch died a few days after, as is supposed, of grief, or by poison.

Nothing now remained before *Husseyu's* eyes but the prospect of inevitable ruin. It was completed by *Mahmud's* being able to buy off the governor of *Sejestan*, who was advancing to the relief of *Ispahan* with ten thousand troops. The price was certain very rich presents, and the government of *Korasan*. This success, together with the indolence of the prince, or sultan, *Thamas*, from whom very great things were expected; and, above all, the famine which now raged in *Ispahan*, rendered *Mahmud* secure of his prey. The unhappy *Husseyu*, unable to resist longer the cries of his people and the sight of their miseries, offered the command of his armies to *Lust*, who had before acted at their head with so much success; but he had too great knowledge both of the weakness of the troops, and the treachery of the court, to accept it. As his last resource, he renewed his negotiation with *Mahmud*; offered him his daughter in marriage; the provinces of *Korasan*, *Kirwan*, and *Kandahar*, in sovereignty; and one hundred and fifty thousand pounds besides; if he would draw off his army: but the *Afgan* haughtily answered, that he had already in his own power all that *Husseyu* offered; and thus the negotiation broke off. *Haughtiness of Mahmud.*

The reduction of the whole province of *Korasan*, under *Meluk*, late governor of *Sejestan*, left *Husseyu* nothing to hope for, but his being received by the conqueror upon his absolute submission. Famine drove numbers of *Persians* out of the city, where their throats were cut by the *Afgans*, who gave them no quarter. All the treasures of *Husseyu*, both in plate and ready-money, with all the sums he had been able to borrow from the *English* and *Dutch* merchants, were now entirely *Misery of Husseyu.*

who concludes a capitulation with *Mahmud*.

tirely exhausted ; and, at last, about the end of *September*, he offered entirely to submit to *Mahmud's* power.

It was the twenty-first of *October* following before the inhuman *Afgan* terminated the negotiation. His reason for this delay was, that famine might thin the city of its inhabitants, so as that he might have nothing to fear from them ; for, when they had consumed all other, even the most loathsome, animals, they were reduced to live upon one another, till the living were not sufficient to bury the dead ; and a pestilence must have ensued from the number of dead bodies, had it not been from the remarkable salubrity of the air and soil of *Ispahan*.

Pride of the latter. Interview between them.

At last, the capitulation, by which *Husseyn* was to dethrone himself, and become a voluntary captive to the conqueror, was signed. All that *Mahmud* deigned to grant, was, that no violence should be offered to the persons of the king's nobility, or the surviving inhabitants of *Ispahan*. *Husseyn* took a most mournful and melancholy leave of his subjects, imputing his and their misfortunes to bad councils. On the twenty-third of *October*, he marched, with his principal attendants, consisting of about three hundred, towards the *Afgan* camp ; and was obliged to wait for some time, because his conqueror, as was pretended, was asleep. Being introduced, he found *Mahmud* in the great hall of his own beloved palace of *Farabad*, seated on a cushion of gold. *Husseyn* gave him the first salute, which was returned by *Mahmud*. *Husseyn*, at last, was conducted to a seat, from whence he made a short speech, in which he said he cheerfully resigned the empire to *Mahmud*, and wished him prosperity. He then took out of his own turban the royal plume of feathers, which, in *Persia*, is the badge of sovereignty, and offered it to *Mahmud's* first minister. But this did not answer either the pride or the purpose of the *Afgan*. He continued in his seat, but refused to accept the plume from his minister ; so that *Husseyn* himself was obliged to arise and to fix it in his turban with his own hand, pronouncing these words, ' Reign in peace.'

This ceremony, so mortifying to *Husseyn*, performed in sight of all the officers and great men in both armies, was, by them, understood to convey to *Mahmud* an undoubted right to the sovereignty of *Persia*. When it was over, a repast of coffee and tea was served in ; and *Mahmud*, relaxing of his usual severity, promised to consider *Husseyn* as his father, and to follow his advice in all he undertook. The repast being over, a detachment of four thousand *Afgans* took possession of the city and palace ; and, on the twenty-seventh of *October*, he made a most triumphant entry into *Ispahan*, at the head of his army, attended by all the great officers of state, civil and military, *Persian* as well as *Afgan*. The unhappy *Husseyn* rode upon his left-hand till he entered the suburbs, and was then conducted, by a private way, to the palace.

palace. *Mahmud* not thinking it proper to lead him in triumph through a city where he had been so lately sovereign. This consideration, however, did not prevent *Mahmud*, when he was seated on his throne, in view of all the grandees and people, from obliging *Husseyu* to come into the assembly, and to be the first who saluted him king of *Persia*. After this, the whole assembly took oaths of allegiance to his government.

It is here we must close the reign of *Husseyu*, which had lasted twenty-eight years; and he may, in fact, be considered as the last sovereign of the race of *Sefi*, who reigned independently in *Persia*; for, though his son *Thamas* afterwards mounted that throne, yet he held his power from a subject. That dynasty had lasted about two hundred and twenty-three years in *Persia*; and such an uninterrupted succession of human monsters is not, perhaps, to be paralleled in the history of any nation under the sun. *Husseyu* is said, indeed, to have been naturally a good-natured prince, even to a weakness; but his indolence and propensity to pleasure, were as fatal to his people as the cruelty of his predecessors had been; and his ruin was owing entirely to his own credulity, and obstinate confidence, in a traitor. It is said, he never put on the red dress, which the shahs of his dynasty always wore when they pronounced sentences of death.

End of
Husseyu's
reign.

His cha-
racter.

Though *Mahmud* may be considered as a rebel, and an usurper, yet the *Persians*, after he was established upon that throne, found much more ease under his government, than they had done under the execrable creatures of his good-natured predecessor. Justice was impartially administered; the privileges of the *Europeans* were confirmed; and, what is more remarkable, the three great traitors, the *Arab* general, the chief physician, and the chief eunuch, in the late reign, had their estates confiscated, and their persons sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, in this, for infidelity to their master. It is said they would have been put to death, as all other traitors, and instruments of their iniquity, were, had it not been that *Mahmud*, who valued himself upon keeping an oath, had sworn that he would not take their lives. From the same principle of justice, or rather policy, *Mahmud* treated with the highest honours and distinctions the first minister, *Lust Ali*, and all those who had been faithful to *Husseyu*. He likewise shewed great marks of regard for that unfortunate prince, and took his daughter in marriage; upon which, *Husseyu* published a manifesto, directed to all his subjects, recommending to them *Mahmud's* right to the crown.

His mo-
deration.

Thamas was then at *Kasbin*, where he had assumed the title of shah; and *Mahmud*, having levied considerable taxes upon his new subjects, sent the monies, which amounted to the title three hundred and fifty thousand pounds, to raise new troops of shah. in *Kandahar*. But the money was seized by the governor of *Bendor* in *Sejestan*. In the mean while, *Ahman*, who was the

right hand of *Mahmud*, attacked *Kasbin*, and took it in *December*; but his cruelty forced the inhabitants into an insurrection, and they drove him out of their city, *Ahman* himself receiving a wound in the shoulder.

Those disgraces and losses made *Mahmud* throw off the mask, and return to his natural cruelty; but, according to the best accounts, it might have been the effects of frenzy, which sometimes seized him. He ordered all the *Persian* noblemen in his service to be murdered at a banquet he had prepared for them; two hundred sons of the *Persian* and *Georgian* nobility to be butchered, as he did three thousand of *Husseyu's* troops he had taken into pay, and all who had received pensions or salaries out of the royal exchequer, and numbers of the chief inhabitants of *Ispahan*; so that the butchery continued for fifteen days.

His indolence.

After those execrable cruelties, which he said he committed to prevent any insurrections in that capital during his absence, he set out for *Tauris*, where sultan *Thamas* was leading a life of indolence and pleasure; and entered that province at the head of ten thousand men, who defeated the army of *Thamas*; and *Mahmud*, after taking several cities, gave the command of his army to *Zebir Dost*, and returned to *Ispahan*.

His negotiation with the *Turks* and *Muscovites*

Thamas, notwithstanding his father's misfortunes, was still in possession of all the exterior parts of the *Persian* empire; but they were situated so that they were extremely convenient for two great princes, the emperor of the *Turks* and *Peter the Great* of *Muscovy*; both of whom, being no strangers to the distractions of *Persia*, invaded it about this time; the one on the north, the other on the south. The czar soon made himself master of *Daghaстан*, *Derbend*, and the province of *Khilan*; as the *Turks* did of *Georgia*.

Thamas had nothing to oppose to those mighty powers but the consideration of what was due to royal blood and of the distresses he suffered; and he sent ambassadors with those representations to the courts of *Constantinople* and *Russia*. There was, at that time, no good understanding between those two powers. The *Turks* pretended it was a sin for them to assist a *Shiite*, and that it was an affront to the *Mahometan* religion for *Thamas* to apply for relief to a *Christian* prince; so that *Thamas* met with no help at *Constantinople*. The czar, more politic, gave his ambassadors a favourable reception, and promised to restore him to the crown of his ancestors, upon his yielding up to *Muscovy* all his right in the provinces of *Ghilan*, *Mazanderan*, and *Astrabad*, together with the towns of *Derbend* and *Raku*.

When this treaty was published, it gave *Mahmud* vast uneasiness; which was increased by the behaviour of *Aman Ollah*, who now began to claim the reward of his services, which was no other than an equal partition of all the conquests he had made. *Mahmud* durst not absolutely refuse him,

him, but found means, by representing to him the unsettled state of affairs, to quiet him with promises, least he should have joined *Thamas*. *Mahmud*, after this, had leisure to extend his conquests; but we are told of a very extraordinary adventure which befel him in *March*, 1724, as he returned to *Ispahan*.

A *Georgian* lady, who had lost her husband fighting against *Mahmud*, became so desperate that she vowed to revenge his death upon the *Afgans*; and, for that purpose, she left two children she had to the care of her brother, and disguised herself in man's apparel. Upon *Mahmud's* entering a city, when he was upon his journey to *Ispahan*, she attacked his guard of *Afgans*, and killed twenty of them before she could be taken or disarmed; which, at last, she was, and brought prisoner before *Mahmud*, who appeared greatly surprized at her resolution, ordered her wounds to be dressed, and that she herself should be taken care of; but we know not the sequel of her history.

In the mean while, *Zeberdest*, one of *Mahmud's* favourite generals, took the city of *Shiras* by storm, and attempted to take *Gombroon*, but was repulsed by the resolution of a few *English* and *Dutch* who had factories there: so pitiful are all the boasted exploits of eastern conquerors. After this, *Mahmud*, at the head of his *Afgans*, marched to *Kokhilan*, which lies on the road to *Bassora*, about ten days journey from *Ispahan*. This expedition proved quite unsuccessful; the *Arabs* harrassed his army so much that he was obliged to compound with them for its safety: and, returning with disgrace to *Ispahan*, he was forced to bestow about one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds as an indemnification to his soldiers for the losses they had sustained by the *Arabs*.

Being thus baffled by so mean an enemy, it reduced *Mahmud* so low in the eyes of the public, that, had *Thamas* behaved with common sense, he might have mounted his father's throne. Instead of that, he oppressed the *Armenians*, *Thamas* deprived them of their liberties, and suffered the *Turks* to oppress become masters of *Georgia*. After that, they besieged *Eriuan*, the capital of *Armenia*, and took it after a great resistance. The bashaw of *Von*, however, was repulsed at *Tauris* by the inhabitants, and obliged to retire to *Khoy*. To be revenged of this disgrace, the bashaws of *Baghdad* and *Basra*, which two cities were then in the hands of the *Turks*, laid siege to *Hamadan*, and took it. This conquest was attended by a kind of manifesto, published by the *Turkish* residents, or commissaries, at the court of *Russia*, declaring the treaty that had been concluded between *Thamas* and the czar to be void, on account of the precarious circumstances that *Thamas* was in, which did not admit of his making any such cessions, and because the *Sublime Port* could not suffer a foreign power to obtain footing in *Persia*. In short, they required the czar to give

up all that had been yielded to him by *Thamas*, and all his conquests upon the *Caspian Sea*.

His domi-
nions par-
titioned.

Upon this declaration being made, it was thought that a war was unavoidable between the *Turks* and the *Muscovites*; especially as the former were so averse to all treaties with a *Christian* prince in prejudice of the *Mahometans*. The grand-vizir, however, and the czar's ministers, managed so artfully, that they concluded a treaty; by which a kind of a partition of territory was to be made between the emperor of the *Turks* and the czar of *Muscovy*; a certain portion being to be left for *Thamas*, if he should think proper to accept of it; and they were to concur in setting him on the throne of *Persia*.

This treaty was signed on the eighth of *July*, 1725, and was equally resented by *Thamas* as by *Mahmud*. The latter recruited his armies, and besieged *Yezd*; but he was obliged to raise the siege with disgrace and loss. In short, though *Mahmud* had mounted the throne, which *Husseyu's* pusillanimity and mismanagement had lost, yet *Thamas*, both by *Persians* and foreign powers, was regarded as the shah of *Persia*. *Mahmud's* power lay entirely amongst his countrymen the *Afgans*, and he kept a standing army of them in pay. He could not, however, depend upon them; and, at last, he grew contemptible in their sight. His person was despicable, and the plain manners of the *Afgans* had been effaced in him by effeminacy. His arms were no longer victorious, and his troops reproached him in the same terms as the *Macedonians* did *Alexander*, That he was conquered by the people whom he had vanquished. This discontent, at last, grew outrageous, through the respect which they paid to *Asbraf*, the son of *Abdollah*, *Mahmud's* uncle, whom the reader may remember had been murdered by *Mahmud*.

Rise of
Asbraf.

Mahmud
turns deli-
rious.

He butch-
ers the
royal fa-
mily of
Persia.

This young man, ever since his father's death, had served in a military capacity under *Mahmud*; and was so much the darling of the soldiers, that the tyrant durst never put him to death, though he knew that *Asbraf* was meditating his destruction. In this undesirable situation, he acted a prudent part; for, having no children of his own, he declared *Asbraf* his successor; but he kept so watchful an eye over him, that he was unable to disturb him. All *Mahmud's* precautions, however, could not guard him against himself. His brain appeared to be touched. He performed a fantastical penance called the *riadhiat*; by which he shut himself up for fourteen or fifteen days, and, by continual agitations of the body and workings of the mind, all the time surrounded with darkness, he lost the use of the small reason that had been left him. But his frenzy took a most terrible turn, for he murdered one hundred princes of *Husseyu's* blood with his own hands, after ordering them to be carried into a court-yard, with their hands tied behind them, where he cut off their heads. The cries of one of *Husseyu's* sons reaching the un-
happy

happy father, he run forth in an agony to save him, and received upon his own arm the wound that was aimed at the child, who was no more than five years of age. The sight of *Husseyu's* blood seemed to make some impression upon *Mahmud*; and, from that time, he stopped the butchery. He, however, never could recover his senses. His frenzy increased every day, and was discernable in the most extravagant actions of generosity as well as cruelty; no kind of superstition was omitted for his recovery; and no foolish ceremonies, either *Christian* or *Mahometan*, were left unpractised.

Asbraf, in the mean while, was meditating the destruction of the tyrant; and, for that purpose, had entered into a correspondence with *Thamas*, whom he invited to mount the throne of *Persia*. *Thamas* promised *Asbraf* his own terms; and, though *Asbraf* was under a kind of confinement, yet he managed so well, that *Thamas*, by his invitation, drew near to *Ispahan* with an army. The *Afgans* considered themselves as masters of *Persia*, and would not forego their right of raising a prince of their own race to that crown; for which reason they chose *Asbraf* for their king and freed him from his confinement, being headed in their attempt by the great general *Aman Ollah*. *Asbraf*, however, refused to accept of his new dignity, until, by way of atonement for his father's death, the head of the tyrant was brought to him; which it accordingly was, though his frenzy had proceeded to such a height, that, by the course of nature, he could have lived but a few hours, had not his head been cut off. He is slain by *Asbraf*.

The character of *Mahmud*, and his government, must give every considerate person the most despicable ideas of the people whom he conquered and over whom he ruled. His face and personal appearance were shocking; and, though he undoubtedly had courage, yet his failings, ignorance, and inconstancy, threw him even below the common level of mankind. His successes were owing to the valour of his countrymen the *Afgans*; but that valour degenerated when they became the conquerors of *Persia*, and were inured to the delicacies of that enchanting climate. If any thing can be said in favour of this frantic monster, it is the regard he seemed to pay to his word. This is exemplified in his not putting *Asbraf* and *Aman Ollah* to death, though he had reason to believe they were meditating his destruction. But the merit of his clemency receives great abatement when we consider, that both of them were more high in the esteem of the army than he himself was; and to have attempted to take away their lives must have precipitated his own destruction. In short, Compared what was said of the *English Cromwell*, was, with more justice, applicable to *Mahmud*, That he was a fortunate mad-man. His successes were owing to temerity, and he was but twenty-seven years of age at the time of his death.

Asbraf
succeeds
him,

his policy.

Wars with
the *Turks*,

whom he
defeats.

Treaty
with
them.

History
and rise

Asbraf began his reign with cruelties, which if possible, exceeded those of his predecessor, whose ministers, favourites, and guards, he immediately put to the sword. *Aman Ollah* himself was killed; and it was with some difficulty, and not till after shewing him great indignities, that he was prevailed upon to spare the mother of *Mahmud*, who had been the means of inducing her son to spare his life. His dissimulation was equal to his cruelty. For after putting out his brother's eyes, and confining him, as he did to one of *Mahmud*'s son's, whose mother he poisoned, he offered his throne to *Husseyu*, but that pitiful prince was better pleased with being superintendant of the buildings then erecting within the inclosure of the palace. Upon this he married one of *Husseyu*'s daughters, and took upon himself the title of sultan. But his engagements with *Thamas*, who had still great authority in *Persia*, gave him vast disquiet. At first, he offered him the crown of *Persia*, but *Thamas* disdainng to take that which he could command, and which was his by right, advanced towards *Ispahan*, though he was obliged to fly by *Asbraf*'s superior power. In the mean while, the *Turks* had again made themselves masters of *Tauris*, and shewed some dispositions for marching against *Ispahan*, from which they were with some difficulty dissuaded; but in *March* 1726, on pretext of some ridiculous controversy in religion, they declared war against *Asbraf*; took *Kashin*, and *Maragha*, though the former city was soon after reduced by *Asbraf*.

The indolence and mismanagement of *Thamas*, at this time, had made him so contemptible, that the *Turks* refused to treat with him; and seemed to meditate nothing less than the conquest of all *Persia*. This they certainly would have effected, had not *Asbraf* found means to have disseminated amongst them, the doctrine of the impiety of *Moslems* cutting one another's throats, by which the *Turkish* army was divided. Their general however, being still at the head of seventy or eighty thousand men, attempted to cut *Asbraf*'s army in pieces; but religious scruples had got such a footing among his troops, that he was defeated, and *Asbraf* remained victorious. He maintained this superiority to the year 1727, when the *Ottoman* court finding the backwardness of their troops to fight against a *Mahometan* power, every day increase, ordered a bashaw or general, who commanded in *Persia*, to conclude a peace with *Asbraf*. The terms were, that the *Turks* should have the possession of *Zengan*, *Soltainia*, *Abher*, and *Tabiran*; but that *Khuyestan* should be restored to *Asbraf*; who was to be acknowledged king of *Persia*, and named in the public prayers, immediately after the *Turkish* emperor, who was to be acknowledged the true successor to the khaliffs of *Baghdad*.

Peace being made between *Asbraf* and the *Turks*, upon those, and some other ridiculous terms; a new agent, who afterwards

afterwards made the greatest appearance of any man in the east, started up; and was afterwards known by the famous name of *Kouli Kan*, and *Nadir Shah*. He was a native of *Korassan*, but by descent a *Tartar*; or that species of *Tartars*, called *Turkmans*; and losing his father, who was a kind of a taylor, when he was but thirteen years old, he was bred a shepherd, and supported himself and his mother, by carrying sticks to market upon an ass, and a camel; the whole of his patrimony. After this, about the year 1704, he was carried into captivity by the *Uzbeks*, with whom he remained about four years; but, after that, escaping, he commenced a robber and a murderer, and after various adventures, he killed his master, and fled to the mountains with his daughter, whom he made his wife. About the year 1714, he continued his trade of robbing; and the courage and resolution he shewed, recommended him to the governor of *Korassan*, who gave him a post under him, somewhat resembling a gentleman usher. In this station, he found means to be preferred in the army, and behaved so bravely against the *Tartars* and *Bukarians*, that he was not only made a colonel, but had a prospect of rising to a much higher command. He was disappointed in his expectation by court intrigues, and in the height of his resentment, his tongue made so free with his patron the governor of *Korassan*, that by his order he was soundly bastinadoed; upon this he retired to *Kallat*, where his uncle, who happened to be at the head of a tribe, called *Afshar*, commanded. His pride and presumption did not suffer him long to remain in a subordinate quality, and it was easy for him to collect a party of ruffians and robbers, to the number of eight or nine hundred, who chose him for their head; and in the year 1722, he lived by robbing travellers and caravans. A great man, one *Seyfoddin Begh*, happening about that time to be in disgrace at the court of *Persia*, fell into the same course of life, and joining with *Nadir*, their party amounted to about three thousand. *Nadir* now began to make so great a figure, that his uncle procured the shah of *Persia* to pardon him; and he requited his uncle's kindness by seizing his castle of *Kallat*, and murdering him. After this he declared for *Thamas*, who was then at *Farabad*, in *Mazamdaran*, in very desperate circumstances, and depending upon *Fati Ali*, the governor of that province. The first service that *Nadir*, who was now at the head of five thousand men, performed for *Thamas*, was his taking the important city of *Nishabur*, from the *Afgans*, and this success procured him admittance to *Fati Ali*, who introduced him to *Thamas*, from whom he received a full and a free pardon.

Thamas, who appears to have been a very weak prince, who had been secretly disobliged with *Fati's* assuming behaviour, comes general to and *Nadir* easily saw it; but finding that *Thamas*, on account of an oath he had made, could not be prevailed upon to give orders for *Fati's* death, he murdered him himself: telling his

master, that if he, *Thamas*, was fettered by an oath, he *Nadir*, was not. Upon *Fati's* death, *Nadir*, who had obtained an entire ascendancy over *Thamas*, became his generalissimo and first minister, and was at the head of eighteen thousand men, with whom he drove the *Balluchis* out of *Masbad*, the capital of *Korasan*; for which service, *Thamas* ordered him to be called *Thamas Kouli Kan*, the addition of his own name, being the highest distinction he could bestow upon a subject. After this *Nadir* reduced the whole province of *Korasan* to his master's allegiance, and with twelve thousand men he subdued *Herat* itself, where he cut off the governor's head.

Asbraf defeated and he murders *Hussayn*, with many of the royal family.

Asbraf had not, at this time, above thirty thousand troops, whom he could depend upon, but most of them were *Afgans* and provincials, who were reckoned greatly superior to the *Persians*. *Thamas* however, had a general who supplied all defects; and though his numbers were inferior by five thousand, to those of *Asbraf*, yet he gave them battle, and, to the astonishment of all the east, he defeated them, and in two engagements cut fourteen thousand of them in pieces; obliging the remainder to take refuge in *Ispahan*. Here the bloody *Asbraf* murdered the old shah *Hussayn*, and all the males of the imperial family. He then loaded three hundred mules with spoils and treasure, and left *Ispahan*, at the head of twelve thousand of his *Afgans*. He had scarcely marched out of that city, when the *Persian* general *Kouli Kan*, arrived in it with his army, and having quieted the tumults, which were very outrageous, he went to meet *Thamas*, who was coming to *Tahiran*. He met him about six miles from the capital, was received with excess of honours, and he behaved in the most submissive manner. When *Thamas* entered his palace he was shocked by the sight of his father's murdered body, and those of his descendants. But as he was entering the womens apartment, an old woman slave threw her arms around his neck, with an excessive transport of joy; and he soon knew her to be his own mother, who had lived in that disguise, and conformed herself to her appearance, ever since the *Afgans* had obtained the mastery at *Ispahan*.

Insolence of *Kouli Kan*.

Asbraf and his *Afgans* had marched no farther than *Shiras*, where they continued to rob and murder the people. *Thamas* expressed great concern for their hardships, but he soon understood, that he was to take law from his insolent general; whom he had made governor of *Korasan*, and promised to give him his aunt in marriage. *Kouli Kan* in return, said he was ready to march with the army against the *Afgans*, but that he did not chose to be exposed to his court enemies in his absence, of which he had known but too many instances; and he therefore demanded to have a power of raising money by his own authority, for paying the troops. *Thamas* saw the tendency of this demand, but was obliged to submit, though in fact he thereby gave himself a master. *Kouli Kan* then, though it was in the depth of winter, marched to

Asaker,

Astaker, or the ancient *Persopolis*, and on the fifteenth of January 1730, he routed *Ashraf* and his *Persians*; and pursued them with such vigour that they were all cut in pieces, feated and *Ashraf* at their head; though some have reported that he was taken prisoner, and carried to *Ispahan*, where he was carried to death upon a public scaffold.

Kouli Kan having performed those glorious services for his lawful sovereign, was rewarded, by marrying his master's aunt; and after staying for some time at *Shiras*, he marched with the army to wrest from the *Turks* the city of *Hamadan*, which they were in possession of. He performed that service, after giving them an entire defeat; and then out marching the bashaw *Cuproli*, he took *Tauris* and *Ardibel*; and next, marching to *Herat*, which was in the hands of the *Abdoles*, he recovered that city, and put the governor and the chief of the rebels to death. This last service he had so much at heart, that to be at leisure to pursue it, he granted a peace to the *Turks*; and then he seems to have retired to his government of *Korasan*; and to have applied himself to the forming an army of *Tartars*, and other barbarians, whom he disciplined, and attached to himself for his own wicked purposes. In the mean while, *Thamas* getting the better of his native indolence, and equally afraid of the *Turks*, and his own general, marched to besiege *Iriwan* with five thousand men. At first, he met with some success, but his provisions failing, he was obliged to raise the siege, and in his retreat to *Tauris*, he was defeated by *Cuproli* and *Ali*, the two *Turkish* generals, and forced to retire to *Hamadan*; by which means, *Tauris* again fell into the hands of the *Turks*. Being joined by the garrison of *Hamadan*, he ventured to fight the bashaw of *Baghdad*, but he was defeated in a bloody battle, and the *Turks* took possession of *Hamadan* likewise. The distractions that followed in *Constantinople*, obliged the *Turkish* generals to propose a peace, which *Thamas*, who was in danger of losing *Ispahan* likewise, gladly agreed to in January 1732 but with the shameful condition of resigning all his rights to *Armenia* and *Georgia*; the *Turks* engaging to assist him in driving the *Russians* from their conquests upon the *Caspian Sea*.

Further conquests of *Kouli Kan* against the *Turks*.

Thamas is defeated before *Baghdad*,

makes peace with the *Turks*.

It is more than probable, that *Thamas* found himself under a necessity, equally from the insolence of his general, as from the power of the *Turks*, to make this peace. *Kouli Kan*, who saw all his conquests given up by it, had a plausible pretext for opposing it, which he did in the most earnest manner; promising to assist the shah with an army. *Thamas* however disbanded his army, and sent orders for his general to do the same. But *Kouli Kan*, far from obeying him, assembled his army to the number of seventy thousand men; and, by expatiating upon the terms of the late inglorious peace, he persuaded the chief officers under him, to stand by him and by one another, against the ministers and courtiers, who were meditating

meditating their ruin; he then advanced with his army to *Ispahan*, where it was secretly resolved to depose *Thamas*, and to place upon his throne *Abbas* his son, who was but six months old. *Kouli Kan* being arrived near *Ispahan*, made a general review of his army, at which the shah was present. As many of the common men were no strangers to the designs on foot, *Thamas* might have saved himself, by ordering his general to be cut to pieces in the field, and by putting himself at the head of his army; for he was at that time extremely beloved for his humanity, and the mildness of his government; but he neglected the opportunity, and *Kouli Kan* ordering him to be seized, while he was intoxicated with wine, put him under arrest in the garden of his own palace, and finally deposed; all the great officers, civil and military, by choice or force, swearing allegiance to the infant in the cradle.

but he is
deposed
by *Kouli*
Kan,

who is
defeated
before
Baghdad.

After this great event, *Kouli Kan* steadily pursued what he had professed, the recovery of the ceded provinces from the *Turks*, and laid siege to *Baghdad* with eighty thousand men. Upon this, war was proclaimed at *Constantinople*, and *Topal Osman*, one of the greatest and most remarkable generals the *Turks* ever had, marched to relieve it at the head of eighty thousand men. *Kouli Kan* was in hopes to have taken the place by assault or famine; and though it was garrisoned by twenty thousand men, it could have held out but a very few days, when *Topal Osman* came up. A bloody battle was fought between him and the *Persian* general, *Kouli Kan*, who was at the head of seventy thousand men; and the *Turks* must have been routed, had they not been so seasonably reinforced by the bashaw *Mawfel*; while the bashaw of *Baghdad*, made a sally which entirely raised the siege, after it had continued for three months. This battle cost the *Turks* thirty thousand men, and *Kouli Kan* lost as many. He behaved with remarkable courage in it; and after having two horses killed under him, he lost all his baggage. This happened in the summer of 1733, and *Kouli Kan*, the better to disguise his intention, sent word to the bashaw of *Baghdad*, that he was resolved to pay him a visit in the spring. But the genius of *Kouli Kan* was too active to brook such a delay, for in *October* the same year, he penetrated into the *Turkish* dominions, as far as *Leyham*, a place within fifteen miles of *Kerkowd*.

But he
defeats the
Turks, and
recovers
his losses.

Here he was opposed by *Topal Osman*, at the head of one hundred thousand men, which he had assembled with great difficulty. A battle was fought on the twenty-fifth of the same month, but to the disadvantage of the *Persians*. Next day brought on a general engagement, in which the *Turks* were totally routed, with the loss of forty thousand men, their military chest, and all their baggage; and what was still more irretrievable, their excellent general was left dead on the field of battle. *Kouli Kan* was prevented from pursuing

ing

ing the advantages he might have gained by this great victory, by being obliged to march to *Shiras*, where he defeated one of his own generals, who had proclaimed the deposed *Thamas*; and the general, whose name was *Mohammed*, being taken, hanged himself. Being now at leisure to resume his grand operations against the *Turks*, who were dispirited, and divided amongst themselves; he recovered all *Georgia*, and *Armenia*, and obtained many other advantages. His fame was then so great, that in the year 1735, the empress of *Russia* concluded a treaty with him, by which he ceded all, or a great part of, the *Russian* conquests, upon the *Persian* territories. After this, *Kouli Kan* increased his army to one hundred and twenty thousand men, and, after defeating and slaying *Cuprol* the *Turkish* general, and twenty thousand *Turks*, in a bloody battle, he retook *Erivan*, and thus completed the conquest of many of the provinces that had been dismembered from *Persia*. makes a peace with the empress of *Russia*,

Kouli Kan was now considered both as the greatest politician, and the greatest general in the east. Though he secretly coveted a peace with the *Turks*, yet he refused to conclude it, but upon condition of their restoring *Baghdad*, and paying the expences of the war. In the mean while, about the beginning of the year 1736, the young *Shah Abbas* died, but whether naturally or violently, we know not. Upon this the *Persian* grandees were convoked in the plains of *Mogan*, to deliberate upon filling up the throne. *Kouli Kan* proposed *Thamas*, but the deputies insisted upon himself accepting of the crown. The reader may remember that the *Afgans* are *Sonnites* and hate the *Persians* for being *Shiits*. *Kouli Kan*'s chief dependance at this time was upon the *Afgans*, and he himself had been bred a *Sonnite*. Upon the chief men still pressing him to mount the throne, he consented on three conditions. First, that the crown should be made hereditary in his family; Secondly, that none of the descendants, or relations of their late *Shah*'s should receive shelter, support, or entertainment in *Persia*; and thirdly, that the custom of cursing *Abubeker*, *Omar*, and *Othman*, with that of commemorating *Hussayn*'s death, should be abolished in the crown. Death of the young *Shah Abbas*. Conditions on which

Nothing can give us a higher idea of *Kouli Kan*'s power over the *Persians*, who in general are great biggots, than their agreeing to these proposals; which facilitated a peace with the *Turks*, who yielded up their rights to the conquered provinces; and consented that the *Persians* might have liberty to visit the temple of *Mecca*, without paying duty. After this, *Kouli Kan* endeavoured to abolish all differences between the *Sonnites* and the *Shiites*; and he stript the *Turkish* clergy, and doctors, in the neighbourhood of *Ispahan*, of all their revenues; which he bestowed upon his troops; saying that they were better priests than the others, whose prayers Alterations in religion.

prayers had been ineffectual for procuring to *Persia* that peace, which the others had obtained by their swords.

Nadir endeavours to cultivate the arts of peace.

he is defeated.

Conquests of his son *Rizi*.

who murdered's *Thamas*.

Nadir's successes

The peace with the *Turks* however, was far from giving tranquility to *Persia*, which was most miserably harrassed and depopulated, and exhausted by its civil wars. *Kouli Kan* indeed sought to remedy those evils, by fixing his residence in *Ispahan*, and by encouraging commerce and agriculture. But he seems to have been void of all true ideas of the civil arts of life; though he sometimes affected them, and even talked with the *English* and other foreigners upon those subjects. The truth is, had he been better informed, and better disposed, he could not have succeeded; for no sooner did he begin to have some respite, after making peace with the *Turks*, than he was obliged to set out for *Kandahar*, to subdue *Husseyu Kan*, brother to the late *Sultan Mahmud*, who had seized upon that province and city. This was not amongst the most glorious of *Kouli Kan's* expeditions. For though he defeated *Husseyu's* troops, yet having no heavy cannon, he could not take the city, and he was forced at last to accept of it, upon terms, from *Husseyu*, and to confirm him in his government. His son *Rizi Kuli*, whom he had made governor of *Mashad*, was more fortunate in subduing the provinces of *Balk*, and *Bukharia*, and reducing the *Usbek Tartars*, who were now become very formidable.

It was now about the middle of the year 1738, and *Kouli Kan* was then meditating his famous expedition into *India*, of which we have already given a full account, and which will render his name famous to future ages. But notwithstanding the immense treasures which he brought to *Persia* upon his return, we do not find, that either that country, or his own court, were much improved by such vast accessions of treasure. He was by no means either so magnificent, or so polished as *Jenghiz Khan*, or *Tamerlan*, and other conquerors, whom he resembled in his rise and fortune. At the same time it must be acknowledged, that notwithstanding all his treasons, bloodshed and cruelty, he was far from being so great a destroyer of the human species, as the best of those tyrants were. While he was in *India*, a report prevailed that his army had been defeated. Upon this his son *Rizi Kuli* endeavoured to seize upon the government, and actually murdered *shah Thamas*, in the fortress where he was confined. *Rizi* soon after found he had been misinformed, and despairing of pardon from his father, he meditated his destruction. In the mean while, *Nadir Shah* returned from *India* to *Kandahar*, and finding that the *Usbeks*, who were then in possession of the once glorious *Bukharia*, and *Korasan*, had invaded *Persia*, he marched at the head of fifty thousand men to chastise them. The khan of *Bukharia* soon made his peace by submitting, and was continued in his government; but the khan of *Korasan*, or, as it was now called, *Keyvea*, held out; and after losing twenty thousand men,

men, he was taken prisoner, and put to death with thirty of his principal followers, by way of retaliation, for his having murdered one of *Nadir Shah's* ambassadors.

As *Nadir*, for so we now call *Kouli Kan*, was returning to *Rizi at-Mashad*, an *Afgan*, who had been hired by his son *Rizi* for tempts to that purpose, shot at him and wounded him in the hand; murder and, being seized upon, he accused *Rizi*, who was immediately apprehended. *Nadir* was fond of this son, more than tyrants commonly are of their children; and, it is said, he would have pardoned him for the attempt, but that the young man refused to make any submission, and even gave his father opprobrious language; upon which, *Nadir*, in a rage, deprived him of his eyes.

After this, revolts and rebellions multiplied upon *Nadir*; *Nadir's* so that, during the last five years of his reign, he cannot be defeat. said to have been otherwise than unfortunate, though he generally was victorious. It was with difficulty he escaped being, with his army, destroyed in an expedition he made into *Daghestan* against the *Lesghi*, after having been successful in two others against the *Arabs* and *Usbeks*. After that, he War again was embroiled with the *Turks*, who made war against him, breaks out and *Astarabad* and *Shiras*, with a great part of the domini- with the ons he had recovered since his accession, revolted from him; *Turks*. while the *Turks* assembled a body of one hundred and thirty thousand men near *Erivan*, and declared war against him. It is true, *Nadir*, in *August*, 1735, at the head of eighty thousand troops, defeated them; killed their general *Abdollah Cuproli*, and twenty-eight thousand of their men, with the loss of eight thousand of his own, he himself having two horses shot under him. But this victory did not prevent daily *Nadir's* revolts from happening in *Georgia* and *Korasan*, which obliged distresses, *Nadir* to conclude another peace with the *Turks*; by which some cessions in point of religion were made; but he seems to have lost a great deal in point of interest.

Perhaps the affair of religion contributed more than any and other cause to the ruin of *Nadir*. The frequent revolts and rebellions against him appear to have sowered his temper, so that he looked upon the native *Persians* as his worst enemies, and took into his pay a great number of *Afgans*, *Usbeks*, *Turks*, and *Tartars*. To support those barbarians, he not only squandered upon them the vast treasures he had brought from *India*, but laid very heavy impositions upon the cities of *Persia*; so that the whole of that delightful country presented scenes of the deepest misery, and the most shocking barbarity.

Marching from *Mashad* to the plains of *Sollin Meydan*, a conspiracy was formed against him. It has been said, that *Nadir*, finding he could not depend upon the *Persians*, convoked the chiefs of the *Usbeks*, *Tartars*, and other barbarians, and that it was agreed amongst them, that very night to put all

Nadir
Shah murdered.

all the *Persians* that were in the camp to the sword. This resolution, we are told, was discovered by a *Georgian* slave overhearing the design and communicating the same to the *Persian* generals. But this discovery is far from being probable, it not being likely that *Nadir*, upon the point of such a scheme being executed, would have gone so quietly and unguardedly to sleep in his tent as we find he actually did. But it is more probable, that the *Persian* chiefs, having resolved upon the assassination, wanted to justify themselves by this pretext. We are not even certain as to the name of the person who was *Nadir's* executioner. It is said to have been *Shaleh Beg*, the captain of his *Afgan* guard. He took with him no more than four resolute men, and, rushing into the haram, or womens apartment, they there killed an eunuch; and proceeding to enter the inner haram, they killed an old woman, who, it seems, made a noise at their appearance. They discovered a particular tent of the haram, where *Nadir* lay with his wife, the *Indian* emperor's daughter, by the lustre of some jewels which lay on a table near a burning lamp; and when they came to it they found him just risen, having probably been awaked by the old woman's outcries. He had a sword in his hand, which, on the sight of the conspirators, he drew, and demanded what was their design. *Saleh Beg* then cut him across the collar-bone; but *Nadir* defended himself so bravely, that he killed two of his most forward assailants, and would have escaped, had he not been entangled in the ropes that interlaced the tents of his haram, so that falling, *Saleh Beg* gave him a terrible wound. Upon this, *Nadir* cried out for mercy; but the conspirators told him, That, as he had always been a stranger to mercy, he was to expect none, and they immediately cut off his head. This happened in the year 1747, in the sixty-first year of *Nadir's* age, and the twelfth of his reign.

His character.

Nadir was one of those extraordinary persons, in nature and constitution, somewhat between a man and a monster, whom we have had so often occasion to mention in the course of this history. His natural parts and courage undoubtedly were very strong, and in his person he was fitted for the most difficult and fatiguing warlike operations. He was six feet high, of a majestic awful aspect, and his voice was so loud, that it could have been heard distinctly by an army of one hundred thousand men. He had great readiness of thought in concerting, and equal quickness and resolution in executing, his designs. Though he made religion his pretext for a great number of his unjustifiable undertakings, yet he appears to have been very little affected by it; for, when the priest, who acted as high-mufti of *Persia*, presumed to throw in some remonstrances upon the head of religion, *Nadir* ordered him to be strangled. He seems to have been extremely rapacious, and, it is said, he was perfectly well acquainted with

with the state of his finances through every province of his empire, his memory being as extraordinary as the other talents he possessed from nature. He expressed a delight in precious stones, and wore them in his turband, which was the only finery he affected in his dress. His diet was plain; but, by what can be understood, his manners and address, upon the whole, were barbarous; and, that he was afraid of conspiracies, appears by his wearing a private coat of mail, and by his generally having in his hand a battle-axe, which he managed very dexterously, and even played with while he was giving public audiences.

The state of that country, since the death of *Nadir Shab*, has been so unsettled, and the accounts we have of it are so fabulous and unascertained, that we must here close our history of it.

The History of the Ottoman Turks to the Death of Bajazet.

IT is in vain for us to attempt to settle the particular conjecture from whence the people we are now to treat of issued. The most probable opinion seems to be, That the word *Turk* originally carried with it no favourable signification, being little better than a vagrant and a barbarian; and that it was given by the people in the east indifferently to all strangers. As we have already observed, *Scythia*, *Tartary*, and even *China* itself, sent forth swarms of barbarians at different periods, who, from the several names of their leaders, were called *Ogusians*, *Seljukians*, or *Othmans*, but all of them were *Turks*; and they were known by that name even after they had obtained settlements; the very countries which they first conquered and inhabited, after leaving their own, being called *Turkestan* and *Turkmania*.

We shall not trouble our readers with the fabulous accounts given by the *Turkish* historians of the original of the *Othman* rise. *Turks*; the most consistent is, that a great body of the *Ogusians*, headed by a leader called *Ertogrul*, or *Ortogrul*, were taken into pay, as soldiers of fortune, by some of the last princes of the *Seljukian* line, with whom they agreed in manners, language, and religion. *Ortogrul's* services were so great that he was highly rewarded by the *Seljukian* monarch, who probably was *Aladin*; and he seems to have obtained a settlement at a place called *Soguta*, or *the Willow Village*, upon the frontiers of *Mysia*. On the death of *Ortogrul*, he was succeeded by his son *Othman*, who, in like manner, assisted the *Seljukian* monarchs against the *Greeks*, *Tartars*, and other nations with whom they were at war. The *Seljukian* race

at this time, declining, their generals, who, in fact, seem to have been, even under their sultans, independent princes, associated themselves, and, extending their conquests all round over the divided and effeminate *Greeks*, they made a division of their territories, and *Bythinia* fell to the share of *Othman*. The *Turkish* historians, however, have endeavoured to conceal the truth; which is, that the dread of *Jenghiz Kan's* arms, and those of his successors, particularly *Hulacu*, obliged those mercenary barbarians to seek a refuge towards the west; which they laid waste as they proceeded.

History of Othman. *Othman* seems to have been a general of great address, and both the *Christian* and *Turkish* writers tell us, that a kind of a conspiracy was formed amongst the *Greek* governors, in which was the governor of *Hirman Katu*, called *Mikael Hofa*, or *Goat's Beard*, whose daughter was to be married, and *Othman* was invited to the wedding at a castle called *Bilejiki*, where the conspirators intended to dispatch him. *Kaufi*, it

His stratagem.

seems, discovered the conspiracy, and was generous enough to put *Othman* on his guard. Upon this intelligence he disguised forty of his most resolute soldiers like women, with concealed weapons, and placed himself, with a strong body of troops, in ambush. The disguised soldiers being admitted into the castle secured the gates; and *Othman* coming up with his troops, destroyed his enemies, and made himself master of that and some other important places. The *Greek* emperor *Andronicus*, however, taking into his pay a body of six thousand *Alans*, the command of whom he gave, about the year 1289, to his colleague and son, the young *Mikael*, greatly alarmed the *Turks*; but he behaved so shamefully, that they, recovering their consternation, shut him up in *Magnesia*; from whence, with great difficulty, he escaped;

The Alans desert the emperor. and the *Alans*, refusing to serve longer under him, returned home.

IncurSIONS of the Turks. The *Byzantine* historians inform us, that, after this, the *Greek* emperors took another body of mercenaries into their pay; but their leader being put to death, they invited *Othman* into *Europe*, and joined with his *Turks*; and, the *Greeks* not daring to oppose them, they laid waste all the *Greek* empire wherever they marched; the inhabitants flying to walled and fortified places, which those barbarians were in no condition to besiege. In short, they pushed their incurSIONS even to the *Bosphorus*.

History of Roger. According to other historians, about the year 1304, the emperor invited one *Roger*, an *European* soldier of fortune, with eight thousand of his troops, to his defence; but those mercenary auxiliaries were, if possible, more cruel and oppressive to the inhabitants than the *Turks* themselves were;

Othman blockades Nice. and *Othman*, taking advantage of their dissensions, at last blockaded *Nice*, the capital of *Bythinia*; and defeated a large body of troops sent from *Constantinople* to its relief. It appears, however, that *Othman*, as yet, was far from being the most

most considerable leader amongst the *Turks*, who had then Oppressed but very little government, and no principle but that of sions of plundering and murdering the inhabitants. Sometimes, for the *Turks*, the sake of money, one of those leaders would make a short cessation of arms with the *Greek* governors; but then his followers immediately put themselves under some other chief who was in arms; so that perpetual ravages and bloodshed went on.

In the mean while, the young emperor, *Mikael*, was hunted from place to place; and, finding he could not remain safe in *Pergamus*, he went to *Cyzicus*, and from thence to *Piga*. At last, he was obliged to call in *Kazam Kan*, a *Tartar* chief, to his assistance. His alliance was of some service to the *Greeks*, and at *Cyzicus* they formed an army of sixteen thousand men; but *Mikael* was obliged to give the command of it to *Roger*, who, for some time, had great *Roger de-* success against the barbarians, gave them several defeats and feats the checked their insolence. He could not, however, pre- *Turks*: vent *Alifuras*, one of the *Turkish* chiefs, from becoming master of *Tripoli*. But *Roger*, presuming on his successes, and finding all the open country of *Greece* to be a mere desert, by the ravages of the *Turks*, he entered the imperial cities, put the richest of the inhabitants and governors to the torture, and sometimes to death, to oblige them to discover their riches; till, at last, the inhabitants of *Mogulsia* had spirit enough to cut part of his troops in pieces, and to shut their gates upon him and to secure the treasures he had left in the place.

Upon this, without minding the requests or threats of the His op- emperor, he besieged the place. He was, however, obliged pressive to raise the siege and to retire, being equally hated by the cruelty, *Greeks* and *Romans* as by the *Turks*. Upon his retreat, he went to *Calipoli*, and had the insolence to go to *Adrianople*, attended by no more than one hundred and fifty of his guards, to pay a visit to the emperor *Mikael*. Here he met with the re- and death. ward of his injustice and cruelty, being killed by *George*, the head of some *Allans* who had remained in the emperor's service.

Upon this, the *Catalans*, *Roger's* soldiers, massacred the people of *Calipoli*, passed over to *Asia*, and gave no quarter to any of the *Greeks*. The emperor sent troops who besieged the fort of *Calipoli*, which was in the hands of the infidels, while they, in their turn, besieged the city. *Mikael* endeavoured to raise the siege, but his generals were defeated; upon which he entered *Adrianople* at the head of an army, all of it composed of mercenary *Allans* intermingled with some *Turks* (for they contained so many clans, that some of them had but little connection with others, whilst all of them were ready to take pay) and a few cowardly *Greeks* and *Italians*. At last, the *Turks* and he came to a pitched battle; where

The *Greek Mikael* shewed great personal courage, but, being basely emperor abandoned by his mercenaries, he was defeated; and he and defeated. all his army must have been destroyed, had not the *Turks*, apprehending an ambush, desisted from the pursuit.

The *Catalans*, who gained this victory, were ruined by it. The *Turks* and they quarrelled, and they quarrelled amongst themselves. The reader, in the preceding part of this history, will see a great deal of the management by which the emperor of *Constantinople* prevented the progress of the *Turks*; but we are now to attach ourselves to the history of *Othman*. It is sufficient to say, that the differences between the *Turks* and the *Catalans* run to such a height, that they cut one another's throats wherever they met. *Othman* seems to have taken but little concern in those events, and to have entirely minded his own interest. It is said, that the emperor's sister, who, as we have already seen, had been promised in marriage to the great *Hulacu*, affronted him, by threatening him with the power of that prince, who actually sent thirty thousand men to the emperor's assistance.

Greek
princess
affronts
Othman,

Notwithstanding this, the divisions in the imperial family grew to such extremes, that, about the year 1308, *Othman* had reduced to his power all *Bythinia*, and had made a considerable progress in the reduction of *Paphlagonia*. After this, being in no farther dread of *Hulacu*, he formed the siege of *Nicomedia*; but, being obliged to raise it, he built a strong castle to bridle it, and gave the command of it to *Targam*, one of his best generals. He then retired into winter-quarters, but was attacked in them by *Honorius*, the imperial governor of *Prusa*. *Honorius* was defeated, and *Othman* took *Kutahi*, but lost his grandson, who was drowned by the breaking down of a wooden bridge.

who de-
feats the
*Imperial-
ists*.

Those vast successes enabled *Othman* to form the siege of *Prusa* itself, once the capital of *Bithynia*. But, unable to take so strong a place, he built two forts, or castles, near it, to hinder it from receiving provisions; and ordered the governors of those forts to preserve them as sanctuaries for the people of the country; by which means, they were always plentifully supplied with provisions; and they, the inhabitants, became dutiful subjects to *Othman*.

He forms
a small
fleet.

His civil
conduct

This barbarian seems to have been of a far more politic cast than his cotemporary countrymen. He even formed a small fleet, by seizing the ships of some pirates; and with that he made himself master of several islands in the *Archipelago*; which enabled him to plunder the sea-faring subjects of both the *European* and *Asiatic* powers, to the vast emolument of his followers. To this policy his successes were, perhaps, greatly owing, as well as to the means he took to make his conquests durable. For, after a summer's campaign, he always dedicated the winter to the regulation of civil affairs, and the introduction of good government and œconomy amongst his soldiers

soldiers and new subjects. Sometimes the summer was far advanced before he took the field, as if he had been averse to harrassing his army ; but this he did with design ; for he knew that their impatience for plunder and action would make them apply to him to head them against their enemies. When this, as it generally was, was the case, he then led them to the field.

He happened, however, towards the latter end of his reign, for we must then suppose him to have been an independent prince, to consume two or three years in those pacific matters, till his soldiers began to murmur for want of action. He then called them together, and gravely told them, That he himself being a good *Mahometan*, could not, in conscience, march against the enemies of his faith, without formally summoning them, either to embrace it or become tributary ; and that, if they refused both conditions, they were to be proceeded against with fire and sword. We are accordingly told, that he sent his messengers of state round to the *Christian* princes and governors, with such summonses ; and, that some of them, particularly his friend *Mikael Kosa*, actually turned *Mahometan*, while others of them consented to pay tribute.

By those means, he gained such accessions of power, that he reduced a vast number of important cities. Becoming at last too formidable to the *Turks* and *Tartars*, who had seized upon the east part of *Syria*, and were now masters of *Iconium* itself, they invaded his dominions, and filled them with blood and rapine. But *Othman*, who seems to have had as much spirit as he had ambition and policy, drew together his army, gave them battle, and entirely routed them, and incorporated all the prisoners he took, who were very numerous, amongst his own subjects.

His favourite son, *Orchan*, or, as he is commonly called, *Orchon*, contributed greatly to his father's successes, and subdued a vast number of cities, of which we now know no more than their barbarous names ; but they were, at that time, all of them populous and flourishing. The *Greek* emperor made an effort to oppose him ; but his troops, though they are said to have been well armed and disciplined, were defeated by *Abdorrhahmon*, another of *Othman's* generals, very few of them escaping either death or captivity.

One of the last and most signal actions of *Othman's* life, was his reducing *Prusa*, one of the greatest cities in that part of *Asia* ; the blockade of which was still continued. Authors are divided as to his manner of reducing it. Some say that it was stored with eight years provision, and that the place was so strong, that *Othman* employed his friend *Mikael Kosa* to persuade *Honorius*, the governor, to surrender it to *Orchon*, upon promise that the lives of the inhabitants should be spared, and thirty thousand crowns of gold payed by the besiegers. Others, particularly *Knolles*, the *English* historian

of the *Turkish* affairs, say, that the place did not surrender before it was reduced to the greatest extremity by famine and the want of all necessaries. Other writers, who were then reported alive, and pretend to have been upon the spot, with no great probability, say that *Othman*, after he had reduced the town, found such resistance from the castle, that he ordered a report of his death to be spread abroad, and that he died with a desire to be buried in a *Greek* convent within the castle. They add, that the coffin, where his body was supposed to be, was filled with arms, and attended by himself and thirty-nine of his most resolute officers in mourning; and, that the credulous monks, prevailing so far as that they were granted admittance, by way of mourners for the deceased, they became masters of a gate, and the place thereby fell into *Othman's* hands without blood-shed. Be this as it will, it is certain, that *Othman* was possessed of this important city and fortress; and, that he died soon after, having appointed his son *Orchan* to succeed him. He lived about sixty-nine years, of which he reigned about twenty-six. His death happened in the year 1327.

His death,
and character.

It must be confessed, that, though *Othman*, in conquests and military achievements, came far behind *Jenghiz Kan*, *Tamerlan*, and many other conquerors of the east, yet he excelled them all in the wise disposition he made of his succession, by leaving his territories to his successor undivided; a principle upon which the present greatness of his descendants, who have ever since assumed his name, is founded. In other respects, it is, on all hands, allowed, that he was brave in the highest degree; and so generous to his friends, officers, servants, and the poor, that he left an empty treasury. It is said, that a little hat, which he used to wear, very different from the present *Turkish* turbans, and his green camblet cloak, are still to be seen hanging over his tomb at *Prusa*.

Succeeded by his son *Orchan*, who takes *Nicomedia* and reduces *Bythinia*.
Orchan equalled, if not exceeded, his father, in all civil and military accomplishments. The young *Andronicus*, who was now emperor of *Constantinople*, thinking to take advantage of *Othman's* death, invaded *Orchan's* dominions; but was baffled, though, at first, he obtained several advantages. After this, in the year 1331, *Orchan* besieged *Nicomedia*, and reduced it, partly by policy and partly by force. He then became master of all the fortified places of *Bithynia*, excepting *Nice*, having improved the art of engineering far beyond what his father did.

The reader must observe, that this was not done before those places had undergone great variety of fortune; sometimes submitting to the *Greek* emperors, and sometimes to the *Othmans*.

Confederacy against him.

We are likewise told, that many of the other *Mahometan* powers, who had erected sovereignties on the ruins of the *Greek* empire, joined with *Andronicus* against *Orchan*, who appears

appears to have been the most polished of the *Turks* his co- prefers his temporaries. He abolished the *Seljukian* money, and had a brother. mint of his own; he treated his brother *Alladin*, who seems to have been a brave and a worthy subject, with the utmost distinction, by making him general of his armies, or prime-minister. Before this time the *Ozugians*, or, as we now call them, the *Othman Turks*, were no better than robbers; and, notwithstanding all the pains that *Othman* had taken, they knew little of subordination, and were continually in mutinies. *Orchan* therefore instituted a seminary of soldiers for He forms his army, consisting chiefly of young *Christians*, taken from a militia. their parents; to whom, after they had been instructed in the *Mahometan* faith, he gave regular pay; but without hindering such of the *Turks* as were men of property from serving amongst them. To these we may readily believe he gave superior advantages, by assigning them lands for their subsistence in time of peace,

By those wise regulations, he had always at hand a disciplined army, powerful enough to check the mutinous spirit of his *Turkish* militia; so that, at last, he was able to lay siege to *Nice* itself. The siege continued for two years, He takes and, famine and pestilence prevailing within the place, the *Nice*. garrison was obliged to capitulate. His behaviour, on His gene- this occasion, was magnanimous; he gave the inhabitants rous be- leave, not only to retire to *Constantinople*, but to carry with haviour. them all their effects. The inhabitants thought it much more eligible to remain under so generous a conqueror, than to be under the tyranny of so abandoned a court as that of *Constantinople*; they therefore desired leave to withdraw their capitulation, and to remain under the protection of their conqueror; which was granted them. *Orchan*, at the same time, extended his clemency to a degree that, however strange and extravagant it may appear to modern times, perhaps did not appear so to the parties themselves; for, a great number of women bewailing the death of their husbands during the siege, and their own destitute condition, he ordered the chief of his attendants to make wives of them. In short, by his clemency and magnanimity, he soon peopled Effects of *Nice* with *Greek* inhabitants, who fled to his protection from the same, the tyranny and oppressions of their own governments; so that it seemed to vie with the largest cities of the *Greek* empire in populousness.

About the year 1334, *Orchan* made himself master of *Kam-* His far-
luk, after besieging it a year; a place so strong, that *Othman*, ther suc-
after various attempts, deemed it to be impregnable. But cesses, po-
this politic prince did not confine his practice to the arts of licy, and
war alone. He studied to make it the interest of the *Greeks* love of
to submit to his sway. We know little of his private life learning.
or education; but it is highly probable that he had far other
instruction than what he could receive in a camp, or, rather,
a moveable city, of such barbarians as his father commanded;

for such they were, and so they lived. *Orchan*, by his liberality and endowments to learned men, emptied even *Arabia* and *Persia*, those seats of eastern literature, of their men of knowledge. He erected a magnificent mosque, an hospital, and an academy, in the city of *Prusa*; to which all the students in the east, who wanted to be instructed in *Mahometan* learning, resorted.

His conquests.

His conduct, perhaps, in his political capacity, is not quite so defensible; though he appears to have done no more than make reprisals upon robbers. The heads of the *Oguzian* clans, who had been confederated with *Othman*, being far inferior to him and his son, in genius and capacity, had left the dominions of which they had robbed the *Greeks* and the *Seljuks* in a most miserable state, without providing for their defence; so that it was easy for *Orchan*, and his disciplined troops, to reduce them by force, had they refused to submit to persuasion. His sway was so mild, and his subjects so happy, that several princes put themselves and their subjects under his protection; and became, as it were feudatories to him; an institution well known in *Europe* at that time, and not unknown to the *Scythians*, *Tartars*, and the ancestors of the *Oguzian Turks*. Some of those princes, however, had spirit enough to dispute *Orchan's* command. *Turson Beg*, the prince of *Pergamus*, and of several other fine cities and countries, had offered to hold them in vassalage, or fee, of *Orchan*. In this he was opposed by *Hajil*, who, under pretence of compromising matters, stabbed his brother *Turson*, and shut himself up in *Pergamus*, now called *Bergama*, which was besieged by *Orchan*. He had little occasion to employ force, the inhabitants equally respected him as they detested the murderer, whom they delivered up to *Orchan*, and put themselves and their city under his protection. *Hajil Beg* died two years after in prison; and the governor of *Ulabad*, on suspicion of a revolt, was put to death. Such great successes struck terror into the *Greeks*; and, about the year 1338, *Anakhor* and *Emrud*, two sea-port towns, submitted to *Orchan*, upon his threatening to besiege them.

He takes *Pergamus*.

Amir a maritime power.

Amongst the other leaders of the *Augzukan Turks*, was *Aydin*; who, and his son *Amir*, were become sultans of *Karia*, and masters of *Lydia*, *Smyrna*, *Ephesus*, and several other cities of *Iconia*; which being a woody country, and at the same time lying upon the sea, furnished him with timber for building ships; so that this sultan *Amir* became soon a great maritime power. His fleet consisted of no fewer than seventy-five ships, and, crossing the *Egean Sea*, he subdued a great number of places on the sea-coasts of *Samo Thracia*; nor dared *Andronicus*, though he came in person, venture to fight him. Instead of that, he called to his aid *Sarkhan*, the *Turkish* governor of *Phocæa*; who, upon his promise to deliver his son *Solyman*, then in the hands of the *Genoese*, who had made themselves masters of *Phocæa*, furnished him with some troops

troops and shipping; and this seems to have brought about a peace between the emperor *Andronicus* and *Amir*; tho' we are told that the latter was prevailed upon, by the emperor's general *John Kantakazemus*, his old friend, to lend him thirty ships.

We know nothing from the *Turkish* historians, how *Or-Orchan* fits *chan* was employed all this time; he seems, probably, to have out a fleet, been almost at perpetual war with the *Greeks*; and, like his which is neighbours, to have endeavoured to render himself a maritime power: for, in the year 1334, he fitted out a fleet of by the thirty vessels, to make a descent upon *Constantinople*, or its *Greeks* neighbourhood. We are told, however, that all those ships and their crews, excepting as many as filled one ship, were destroyed by the general *Kantakazemus*. A peace soon after followed between *Orchan* and *Andronicus*, by the management of *Kantakazemus*. The latter then had leisure to chastise *Sarkhan*, his master's new ally, who had recommenced his ravages in *Thrace*; and the imperial arms every where prevailed against the *Turks*, who were at war with the emperor; while the dominions of *Orchan* were in a flourishing tranquil state.

Kantakazemus was both the hero and historian of the *Greek History* of empire at this time; and, undoubtedly, was possessed of *Kantakazemus* great virtues. *Andronicus* III. dying, left his son *John*, who was but nine years of age, under the tuition of *Kantakazemus*; but, being hated by the clergy, and *Anne*, the empress-mother, he was by her proscribed; but the army proclaimed him emperor. The faction, however, prevailed so strongly against him, that all his relations were imprisoned, his wife and children were besieged in *Didymothicum*, and he himself was obliged to retire into *Servia*. *Didymothicum* is a strong city of *Thrace*, or *Romania*, lying upon the river *Hebrus*. *Amir*, who was now called the sultan of *Iconia*, and whom we have already mentioned, no sooner heard of the distress of *Kantakazemus*, and his family, than he entered the *Hebrus* with three hundred and eighty vessels, which carried twenty-nine thousand men; and, raising the siege, he behaved towards the emperor, and his family, with a fidelity, and personal affection, of which there are but few instances amongst princes: for, after he had relieved *Didymodicum*, he wept for him. joy on hearing that *Kantakazemus* was safe; and gave God thanks for enabling him to come to his assistance. After this, he rejected all presents and offers made him by the court of *Constantinople*; and, when he joined his troops to those of *Kantakazemus*, he prostrated himself before that emperor as his sovereign; and it was with difficulty he was persuaded to remount his horse.

Kantakazemus being thus reinforced, proceeded victoriously against his enemies: but the intrigues of the court of *Constantinople* prevailed with *Amir's* great officers to oblige him to return to his own dominions. It was with sensible regret he

*Amir re-
turns.*

did this, and not till after he had performed a thousand brave actions, in his own person, to serve *Kantakazemus*. Before he returned, he earnestly advised the empress *Anne* to peace; and promised, in fifteen days, to return with his troops, and to serve *Kantakazemus* till the end of the war. But, when *Amir* landed at *Smyrna*, he found the *Latins* there before him; and it was with great difficulty he prevented that city from falling into their hands.

His wars.

This unforeseen invasion preventing *Amir* from coming so soon as he intended, to assist *Kantakazemus*, that emperor was obliged to apply for auxiliaries to *Orchan*, whose territories were much better situated, for giving him speedy assistance, than those of *Amir* were. *Orchan*, we may now reasonably suppose, was, by far, the most powerful prince of the *Oguzian Turks*; and his territories appear now to have had a long peace. He had been often courted, by the empress *Anne*, to join her son; but he had declined it from prudential motives, and readily entered into a treaty with *Kantakazemus*, who appears, by his assistance, to have got possession of *Constantinople* and the imperial dignity.

*Distress of
Greece.*

The prodigious swarms of *Turks*, however, that filled all *Greece*, the great power they had obtained by sea, and the improvements they had lately made in the arts of war, rendered the imperial dignity a post of both trouble and danger. Luckily for *Kantakazemus*, those barbarians were so divided amongst themselves, that they did not form any very strong body under one head; and, next to *Orchan*, *Amir* seems to have been the most powerful amongst them. He had returned with twenty thousand men to the assistance of *Kantakazemus*, and had done him the greatest services under the most discouraging difficulties. But some differences he had with *Sarkhan*, who was called the sultan of *Lydia*, obliged him to return home to defend his own dominions, which were invaded by a popish patriarch of *Constantinople*, at the head of an *Italian* army. He killed the patriarch before the altar at *Smyrna*, and put to the sword some of his chief followers; but the main body of the *Italians* retired to a fort they had raised in the neighbourhood.

*Adven-
tures of
Amir.*

The great distance in which *Amir's* territories lay from *Constantinople*, rendered *Orchan's* friendship of the greater importance to *Kantakazemus*. The politic *Orchan* was sensible of this, and formally demanded the princess *Theodora*, daughter to the emperor, in marriage. It may, perhaps, be proper to put the reader in mind, that, notwithstanding the vast dismembering and mutations which the *Greek*, or, as some call it with more propriety, the *Roman*, empire had sustained, *Kantakazemus* was still a great prince, not only on account of the territories he possessed, but because the *Greek* emperor was held in veneration by the remotest and most barbarous people in the east. It was a new and unheard-of thing that an infidel, and the son of one who had, but the other day, been

been no more than the captain of a band of lawless robbers and wanderers, should demand in marriage the daughter of a *Greek* emperor.

Notwithstanding the seeming advantage attending the *Orchan* alliance, the pride of *Kantakazemus* appears to have been shocked at the demand. He consulted his general officers upon it, and they understanding that *Orchan*, if his request was granted, had promised him to serve against all his enemies as his son and subject, unanimously advised him to close with *Orchan's* demand. He also applied to his friend *Amir* on the same occasion; who most generously represented the advantages attending *Orchan's* offer, on account of the situation of their mutual territories; and pressed him by all means to agree to the proposal. The answer therefore was favourable to *Orchan's* courtship. A noble escorte, and a strong squadron of *Turkish* ships, were sent to conduct her to her future husband, to whose commissioner she was delivered, by her father and mother, at *Seliverea*, with most extraordinary pomp.

It is not to be imagined, that either pride, disinterestedness, or love, influenced *Orchan* on this occasion. The consequences shew, that he courted this match and alliance, that his officers and troops might have opportunities of becoming acquainted with *Europe*. He behaved afterwards to his father-in-law with great affection, and all matters being accommodated between him and *Paleologus*, *Orchan* paid *Kantakazemus* a formal visit, at *Scutari*, the famous castle lying on the *Bosphorus*, opposite to *Constantinople*. The interview was exceedingly grand, and *Kantakazemus* and *Orchan* sat together at the same table. It does not however appear, that *Orchan* went to *Constantinople*, though his wife did; for he is said to have remained on shipboard. Soon after, *Orchan* sent a body of ten thousand troops to assist *Kantakazemus* in a quarrel, that had arisen between him and the prince, or the kral, of *Servia*. The *Greeks*, on this occasion, had a melancholy specimen of what they were to expect from their new auxiliaries; who indiscriminately plundered and murdered under pretence, that the inhabitants were the emperor's enemies. In short, whenever they had loaded themselves with booty they returned home; and the kral of *Servia* made use of that opportunity to besiege *Thessalonica*. The emperor renewed his demand for assistance, and *Orchan* ordered his son *Solyman* to march at the head of twenty thousand men for that purpose. But *Orchan* appears not to have been in earnest, for after having ravaged the *Greek* territories in *Bulgaria*, he received orders from his father to return; though we know of no enemy he had at that time. Next year however, being 1354, *Orchan* sent an army to assist the *Genoese*, settled at *Gallata*, a suburb of *Constantinople*, then at war with the *Venetians*, who were countenanced by the emperor. His motive for this, besides the capital one we have already

Orchan
assists the
Genoese.

already mentioned, seems to have been avarice; the *Genoese* being very rich, and having promised him vast sums of money; and he sent an army, which encamped opposite to *Constantinople*, to their assistance.

He re-
lieves the
emperor's
son.

Every day now more and more convinced *Kantakazemus* of *Orchan*'s real view, which was no other, than to get footing in *Europe*. Differences again breaking out between *Kantakazemus* and *Paleologus*, *Orchan* sent his son *Solyman* to the relief of *Matthew*, the son and successor of *Kantakazemus*, who was besieged in *Adrianople*. On the other hand, *Paleologus* was assisted by the *Servians*, and the *Bulgarians*; but they were defeated by *Solyman*, who had raised the siege of *Constantinople*. After this, *Paleologus* courted *Solyman*'s

Solyman's
policy,

friendship, but the subtle *Turk* declined entering into any offensive engagements with him, though he promised not to be his enemy. The motive for this caution was soon discerned. For after the great services he had performed for *Kantakazemus*, he seized a great number of places in *Thrace*,

He takes
Zimpe and
other
places;

and particularly the important fortrefs of *Zimpe*. As *Orchan* maintained a great shew of justice and moderation, *Kantakazemus* complained to him of his son's proceeding. *Solyman* appeared upon this occasion, to be a little refractory, and, in collusion with his father, he refused to give up the fort, without having money to pay his troops. *Kantakazemus* accordingly gave him ten thousand crowns of gold; but *Solyman*, instead of fulfilling his agreement, seized upon *Kalipolis*, in *Thrace*, and a great many places upon the sea coast, which had been laid in a manner desolate by an earthquake; and after rebuilding and peopling them, he filled them with

and at last
Kalipolis.

garrisons. The taking of *Kalipolis*, the most important city of the empire next to *Constantinople*, opened the eyes of *Kantakazemus*, as to the true design of the *Ottoman* princes. He complained to *Orchan* of his son's breach of faith, but received no satisfaction but delays and fair promises, though he had an interview with *Orchan* at *Nichomedia*. *Orchan* was then engaged in a war with the *Tartars*, and *Solyman* had taken *Ancyra*, and *Katea*, their two chief cities. Returning from this expedition, a sham agreement was made, between *Orchan* and *Solyman* on the one part, and *Kantakazemus* on the other, for the redelivery of *Kalipolis*, and the other places in *Thrace*: but it was never executed.

A sham
comprom-
ise.

*Kantaka-
zemus* re-
tires to a
monastery.

It is no wonder, if, after this, *Kantakazemus* was out of love with the world. He entered into a treaty with his colleague *Paleologus*, and resigning his part of the empire to his son *Matthew*, he went into a monastery. About this time, some piratical powers of *Old Phocæa*, happened to carry off *Khalil*, one of *Orchan*'s sons; *Paleologus*, who was determined to break with *Matthew*, purchased the young prince's freedom, upon condition that he should not take part with *Matthew* in their quarrel between one another. *Orchan* did not think that this compromise bound him up from assisting

his

his brother-in-law in other matters; for he lent him five *Orchan* thousand troops, in a quarrel he had with the kral of *Servia*'s affix widow, who was immensely rich. But she was supported *Matthew*, by *Paleologus*; and *Matthew*'s auxiliaries, after ruining the country, fled like cowards from the *Servians*, and he being taken prisoner, was forced to renounce all title to the em- who is pire. The account we have given, is the most probable we forced to have, of the first fatal footing the *Turks* obtained in *Europe*. renounce Their own historians have represented it with very romantic the em- circumstances attending it; as if *Solyman*, attended by three pire. general officers, and no more than eighty men, had passed Improbab- on a raft from *Asia* to *Europe*; where under pretence of ble ac- hunting, they made themselves masters of the places in count. question. But this relation is inconsistent with all other histories, by which it appears very plainly, that *Solyman*, long before that, had commanded armies, in those very territories; and could be no stranger to the situation of the principal towns and cities.

About the year 1359, the whole province of *Karipolis*, Successes followed the fate of *Kalipolis*, and came into *Orchan*'s posses- of *Orchan*. sion. Some pretend that the taking of *Kalipolis* did not happen till after *Matthew*'s resignation of the imperial au- thority; but nothing is more plain, than that it was at that time in the hands of the *Othmans*; though it is possible, that he did not assert his claim to it as his own property, during the reigns of his father, and brother-in-law. *Orchan*, *Orchan* fe- after this, exerted himself to the utmost, to secure and en- cures his large his footing in *Europe*. He sent his second son *Morad*, footing in with a strong reinforcement to *Solyman*, who took *Malgara*, *Europe*. *Ihsalam*, and *Epibatos*, which lies in the neighbourhood of *Constantinople*. He then besieged, and, after losing a great number of men, took *Chirli*, by which he cut off the com- munication by land, between *Constantinople* and *Adrianople*. In all those undertakings, *Orchan* was served by three famous His gene- generals, who were commonly called *Ache Beg*, *Gazi Facil*, rals. and *Ormus Beg*, the latter of whom was his favourite; and is said to have been descended from the emperors of *Tribezond*.

Solyman had exercised such cruelties upon the inhabitants Death of when he took *Chirli*, that *Morad* made himself master of *Solyman*, *Pergus*, without a stroke; and then returned to *Asia*. His brother *Solyman* did not long out-live those conquests, for he was soon after killed by a fall from his horse. Though this had a fatal effect upon the health of his father, whose darling he was; yet so intent was *Orchan* upon his *European* con- quests, that he ordered *Ache Beg* to pursue them; and that general is said to have made himself master of *Dydmiothykon*, which we are told, though with no great probability, he ordered to be restored to the *Greek* emperor, at the request of his old friend and father-in-law, *Kantakazemus*. Soon after this he died of heart-break, for the loss of his son; and of when, according to some authorities, he was seventy years of *Orchan*. age,

age, of which he had reigned thirty; though others pretend he was eighty years of age when he died.

Orchan's
character,

If we divest ourselves of that partiality, and those prepossessions, which we are apt to entertain against a prince by birth a barbarian, and by religion a *Mahometan*, we shall have many shining and even amiable qualities to admire in *Orchan*. It appears, from all authorities, that, far from extending his dominions merely by cruelty and force, the people whom he subdued, became his subjects on account of the lenity, and liberty they enjoyed under his government. In him, those liberal arts, that were practised in the east, found a patron and protector; and he seems to have been a proficient in some of them himself. Though, from the numerous religious houses, of all kinds, that he built, he appears to have been a strict *Mahometan*; yet he was so far from offering violence to the religion of his sultana queen, that we learn from her own father, she not only had the free exercise of it, but made a great many converts in her husband's court. It cannot, indeed, be denied, that he long had projected the footing he gained in *Europe*, in prejudice of the *Greek* empire. But ambition was the virtue of his age and country, and *Kantakazemus* himself can be considered as little better than an usurper. *Orchan*, however, managed matters towards him with great decency and moderation, and in all but his favourite point of obtaining a footing in *Europe*, he proved a useful and faithful ally to him, and in such a distracted state, as the *Greek* empire then was, few princes would have acted with so much temper as *Orchan* did. The vast difference between the *Byzantine*, and *Ottoman* histories, in dates and facts, in which both of them are miserably defective, leave us so much in the dark, as to many particulars, that we only mention facts, in which all are agreed, and perhaps, if the chronology of those facts could be ascertained, the reign of *Orchan* might appear in a much more favourable light, than we, consistently with our information, have dared to represent it.

virtues
and mode-
ration.

Succeeded
by his son
Morad, or
Amurat,

his policy

Nothing can give us a higher idea of the wisdom and policy of the first *Othman* sultans, than by reflecting that they left their empires so settled, that, like almost all the others in the east, they were not broke to pieces in a few years, by quarrels and disagreements amongst their descendants. *Morad* mounted the *Othman* throne, and, amongst the first actions of his reign, was his reducing *Adrianople*, by means of *Atebeki*, his generalissimo and first minister. He then extended his conquests in *Thrace*, and brought the whole of his acquisitions in *Europe*, which were called *Rum Eli*, under a regular government. *Ormus* was so successful that the *Sultan Amurat*, for so we shall call him, was able to make an improvement upon his father's military system. For the number of the captives brought into his dominions being very great, *Amurat* appointed commissaries, who chose every fifth of the most robust men amongst them; and many

many thousands being thus set aside, he sent them to *Haij* and instituted *Bektafb*, a religious *Turk*, famous for his sanctity and miracles, desiring him to give them a banner, a name, and his the *Janiblessing*. The saint, in the true eastern spirit, selecting one *series* of them, put the sleeve of his gown upon his head, saying, "Let their name be *Yenghicheri*, let their visages be always bright, their hands be victorious, and their swords keen. Let their lances always hang over the heads of their foes, and wherever they march let them always return with white countenances." Such was the original of the order of the *Yenghicheres*, known to us by the names of *Janisaries*; and who have ever since continued to be the flower of the *Turkish* armies; and to this day the caps they wear upon their heads retain the form of the saint's sleeve.

Amurat soon reaped the benefit of this new military institution. His vast conquests, by many important conquests he made in *Europe*, as well as in *Asia*. He became the arbiter of all the princes, and governors in those parts, who had started out of the ruins of *Jenghiz Khan's* empire; and about the year 1389, his dominions were so much extended, that the *Wallakians*, *Hungarians*, *Servians*, *Bulgarians*, and other *European* nations, entered into a confederacy against him, under the command of *Lazarus*, the prince of *Servia*, who appears to have been a *Christian*. A bloody battle was fought between the two parties on the plain of *Kossovia*, in *Servia*; victory declared for the *Othmans*, but a desperate *Servian* soldier, while *Amurat* was walking over the field of battle, had strength, though wounded, to stagger up to him, and to plunge a concealed dagger in his breast, by which he immediately died. Such and death are all the interesting particulars we can with certainty relate of this great sultan; who, besides many other places *Christian* and countries, added to the empire left him by his father, soldier. *Ancyra*, *Adrianople*, *Felibe*, *Eski*, *Zaghanna*, *Ipsala*, *Malgara*, *Batha*, *Zagara*, and *Gumurjina*, and by marrying his son *Bajazet* to the daughter of the prince of *Phrygia Major*, the *Othmans* acquired *Kutahia*, *Egugoz*, and *Fushanlike*. The city of *Elvadz*, *Emishahr*, *Arsherith*, *Karagais*, and *Seydgshri*, with many others, became their tributaries. *Amurat* likewise Particulars took, but with great difficulty, the two strong castles of of *Amu-Bobria*, and *Kavallah*; with the greatest part of *Albania*, *rat's* conquests. and other territories. We only now know their names, which being *Seljukian*, were commonly those of the different governors who possessed them, and are therefore immaterial. Their situation and boundaries are equally unknown to us, because of the many different hands through which they passed, and their continual wars, by which they were still either losing, or enlarging their territories. We have thought proper to throw the names of the principal places *Amurat* conquered together in this manner; because, though we know he did conquer them, we have no historian to conduct us in the chronology, or order of his actions. He was killed

killed in the seventy-first year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign. *Amurat* is celebrated for his fortitude, abstinence, and modesty, after he came to his sovereignty; and he is said to have been always clothed in soft, or woollen.

He is suc- *Abu Yazid*, whom in compliance with the *European* pro-
ceeded by nunciation, we shall call *Bajazet*, succeeded his father, who,
his son according to the *Greek* writers, had put out the eyes of his
Bajazet, eldest son *Sawy*, for conspiring against him. *Bajazet* had a
younger brother called *Yakub*, who attempting to make some
His cruel- disturbances upon his succession to the throne, was by his
ty, and orders strangled, and *Lazarus*, the prince of *Servia*, who
conquests, had been taken prisoner, was put to death, though some
say he fell in the battle. *Bajazet*'s first exploits were against
the *Servians*, whom he subdued. After that he conquered
all *Iconia*, and banished *Yesse*, the son of *Atin*, to *Nice*. The
prince of *Phrygia Major*, as we have seen, was his father-in-
law, but that did not protect him from *Bajazet*'s ambition;
which stript him of his capital *Kotiakum*, and all his king-
dom; and then sent him a prisoner to *Ipsala*. His name was
Karmian Ogli. The prince of *Karimania*, who was brother-
in-law to *Bajazet*, by marrying his sister, to avoid the like
fate, made war upon *Bajazet*'s enemies the *Moldavians*;
whose country he ravaged; and at first defeated *Stephen*, the
prince of it, a man of extraordinary spirit and valour. For
being obliged to fly to *Nemps* after his defeat, his mother,
who commanded the garrison there, refused him admittance,
saying, that she would see him dead, rather than he should
owe his safety to a woman. *Stephen*, ashamed, retires, and
getting together twelve thousand of his subjects, he attacked
and routed the *Karimanian* army. *Bajazet* was then upon
his march to take *Jessi*, the capital of *Moldavia*, but *Stephen*
pursuing his good fortune, gave him a total defeat, and
obliged the mighty *Bajazet* to fly, almost unattended, to
Adrianople.

but is de- but is de-
feated by feated by
Stephen, *Stephen*,
He re- He re-

duces Ka- The prince of *Karimania*, who had great subjects of com-
ramania. plaint against *Bajazet*, upon this, attacked his *Asiatic* domi-
nions. But *Bajazet*, whose epithet was *Ildarim*, or the like
name, for his incredible activity, while every one thought
his affairs ruined, got together an army, defeated the *Kari-
manian*, and put him to death; by which all *Karimania* was
reduced. After this, *Bajazet* passing into *Europe*, took several
forts and towns upon the *Danube*; and returning to *Asia*,
Kadi Burhan, the prince of *Kesaria*, besides many other fine
cities and territories, surrendered to him the important city
of *Scives*, or *Sebastia*; and continued ever after *Bajazet*'s
faithful friend and servant. After this, he became master of
a vast number of important places and countries; but un-
fortunately the *Turks* and *Greeks*,¹ having different names,
sometimes three or four for the same places and provinces,
modern authors have been led into vast confusion and un-
certainty upon that account. We are told that he seized
Karia,

Confusion
of histo-
rians.

Karia, and *Lyca*, and that *Kedar*, the prince of *Lydia* and *Jolia*, submitting to him, *Bajazet* gave him his daughter in marriage, but soon after had him dispatched by poison. He then reduced *Philadelfia*, and returning to *Europe*, he repaired and fortified, in a very strong manner, *Kalipolis*.

While *Bajazet* was in *Europe*, his provinces in *Asia Minor* *Bajazet* were attacked and laid waste by *Kutrum*, who is called the subdued prince of *Kastamoni*; *Bajazet*, with his usual celerity, repassed *Kastamoni*, the Straits with his army, and *Kutrum* happening to die, *Iffindar Beg*, upon his making his submissions to *Bajazet*, took possession of all his towns and territories. Notwithstanding all the confusion that we find in *Bajazet*'s history, it seems to be pretty certain, that, about the year 1391, he was master of all *Bythynia*, *Phrygia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Karia*; and carried his arms into *Pamphilia*. The affairs of the *Greek* empire were then in terrible disorder. The emperor *John* Paleologus, and other princes of his family, had by their ambassadors, and in their own persons, endeavoured to rouse the *Christian* princes on the continent of *Europe* to a sense of their danger, from the growing power of the *Othmans*, but more especially the insatiable ambition of *Bajazet*. The popes, the *Venetians*, and some other trading powers, had sometimes assisted the emperors with money, but it was so miserably misemployed, that they shut up all the *Greek* empire in a manner within the walls of *Constantinople*, which *Bajazet* earnestly wished to become master of. With this view he built greater naval armaments than the *Othmans*, or any *Turkish* nation had ever seen before; and to take raised a city to cut off the communication between *Europe* and *Asia*. This city lies at *Bogaz Geiheid*, or the Passage of the Straits, and is situated between the *Propontis*, and the mountains of *Nicea*, from whence the people of *Constantinople* used to draw their materials for ship-building. Those precautions being taken, *Bajazet* marched and encamped his army under the very walls of *Constantinople*, and prepared to besiege it.

But the *Greek* emperor *John*, though thus reduced, was still very powerful within the walls of his capital. Many of that of his subjects, especially those who had settled there for the sake of commerce, were immensely rich; and it was not the interest of the powers of *Europe*, that they should be plundered by *Othman Turks*. Add to this, that the place was well fortified, and the garrison, as well as the inhabitants, who were incredibly numerous, was very strong, and while the *European* powers were masters of the sea, as they were, *Bajazet* could have no prospect of being able to reduce the place by famine. The *Othman*, however, seemed to be insensible to all those considerations, and to be determined to proceed in the siege. It was with difficulty he was diverted from this resolution, by his first minister, who advised to set on foot a treaty with the governor, as they haughtily called

called the emperor of *Constantinople*. *John* had no power to dispute the terms proposed, or rather prescribed, by *Bajazet*. They were, that *John* should pay an annual tribute to *Bajazet*; that *Mahometans* should be allowed places of worship, a hall of judgement, and a kadi or magistrate of their own in *Constantinople*, and that *Manuel*, the emperor's son, should, with one hundred followers, attend *Bajazet* in an expedition he was just about to enter upon, against the *Turks* of *Pamphilia*; all which terms *John* agreed to.

Bajazet accordingly marched into *Pamphilia*, which war being successfully finished, he returned to *Europe*; but was alarmed when he saw that the *Greek* emperor, during his absence, had made a vast number of additional fortifications to his capital. *Bajazet's* fleet, in the mean time, had burnt the city of *Kibo*, and had ravaged the isles of the *Archipelago*, and had endeavoured to cut off the communication between *Europe* and *Asia*; which indicated that he was resolved, at all events, to attempt the conquest of *Constantinople*. He summoned *John* to demolish the additional fortifications he had made, threatening, that if he did not, he would order the eyes of his son *Manuel* to be plucked out. Such repeated misfortunes and indignities broke the heart of *John*, and *Manuel* had the good fortune to avoid the fate intended him, by escaping from *Persia* to *Constantinople*; where he took possession of the imperial throne. His escape highly exasperated *Bajazet*, and, after sending *Manuel* many insolent messages, he returned once more into *Thrace*, which he filled with his ravages, and took *Thessalonica*. After that, he sent *Tarkan*, one of his generals, to lay the country waste about the *Euxine Sea*, while another of his barbarians, *Abra-nesus*, falling into the *Morea*, ravaged *Abaya*, and *Lacedemon*. Thus the once populous and flourishing states of *Athens*, *Sparta*, and the other cities of *Greece*, the seats of liberty, literature, of all that was noble, and of all that was polite; states that checked the invasions of *Xerxes*, at the head of about a million of men, were abandoned to the ravages of brutal *Turks*; and by what appears from history, were obliged to submit without striking a stroke. *Bajazet* then, with his own army, formed the blockade of *Constantinople* in such a manner, both by sea and land, that the inhabitants not receiving their usual supplies from *Europe*, were in danger of soon being in want of all the necessaries of life.

Manuel found means to let the pope, and the other princes of *Europe*, know the dreadful situation he was in; and a kind of crusade, at the head of which was *Sigismund*, king of *Hungary*, immediately took place. The *Christian* army consisted of one hundred and thirty thousand *European* troops, chiefly *English*, or subjects to the king of *England*, *French*, *Italians*, *Germans*, and *Hungarians*; and, having rendezvoused in *Hungary*, they laid siege to *Nicopolis*. The count of *Nevers*, afterwards duke of *Burgundy*, commanded under *Sigismund*;

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Sigismund; and, at first, the *Christians* retook several places, and obtained many advantages against the *Turks*.

Bajazet having intelligence of those proceedings, resolved to put the fate of his empire upon checking *Sigismund*; and therefore calling in his parties and armies, raised the blockade or, as others call it, the siege of *Constantinople*; and, after burning all his scaling-ladders, and other machines, marched with the whole towards *Nicopolis*. *Sigismund* was but a young man and covetous of glory; he turned the siege of *Nicopolis* into a blockade, and marched, with the main body of his army, against *Bajazet*.

This was what the *Othman* most wanted, for he was afraid that the *Christians*, having secured their retreat over the *Danube*, would have forced him to attack them in their intrenchments. Understanding that *Sigismund* approached, he divided his army into two bodies: the foremost was commanded by his generals; and the latter, which was placed so as to be concealed from the sight of the *Christians*, and consisted of his janisaries, and the best troops he had, was commanded by him himself. The *Christians* thought that the whole of *Bajazet's* army consisted of his first division, and the *French* begged for the honour of beginning the attack. As usual, they did it with such an impetuosity, that they bore down all before them; and they were seconded by *Germans*, *Flemings*, and other nations, till, continuing their pursuit too far, *Bajazet* and his janisaries separated the rear from their van, and began a most amazing slaughter, very little quarter being given. The *French*, who were the most forward, were all cut in pieces, excepting the count of *Nevers*, and a few principal officers, who were made prisoners, and spared by the tyrant, on account of the great ransoms they were afterwards obliged to pay. As to the rear, they were either cut in pieces or pushed into the *Danube*, where they perished; while *Sigismund*, who had not borne his command with much equanimity, was fortunate enough to repass the *Danube* in a pitiful yawl.

He defeats the *Christians* in a bloody battle.

Bajazet, after this great victory, resumed his operations against *Constantinople*; but he found it in a more formidable state than it was in when he left it; and perceived that he could not reduce it without a vast expence of blood. He had in his army a prince of the *Paleologue* family, named *John*. He was the son of *Andronicus*, *Manuel's* elder brother; so that, in fact, he was the lawful heir of the *Greek* empire. *Bajazet* made this prince his tool, and sent a public message, offering to desist from hostilities, if *Manuel* would yield his throne to the lawful heir. At the same time, he promised *John* great advantages, if, as soon as he was possessed of *Constantinople*, he would resign it to him. *John* seemed to agree to this proposal very readily, and dissembled so effectually, that *Bajazet* left him with the command of ten thousand *Turks*, and drew off his main body to a great distance from the city.

He renews the siege of *Constantinople*.

but is out-
witted in
his design
to become
master of
it.

The *Constantinopolitans*, ever wavering, shewed such dispositions to embrace *Bajazet's* proposal, that *Manuel* could not resist them. He entered into treaty with *John*, and, resigning to him the empire, he had liberty to set sail, with his family and effects, on board the galleys that were in the harbour, for *Europe*. *John*, upon this, took quiet possession of *Constantinople*; but *Bajazet*, who had promised to make him king of *Morea*, was amazed when he refused to give up *Constantinople*. *Bajazet*, at that time, however, was in no condition to force him; but, in lieu of *Constantinople*, was obliged to accept of *Salivrea*, the only other town that remained to the *Paleologue* family.

The cause of this moderation in *Bajazet* was the irruption of *Tamerlan* (of which and its motives we have given an ample account) into his dominions. Some authors, not without great probability, say that *Tamerlan* was implored, by letters from the *Greek* emperor, to come to his relief. Be this as it will, it is certain that *Tamerlan's* ambition, and the growing greatness of *Bajazet*, were more than sufficient for impelling him to make war upon the *Othman*; for, though *Bajazet* was a *Mahometan*, yet, when his avarice or interest were concerned, he made no difference in religions, but treated all with equal rapaciousness and cruelty.

Bajazet
attacked,
defeated,
and taken
prisoner
by *Tamer-*
lan.

The reader, in the former part of this history, hath seen the event of the war between *Tamerlan* and *Bajazet*, and of the battle of *Ancyra*, in which *Bajazet* was defeated and taken prisoner. We shall therefore only mention that a body of *European* troops in *Bajazet's* army were composed of *Servians*, and are reported to have been commanded by an *European*, by some called *Pasir Laus*, and by others *Stephen*. He is said to have been the son of *Lazarus*, prince of *Servia*, who was killed in, or after, the battle of *Kassova*. His sister had been married, as *European* authors pretend, to *Bajazet*, who allowed *Stephen*, in consideration of her being distractedly fond of him, to keep part of his dominions. She retained the exercise of the *Christian* religion in her own apartments; and had so much influence over *Bajazet*, that she prevailed upon him to drink wine, and to indulge himself in luxuries, to which the princes of the house of *Othman* had always been strangers.

After the battle, this princess fell into the hands of *Tamerlan*, who is said to have been touched with her charms; but finding she was averse to changing her religion, sent her to *Bajazet*. When we consider, however, who this princess was, and to whom she was married, we can have no exalted opinion either of her religion or delicacy. I have, in another place, given my reasons for believing that the story of *Tamerlan's* shutting up *Bajazet* in an iron cage, is not such a fiction as some modern writers seem to imagine. There is reason, it is true, for believing that he afterwards released him from

that shameful confinement, and treated him with uncommon generosity.

Bajazet is said to have died at *Egridur*, on the twenty-third of *March*, 1403. But authors neither agree as to the place or manner of his death; some say that it happened by poison, and others by a fit of an apoplexy; while a third kind say that he dashed his brains out against the grates of his iron cage.

We know little of his character but by his actions; and wherein an amazing quickness of thought, and rapidity in execution, appear to have subdued all his enemies till he was himself subdued by a conqueror, who, in power, as well as in experience and policy, far exceeded himself, and, at least, equalled him in courage. He is said to have been very fond of architecture and works of magnificence, many of which he erected; and to have been implacable in his fits of passion. He died in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign.

The History of the Othman Turks, from the Reign of Bajazet, in the year 1403, to the taking of Constantinople, in 1462.

BAYAZET, according to the best authorities, lost his eldest son, *Mustapha*, in the battle of *Ancyra*; but left behind him three others, whose names were *Solyman*, *Musa*, and *Mohammed*; all of whom tasted of empire, though the youngest was the only one who lived to possess his father's undivided territories. Happily for the *Othman* line, *Tamerlan's* more important concerns in other parts of his vast dominions, did not admit of his taking time to secure the conquest of *Bajazet's* countries, either for himself or his posterity. *Bajazet's* eldest son, whose fir-name was *Chelebi*, or *the gentle*, a common epithet, in those days, to the sons of sultans, escaped from the battle of *Ancyra* time enough there to secure his father's treasures, and the allegiance of the *European* army, by whom he was saluted emperor.

We are told, however, that the emperor *Manuel*, who had, for some time, been in exile in *Europe*, upon *Bajazet's* death, recovered his empire of *Constantinople*; and was applied to for assistance by *Solyman*, who made him great concessions of dominion upon *Manuel* promising him his protection and assistance; and, that *Solyman* proposed to reserve to himself, of all the territories his father had conquered from the *Greek* emperor, only the sovereignty of *Thrace*. This seems to agree ill with what we are told by other authors, as if *Manuel* had acknowledged *Tamerlan* his superior; nay, that *Solyman* himself had made his submissions to the conqueror.

Opposed
by his
brother
Musa.

But those inconsistencies are frequent in the histories of princes of the *Greek* and *Turkish* dynasties. It is probable that *Solyman*, finding *Tamerlan* was obliged to leave those parts, behaved to him with some haughtiness; and that *Tamerlan*, on that account, bestowed on his brother *Musa* the investiture of all his father's, *Bajazet's*, dominions; telling him, that he loved power less than he did a noble mind. *Tamerlan*, at the same time, restored to their dominions all the petty princes whom *Bajazet* had dispossessed; which, upon his departure, made those countries so many scenes of blood and ruin; but this does not fall within our plan to recount. Some were favoured by *Solyman*, who is likewise called *Musulman*, and some by his brother *Musa*.

Character
of *Solyman*

Solyman was brave, and a good soldier; but debauched and luxurious; and, finding out *Tamerlan's* partiality to his brother *Musa*, who resided at *Prusa*, he advanced against him at the head of his *European* army. *Musa* fled before him; and *Solyman* took possession of *Prusa*, where he plunged himself into all manner of pleasures. At this time, his brother *Musa*, being refused shelter by all the neighbouring princes, who stood in awe of *Solyman*, crossed the *Hellepont*, and fled even as far as *Wallakia*. Here he was joined by a number of soldiers of fortune, or rather free-booters, who enlisted under him in hopes of sharing the spoils of his brother's empire. As to *Solyman*, he still continued his revels and debauches at *Prusa*; while his brother made himself master of *Adrianople*, in the year 1406.

He defeats
Musa,

But *Solyman*, who, when sober, was one of the bravest and most accomplished princes of the age, shaking off his vices, assembled his army, and, advancing towards *Adrianople*, he obliged his brother once more to fly to *Wallakia*. His retreat proved fatal to *Solyman*, who, plunging himself once more into pleasures, forgot that he was either a king or a man; and suffered the affairs of his empire to go to ruin. His thoughtless dissipation, and neglect of every thing relating to government, notwithstanding all his amiable qualities, disgusted his chief officers and ministers so much, that they entered into a correspondence with *Musa*, who, favoured by them, assembled an army and surprized *Adrianople*, where *Solyman* was. He had but just time to escape from thence at the head of a few horsemen, and directed his flight to *Constantinople*; but he was killed upon the road; some say during a debauch that he made; and others, by the hands of three brothers, to revenge other two of their brothers, whom he had unadvisedly killed: and by this *Musa* became possessed of *Adrianople* and all the dominions of *Solyman*, who, though he reigned near three years, is not reckoned amongst the *Othman* sultans.

Musa de-
feats the
*Hungari-
ans*.

Bajazet's empire had now two competitors for it. *Musa*, who reigned at *Adrianople*; and *Mohammed*, who was possessed of *Amasia*, and several other territories in *Asia*. The latter

latter, having chastised some robbing *Tartars*, prepared to march against *Musa*; who, terrified at his approach, offered to resign to him his pretensions upon all their father's *Asiatic* territories; and, as a proof of his sincerity, he made war upon the *Christians*, and invaded the territories of *Sigismund*, the king of *Hungary*, whom he defeated in a terrible battle near the city of *Samandria*, almost upon the banks of the *Danube*. This victory, however, and many other advantages he obtained, was, by the *Turks*, ascribed to his generals *Korshah Muluk* and the famous *Ormus Beg*.

Musa himself was gentle, generous, and a lover of justice and moderation; qualities which those barbarians construed into effeminacy and cowardice. *Mohammed*, therefore, being, in their eyes, a more active prince, the two generals above mentioned, with other principal officers of *Musa's* army, invited him to take possession of the whole of the *Ottoman* empire; which, they said, must be ruined if it continued to be divided. *Mohammed* took their advice, and *Musa* was obliged to fly to *Servia*; where that prince furnished him with the means of repossessing himself of *Adrianople*, which he did, *Mohammed* being obliged, by the advanced season of the year, to return to *Prusa*.

Musa, ignorant, perhaps, of the treachery of his two generals, or from a principle of clemency, pardoned them both, though they fell into his hands upon his retaking *Adrianople*; and both of them repeated their treasons, by again inviting *Mohammed* into *Europe*. According to the *Greek* Accounts historians, *Musa*, upon this occasion, shewed himself a true of the *Turk*, and fell upon the cities and countries that had been *Greek* ceded by *Solyman* to *Manuel*; and, after committing prodigious ravages, he, at last, besieged *Constantinople* itself. Upon this, *Manuel* invited *Mohammed*, who, by *Musa's* successes, seems, at this time, to have dropped his pretensions to his *European* dominions, to his assistance. *Mohammed* and his army, accordingly, by the favour of *Manuel*, who promised him all his assistance for making him sole sultan of the *Othmans*, threw themselves into *Constantinople*; where they made a vigorous defence, but were defeated in two sallies. Upon this he proposed to the emperor to make a diversion, *Mohammed* and to pass the *Propontis*; which *Manuel* agreeing to, the *med* joins proposal had the desired effect; for *Mohammed* landing in *Manuel, Europe*, divided his army into two bodies; one of which marched towards the *Euxine Sea*, the other towards *Adrianople*. *Musa* pursued them; but, his troops being corrupted and kills by the treachery of his generals, who had once more gone his brother over to *Mohammed*, he was deserted by them, and slain by a ther. private man, whom *Mohammed* afterwards made a great general.

The *Turkish* historians, however, speak nothing of *Musa's* besieging *Constantinople*; but say that he was taken prisoner

by one of his brother's soldiers, and, by his order, put to death. But the former account, which is given by *Dukas*, the *Greek* historian, who was upon the spot at the time, is, by far, the most probable.

Mohammed sole sultan.

Mohammed was now without a competitor, and proclaimed sole sultan of the *Othmans* at *Adrianople*. His first warlike achievement was to humble the prince of *Karamania*, called *Karaman Oglı*; whom, after twice rebelling, he generously pardoned, but took from him some of his strong places. He next marched against *Iffindar*, the prince of *Kastamoni*, whom he defeated and killed, and seized upon his treasures and dominions.

As *Karaman Oglı* had surprized, plundered, and demolished the city of *Prusa*, *Mahammed* rebuilt it. But that sultan's memory is valuable for nothing so much as the fidelity with which he fulfilled his engagements to the emperor *Manuel*; to whom, for the assistance he afforded him against *Musa*, he had promised him the places that had been taken from the *Greeks*, on the *Euxine Sea*, the *Propontis*, and in *Thessalia*; all which he faithfully restored upon *Manuel's* requisition. He told the *Greek* ambassadors, at the same time, that he considered *Manuel* as his father, and that he should be ever obedient to his will and direction. About this time, he also received ambassadors from the princes of *Greece*, with all whom he made peace, and wished that the God of peace might punish the party by whom it was violated.

The *Greek* empire, through the good faith of *Mohammed*, began now to raise its head; and that prince saw it without jealousy; for, after *Manuel* had successfully finished an expedition he had undertaken into *Morea*, he and the sultan had an interview together at *Kallipoli*; and *Mohammed* even dined on board one of the emperor's galleys.

Rebellion of *Chuneid* by the sultan. One *Chuneid*, whom *Solyman* had made governor of *Bulgaria*, had surprized *Ephesus*, *Smyrna*, and *Thyra*; and, in all those places, had been guilty of great cruelties. *Mohammed* went at the head of an army to reduce him; and, in this expedition, he was assisted by the princes of *Phoea*, the *Higher Phrygia*, *Karia*, *Lesbos*, *Chio*, and even the great master of *Rhodes*. The latter prince had had some footing in *Smyrna* during the usurpation of *Chuneid*, and had almost compleated a fort there. *Smyrna* being besieged and taken by *Mohammed*, with the assistance of those princes, the sultan gave orders for demolishing the grand-master's fort. The latter resented this proceeding so far as even to make reprisals at sea; but *Mohammed*, with great moderation, represented to him the necessity of demolishing that fort, which was a perpetual bone of contention between the *Turks* and *Christians*; till, at last, he pacified him, by giving him leave to build another fort upon the confines of *Karia* and *Lycia*.

The design of building such forts is not extremely creditable, they being intended, and maintained, as places of refuge

fuge for runagate slaves, who were called “The freed of *St. Peter*,” from the name of the fort.

Mohammed behaved with equal moderation and justice to His mo- all the other princes who served in his army, many of whom deration. were *Christians*, and all of them were charmed with his mildness and affability. We may place those transactions about the year 1417.

Chuneid, finding himself unable to resist, submitted to, His fleet and was pardoned by, *Mohammed*, who sent a fleet to chaf- entirely tise a prince called the duke of *Naxos*. This duke was an defeated ally to the *Venetians*, and lord of several other islands in the by the *Archipelago*; but had neglected to recognize the supremacy *Venetians*. which the house of *Othman* claimed over those islands. The fleet fitted out against him by *Mohammed* consisted of thirty gallies, all of which were destroyed, and their crews put to the sword, by the duke's allies the *Venetians*, who were then extremely powerful by sea. After this, the *Venetians* bombarded and ruined the tower of *Lampsacus*, and then sailed to *Constantinople*, where they were received by *Manuel*, who seems to have made but very indifferent returns for *Mohammed*'s kindness to him.

Thessalonica was one of the cities which had been ceded to History of *Manuel* by the house of *Othman*, and had, ever since he came *Mustapha*, into possession of it, been an eye-sore to *Mohammed*'s subjects. pretended *Mustapha*, the eldest son of *Bajazet*, was slain in the battle or real son of *Ancyra*, but his body never had been found. According of *Bajazet*. to *Dukas*, the same *Bajazet* had a fourth son, whose name likewise was *Mustapha*, and who, on account of his tender age, had been left at home when that battle was fought. In the year 1419, *Mohammed*, understanding that *Karaman Ogl*i had been guilty of new excesses, and had even been barbarous enough to burn the body of his father *Bajazet*, marched with his army into *Asia*, where he took the city of *Kogni*, or *Iconium*, which belonged to *Karaman*, and laid his other dominions waste with fire and sword.

Upon his return to *Adrianople* from this expedition, he was alarmed with an account that one, pretending to be *Mustapha*, one of *Bajazet*'s sons, was in arms in *Wallakia*. *Mohammed* had made *Chuneid* governor of *Nicopolis*, and, knowing his treachery, suspected him to be the author of the imposture, and ordered his head to be struck off. *Chuneid*, however, evaded the blow, joined *Mustapha*, raised a great army of *Turks* and *Wallakians*, and, falling upon *Thessalia*, they destroyed *Zagara*, and even laid siege to *Nicera*, if we may believe the *Turkish* historians. *Mohammed* was alarmed at the progress of the impostor, who, by the above-mentioned historians, is said to have been the domestic of a petty prince; and, marching with an army to oppose him, the rebels were defeated. But *Chuneid* was pursued and admitted into *Thessalonica*, by *Demetrius Lascaris*, *Manuel*'s go- verner

vernor of that city. *Mohammed* demanded that the traitor should be given up to him; but readily agreed to wait till *Lascharis* could know the emperor's own sentiments on that head.

He is
made pri-
soner.

By the manner in which those princes proceeded, it is more than probable that he who is called the pretended *Mustapha*, was a real son of *Bajazet*, and known to be such both by *Manuel* and *Mohammed*. *Manuel* refused to deliver him up, but offered to keep him and *Chuneid* prisoners all their lives, upon the emperor's paying him three hundred thousand aspers a year for their maintainance. What is still more remarkable, *Manuel* was to have the entire disposal of them after the sultan's death; and was at liberty to act as his successor should deserve. This insurrection, however, drew *Mohammed's* arms into *Wallakia*; where he took so many places, and built so many forts, that the country consented to pay a tribute and to give him hostages.

Mohammed in-
vades
Wallakia.

A remark-
able reli-
gious im-
postor

An impostor of a different kind caused likewise considerable trouble to *Manuel*. His name was *Prekligia*, by birth a peasant, but a prophet by profession. This impostor preached up a religion somewhat like the *Christian*, for he affected to be of that profession, in some points, but extravagant in others. It consisted in a kind of levelling principle, for he recommended an equality and community in all things but in women. His dress was modest and simple; and he preached up poverty to his disciples. He appeared in a place opposite to the isle of *Chio*, near the *Stilarian* mountains, at the mouth of the *Ionian Gulph*. Being assisted in his impostures by an old *Greek* monk of *Kandia*, who pretended that *Prekligia* could walk upon the sea, he obtained so great credit, that his followers defeated, with great slaughter, in two different battles, *Mohammed's* two governors of *Iconia* and *Lydia*.

defeats the
Othman
generals,

but is
himself
defeated
and put
to death.

Upon this, *Mohammed* put his son *Amurat* at the head of an army, which was commanded, under him, by *Bajazet*, his favourite minister, who, with great difficulty, forced the fastnesses of the one coated men; so called from their imitating the dress of their prophet, and put them all to the sword. It is remarkable, that none of those wretches, at their death, could be prevailed on to abjure their profession; their leader was nailed to a cross, and carried through the streets of *Ephesus*, after suffering the greatest torments; and, after his death, his infatuated followers believed he would come again to life.

According to the order of time, this rebellion must have been suppressed six years before the death of *Mohammed*; for *Amurat*, his son, who commanded, was no more than twelve years of age. In his return through *Asia* and *Lydia*, *Bajazet* was so apprehensive of the effects of *Prekligia's* doctrine, that he put to the sword all the *Turkish* monks who professed it.

As

As to *Amurat*, though so young, his father was so well satisfied with his conduct and capacity, that he made him governor of *Amasia*, but put about him able counsellors.

The rest of *Mohammed's* reign was employed in regulating the affairs of his government. But, amongst the last actions of his life, was his reducing *Old Kalipolis*, *Tarkii*, and *Herg-Mohammed*. *Mohammed*, upon his return from that expedition, was seized with a disorder, by some said to have been the apoplexy, by others a flux, which afterwards proved mortal. His eldest son, *Amurat*, was, at that time, at the head of an army in *Thrace*, and at a vast distance. *Mohammed*, finding his end approaching, was sensible of the great importance of keeping his death a secret till the arrival of his eldest son; and he gave a strict charge to his two vizirs, *Bajazet* and *Ibrahim*, for that purpose.

The *Greek* historian, *Dukas*, tells us, that he recommended the care of his two younger sons (one of them eight, the other only seven, years of age) to *Manuel*, the *Greek* emperor, from a political as well as a natural reason; for he thought, that, besides thereby securing his children's lives from the jealousy of their elder brother, *Amurat* must be kept within the bounds of moderation by their being alive. He died in the forty-seventh year of his age, after having reigned a sole sultan almost nine years. The time of his death is fixed to the year 1421.

Tho' the reign of an *Ottoman* sultan is become almost another word for tyranny, cruelty, and perfidy, yet the history of few nations in *Europe* can match a prince endued with such sentiments of justice, friendship, and moderation, as *Mohammed* appears to have been. He mounted the throne of *Ottoman* at a time when the smallest efforts of confederacy amongst the *Christians* must have driven the *Turks* out of *Europe*, and have even recovered the *Greek* empire in *Asia*. *Mohammed* was sensible of that, and took care betimes to make *Manuel* his friend. *Manuel*, on the other hand, perceived it to be far more his interest to lie under obligations to *Mohammed*. Thus both princes, in fact, acted upon motives of interest as well as justice. *Mohammed* knew that he never could be much affected by the *Christian* powers, while *Manuel* was his friend; but we have scarcely, perhaps, in history, a parallel of such inviolable faith, honour, and confidence, as *Mohammed* shewed towards *Manuel*, notwithstanding all the provocations given him by the latter. His justice and gratitude is equally conspicuous in other respects.

Upon the death of his father, and the divisions between his two elder brothers, he was eagerly sought for by *Tamerlan's* orders. He was attended by a slave named *Bajazet*, and he fled to the mountains of *Galatia*, where he underwent such inexpressible miseries, that his feet being swelled, he must either have perished or been taken, had not *Bajazet* for several days carried him upon his back, and exposed himself

Fidelity of
a slave.

self to the extremity of misery for the prince's support, even to begging bread for him, habited like a religious person. After *Mohammed* came to the *Othman* throne he was so grateful for the services of his faithful slave, that he raised him to the highest post of the empire, for he and *Ibrahim* divided the prime vizership between them.

Mohammed's
death con-
cealed.

It was of great importance for those two ministers to conceal the death of *Mohammed* till his successor could arrive. In this they were assisted by the ceremonies of the *Turkish* court, which permits no subject but the vizers, or such as they appoint, to approach the person of the sultan. By those means, it is said they concealed *Mohammed's* death from all but his physicians for forty-one days.

The Reign of Amurat, or Morad the Second.

Bajazet's
son alive.

Manuel
protects
him.

His pro-
gress.
He gains
a victory
over the
sultan's
army.

NOTwithstanding all that has been said by the *Turkish* historians in honour of the *Othman* succession, it seems to be pretty certain that *Mustapha*, the eldest son of *Bajazet* was alive at the time of *Amurat's* accession. He had been protected, as has been already observed, by the *Greek* emperor *Manuel*; and he seems even to have reigned over part of the *Othman* dominions. His claim of blood rendered him a useful ally to *Manuel*. *Amurat* having buried his father at *Prusa*, received a message from *Manuel*, demanding that his two younger brothers should be sent to *Constantinople* in pursuance of the late sultan's will. But the vizier *Bajazet*, by *Amurat's* orders, flatly refused to suffer the *Othman* princes to be educated amongst *Christians* or infidels. Upon this, *Manuel* entered into a treaty with *Mustapha*, who granted him his own terms, and gave his son as an hostage for the performance. *Mustapha* was declared governor of *Thrace*, and he and *Chuneid*, (who still attended him) took possession of *Kallipolis*, and made themselves masters of the adjacent country. After this, he marched towards *Kariopolis*, but *Amurat* sent *Bajazet* against him, with an army of thirty thousand men. *Mustapha*, whose claim of blood seems to have been undoubted, by shewing himself to the enemy, and harranguing them from an eminence, persuaded a great part of *Bajazet's* troops to join him, and *Bajazet*, and his brother *Kamzas*, followed their examples and made their submission; but *Bajazet* was put to death by the instigation of *Chuneid*, whose son-in-law *Bajazet* formerly ordered to be castrated. It appears from the *Turkish* historians, that *Bajazet* had become extremely unpopular at the *Othman* court, and that the other great ministers sent him on this expedition to ruin him, which it effectually did. After this, *Mustapha* marched to *Adrianople*, which he entered without resistance.

It had been agreed between *Mustapha* and *Manuel*, whose great view was to restore the antient majesty of the Greek empire, on the ruins of the *Othman*, that *Kallipolis* should be restored to the *Greeks*. *Demetrius Leontarius*, *Manuel's* admiral and general, was by the emperor appointed to take possession of the place, when both *Mustapha* and *Chuneid* refused to deliver it up, the former smoothly, the other contumaciously. *Demetrius* upbraided *Mustapha* with ingratitude, and the crimes of his family. This however, was all the satisfaction he could obtain, and he carried his squadron back to *Constantinople*. *Manuel's* views did not suffer him to put up with this disappointment. He offered, if *Amurat* would give up *Kallipolis*, and resign his father's will, directly to assist him against *Mustapha*, who was now in quiet possession of *Adrianople*, where he found immense treasures, which he expended in pleasure and indolence. *Amurat*, though voluptuous, refused to agree to *Manuel's* terms; but he sent *Ibrahim*, his first minister, to treat with the emperor, and to offer him any other terms he should demand. *Amurat*, at the same time, entered into a treaty for some *European* shipping to transport his forces to *Europe*. *Cineis* or *Chuneid*, who had hitherto continued faithful to *Mustapha*, reproached that prince with the inglorious life he led, and, with difficulty, persuaded him to take the field, and endeavour to pass the *Straits*. But *Amurat* had already taken possession of the most important passes; particularly of the bridge of *Lopadion*, by which the progress of *Mustapha* was stopped. *Mustapha* at this time, seems to have been in actual possession of all the *Othman* empire in *Europe*, as *Amurat* was of that in *Asia*, which was far more extensive and populous. *Mustapha's* progress being stopped, *Amurat's* army increased every day. The bridge of *Lopadion* had been broken down, and the two armies were incamped on the opposite sides of a great morass. *Hamza*, the brother of *Cineis*, was one of *Amurat's* general officers; he had entered on a secret treaty with *Cineis*, by means of a slave, who swam over the morass, by order of *Amurat*, who promised to make him governor of *Iconia*. *Cineis* embraced the proposition, left *Mustapha*, engaged, defeated and killed the governor or prince of *Iconia*, abandoned who was descended from the famous *Atin*; and made himself master of *Ephesus*. *Mustapha* *Cineis*.

As to *Amurat*, though but twenty years of age, and though, while at *Prusa*, he had been immersed in pleasures, yet he acted with all the coolness and activity of a great general. Knowing the genius of his subjects, he procured one *Seyd Bekhar*, who was esteemed a prophet and a saint, to gird him with a sword, and to give him his solemn benediction. This had a wonderful effect in his favour, and no sooner was the defection of *Cineis* known, than *Mustapha's* army abandoned him; and he was obliged to fly, almost unattended, to *Kallipolis*. *Amurat* repaired the bridge of *Lopadion*,

Mustapha
hanged.

Amurat
besieges
Constanti-
nople,

puts his
brother to
death.
He mar-
ries.

Cineis de-
feated.

dion, and, sending for *Adorno*, the admiral of the *European* shipping he had contracted with, and two thousand *Italian* mercenaries, he forced *Mustapha* to abandon *Kallipolis*, and to fly first to *Adrianople*, and then to *Wallakia*, where he was made prisoner, and by *Amurat*'s order ignominiously hanged, to efface out of the minds of the people, the opinion of his high birth; and, to this day, some of the *Turkish* historians treat him as an impostor, but against all the evidence of facts.

Amurat, having nobly rewarded *Adorno* and his *Italian* soldiers, resumed his purpose of uniting all the *Othman* dominions. *Karaman Oglı*, assisted by some of the *Seljuk* generals, whom we have so often mentioned, had attacked *Andalia*, but was defeated by *Ganza-Beg*, who, after that, reduced some of the *Seljuk* territories. It was easy for *Amurat* to see, that *Manuel* was at the bottom of all the disquietudes he had met with, and *Amurat*, without ceremony, in the year 1422, raised an army of two hundred thousand men, to besiege *Constantinople*. *John Paleologus*, at that time, governed the *Greek* empire under *Manuel*, who was now aged and infirm; and he endeavoured to appease *Amurat* by his ambassadors, but the *Othman* refusing to admit them to his presence, actually laid siege to *Constantinople*. The *Greek* court perceiving all endeavours for an accommodation to be vain, persuaded *Amurat*'s brother, called *Mustapha Chelebi*, to rebel. In the mean while, the emperor *Manuel* died, and *Amurat* being obliged to raise the siege of *Constantinople*, returned to *Adrianople*, and marched against *Nicea*, which had been besieged by his rebel brother, or rather his abettors; for *Mustapha* himself is said to have been very young. *Amurat*'s fortune prevailed, he surprised *Nicea*, and taking his brother prisoner, he had him strangled before his eyes, and his guards cut in pieces. After this, he married the daughter of *Laz Oglı*, descended from *Lazarus*, the famous prince or despot of *Servia*. His next wife was the daughter of *Ifandiar-Beg*, the prince of *Sinope*, which he subdued, and she was mother to *Mohammed the Great*. Every thing now seemed to give way to the *Othman* fortune. *Amurat* returning from his expedition against *Sinope*, prepared to reduce *Cineis*, who pretended to hold the principalities of *Smyrna*, independant of the sultan. *Amurat*, at first, only demanded hostages of *Cineis* for his good behaviour, but his demand was attended with menaces, which *Cineis* seemed to dispise. The truth is, *Cineis* appears to have been a prince of great power, as well as abilities, for though, through the overheat of his son named *Kurt*, or the *Wolf*, he was defeated by *Halil*, *Amurat*'s general, yet he made good his retreat, first towards the mountains of *Smyrna*, and then towards *Hypsela*, a city on the *Iconian Sea*, where he had a fleet, and military stores. In the mean while, his son *Kurt* was taken prisoner; and *Kanza*, the brother of the vizier *Bajazet*, who had

had been saved by *Cineis* when *Bajazet* was put to death, was sent to pursue him, *Halil* being made governor of *Smyrna*. As to *Cineis*, he went to *Iconium*, and, though that prince had no reason to trust him, he gave him a small reinforcement of men, and a large supply of money. This enabled *Cineis* to return to *Hypsela*, where he was besieged by *Kamza*; *Kamza* happening then to be absent upon other affairs, the siege was carried on by *Halil*. But *Cineis* would have bidden defiance to all the *Othman* power, had not *Morat* sent him a squadron of *Genoese* ships of war, under their admiral *Palavicini*, *Adorno* being now dead. The arts of artillery, as now practised, were then in their infancy; and *Hypsela*, perhaps, was the first city that had ever been battered by ships from the sea with cannon. The novelty dismayed the inhabitants, and *Cineis* apprehending a revolt, surrendered the place to *Halil*, but capitulated for his life. This capitulation, though sworn to, was disowned by *Kamza*, and *Cineis* and his whole race, wherever they could be found, were inhumanly put to death by him and *Amurat*. Thus died the brave, but unfortunate *Cineis*, who, by the *European* historians, is called *Tzunites*, and is said to have been descended from the ancient princes of *Smyrna*, though perhaps his pedigree did not reach higher than the irruption of the *Othmans*. and put to death.

About the year 1426, we find *Amurat* embroiled with the *Venetians*, who, during the late disturbances, had received under their protection *Theffalonica*, called by the *Turks*, *Salonica*. The *Venetians* would willingly have compromised matters with him, but *Amurat* would hear of no terms, unless they would deliver up *Theffalonica*. The *Venetians* refusing to comply, *Amurat* besieged that city with an immense army, and took it, and then came to an accommodation with the *Venetians*. The conquest of *Theffalonica* was followed by the reduction of all the places and cities that had been ceded to the late *Greek* emperor *Manuel*; and a great number of petty *Asiatic* princes submitting to pay him homage, and to hold their territories of him; he was now master of almost all the antient *Greek* empire, excepting the *Morea*, and *Constantinople*; but that city was a perpetual eyesore to *Amurat*. The *Greek* emperor then, was *John Paleologus*, a brave and a worthy prince; but finding himself in no condition to stand out, he submitted to give up all the cities and forts, he held upon the *Euxine Sea*, and to pay a yearly tribute of three hundred thousand aspers, by which he with great difficulty obtained a temporary but faithless suspension of hostilities. Though *Amurat* was wise, brave, politic, and less inclined to blood, or to break his faith, than many of the eastern tyrants were, yet he was a thorough barbarian. The inhabitants of *Theffalonica*, while their *Venetian* protectors escaped to their ships, were either butchered, or reserved for the most painful and infamous states of slavery; and that noble city.

and *Ephesus*.

city, formerly the pride of the *Greek* empire, now rendered destitute of its own inhabitants, was but poorly peopled, and that by barbarous, despicable *Othmans*. *Ephesus* underwent the same fate, and all the scenes which freedom, arts, and learning, had formerly dignified, became now, in a literal sense, so many dens of thieves. Their inhabitants, indeed, under the *Greek* emperors had greatly degenerated from those illustrious republicans who antiently did credit to human nature; but still it is certain, that learning maintained the possession of her native *Greece*. She was driven by the *Othmans* from thence to *Europe*, where she recovered and improved all her former lustre.

Amurat's magnificence and ambition, opposed by *Dragul*.

Amurat, however, kept his court at *Ephesus* with a barbarous magnificence, and sent ambassadors into *Wallakia*, and *Servia*, countries governed by princes under the denomination of *Waywods*; over whom he pretended a superiority. This superiority was disputed by *Dragul*, the natural son of a *Wallakian* waywod, and he soon grew formidable to *Amurat*, whose tributary waywod he defeated, and put to death. *Dragul*, after this, assumed the sovereignty of *Wallakia*, and defeated and killed the brother of the deceased waywod, though he was acknowledged and supported by *Amurat*. This revolution did not prevent *Amurat* from attacking *Gharmian Ogl*i, the prince of *Karamania*, and sultan of *Iconium*. It is none of the smallest injuries the *Turks* have done

Uncertainty of history.

to learning, and history, in perverting the names of men and places, and disguising them so in their own barbarous jargon, as to render their situation and persons obscure, and unintelligible. This prince of *Karamania* was married to *Amurat's* sister, and, next to *Amurat* himself, he seems to have been the greatest monarch of all the western part of *Asia*. He had had many disputes with *Amurat*, who had again and again ravaged his dominions, and they had as often accommodated their differences. The quarrel we now treat

Amurat's wars with *Karaman*

of, is said to have arisen from a beautiful *Arabian* horse, which *Amurat* desired the *Karamanian* to send him, but the latter refused to comply, with some expressions of contempt, as incapable to mount and manage a horse of such fire and mettle. *Gharmian*, or *Karaman*, soon found reason to repent of so disobliging a refusal. *Amurat* entered his dominions, which he subdued to the very gates of his capital, *Iconium*, and *Karaman* was obliged once more to purchase his peace by large cessions of territory, and costly presents, amongst which was the celebrated horse. Though *Amurat* was perpetually victorious, yet he enjoyed but little tranquility. He carried the war against the *Venetians* into the island of *Zante*, where he took *Ghiogherjinlek*; but, soon after, his arms received a check from the despot *Demetrius*, brother to the *Greek* emperor.

Invades *Zante*.

His wars with the

But the most formidable enemies of the *Othman* power, at that time, were the *Hungarians*. They were then a brave, a warlike

a warlike and a free people, and extremely dreaded by *Amurats*. But here again, though the facts are recent, the history of them is extremely confused. The *Turkish* historians mention great advantages gained by their countymen over the *Hungarians*, none of which are mentioned by the *Christians*. The histories of the latter, however, are far more authentic than those of the *Othmans*, whose writers were at once prejudiced and ignorant.

Albertus, archduke of *Austria*, dying, left his wife, the daughter of the emperor *Sigismund*, and heiress to the crown of *Hungary*, big with child. The *Hungarians* were sensible of their danger from the neighbourhood of *Amurat*, who was now in a manner master of *Servia*, and *Wallakia*. It is true, those countries were ruled by princes of their own: *Wallakia*, by *Dragul*, and *Servia* by *George*, its own despot, the father of *Amurat's* beloved wife; but *Dragul* thought himself happy, if he could retain his newly acquired sovereignty, without endangering it by opposing *Amurat*; *George*, on the other hand, though he detested his son-in-law, had suffered so much from him, that he had been obliged to buy his peace upon the most mortifying terms. The *Hungarians*, therefore, saw themselves in a manner exposed to the first brunt of *Amurat's* arms. Their danger was the greater, as he had subdued the *Karamanians*, and the other petty *Asiatic* princes, who were equally jealous of his power. *Knolles*, the *English* historian of the *Othmans*, tells us, not without probability, that it had been agreed upon by the *European* princes and the *Asiatic* ones, who lay nearest to the *Othman* dominions, that, as often as he should attack the one, he should himself be attacked by the other: but this confederacy being in fact broken by *Amurat's* arms, the *Hungarians* had now nothing but their own courage and troops to oppose his ambition. But unfortunately they were destitute of a head. The chief nobility, therefore, made a tender of their crown to *Uladislaus*, king of *Poland*, a young prince of great courage and activity, together with the person of their queen, when she should be delivered. *Uladislaus*, with some difficulty, consented; but during the negociation, the queen being brought to bed of a son, formed a party for herself and him, who disputed the government with *Uladislaus*; and thus *Hungary* was involved in a civil war, the most favourable circumstance that could possibly have happened for *Amurat's* ambition. He instantly sent *Mikhal-Ali-Beg*, one of his best generals, with some of his bravest troops, who made themselves masters of the principal passes and forts in *Servia*, *Moldavia*, *Transylvania*, and the neighbouring countries. He was followed by *Amurat* in person, who destroyed all before him, in hopes of taking *Belgrade*.

That city, the famous bulwark of *Christendom* against the who invade *Turks*, lies on the confluence of the *Danube* and the *Save*, and *Hungary*.

but mis-
carries in
the expe-
dition.

Character
of Hunni-
ades.

Amurat
breaks
with the
despot of
Servia.

and is reckoned one of the strongest, as well as most important places in *Europe*. It had belonged to the despot of *Servia*, who, fearing that *Amurat* would force it from him, gave it up to the *Hungarians*, who were better able to defend it. *Amurat*, in his progress, was greatly assisted by *Dragul*, who attended him to *Hungary*, who was highly cared for by the *Othman*. By what *Dukas*, a cotemporary *Greek* historian, has told us of this expedition, it does not appear that the use of fire arms, and great guns was known, or at least common in *Amurat's* army. But he trusted to the valour of his troops, and the terror of his name, both of which were exceedingly powerful. In the year 1436, *Amurat* passed the *Danube* at *Nicopolis*, but found all the country before him a desert, the inhabitants flying into their cities. *Amurat* was but ill provided to attack fortifications defended by artillery, and we are told, that some of the *Hungarian* cities even threw their gates open without his venturing to approach them. Had the *Hungarians* been united, this expedition must have been fatal to *Amurat*. He found himself incircled with strong cities, in the middle of an enemy's country; and he began to suspect that he was betrayed both by *Dragul* and the despot of *Servia*.

It was about this time, that the famous *John Hunniades* appeared. He was a brave and a fortunate general against the *Turks*, and had raised himself to high rank in *Hungary*. Equally politic as valiant, he seems to have avoided the party rage which then divided that unhappy country; but at the time we now treat of, all he could do was to harass the *Turks*, at the head of a small army he commanded, cut off their provisions, and, at last, he forced *Amurat* to repass the *Danube*, and to return to *Adrianople*. The *Christians*, in those days, thought it meritorious to keep no faith with heretics, or infidels. *Amurat*, with all his faults, was sincere, open and of good faith. Reflecting on his late expedition, he plainly enough perceived that the despot of *Servia* was in confederacy with his enemies. The despot's son, some say two of his sons, was then a hostage in *Amurat's* hands, and suspected of giving intelligence to his father, who held a correspondence with the *Hungarians*. By the advice of *Fadulak*, his chief vizier, upon his return to *Adrianople*, he ordered the despot to deliver up to him the strong fort of *Sendrew*, in *Servia*, which had been built by the despot; the latter refusing to deliver it, because upon the marriage of his daughter, some call her his sister, with the sultan he had purchased, leave to build it. *Amurat*, it seems, frankly owned that he could not defend the equity of the demand upon any other principle, but that he might disable the despot from betraying him farther; and, laying siege to the place, in three months time he took it by capitulation. After this, the vizier persuaded *Amurat* to put out the eyes of the despot's two sons who were in his hands, and to put *Dragul*, who had come to his court,

court, in irons, till he should give up two of his sons as hostages for his fidelity, which he did.

Amurat imagining that by his successes and the measures he had taken, he had removed all former obstacles, resumed his expedition against *Belgrade*; and early in the spring he at last formed the siege of that city. The efforts he made to take the place were incredible. High mounts and towers were raised in vain against it, the walls were battered with the utmost fury, and the *Danube*, and *Saave* were covered with *Othman* pinaces, and vessels, to prevent the besieged, who were commanded by *Johannes Uranus*, a *Florentine*, from receiving any supplies by the way of *Hungary*. The defence however, which the garrison made by means of their tubes, and a dust composed of nitre, sulphur, and charcoal, for so the *Greek* historian calls cannon and powder, was so vigorous that *Amurat* lost a vast number of his bravest troops. *Uladislaus* would gladly have entered into a treaty with *Amurat*, but the latter rejected all terms, thinking it impossible that the city could hold out long. At last, a breach was made in the walls, and it was mounted by the janisaries, but they were repulsed with the loss of twelve thousand of the bravest troops amongst them. After that, *Amurat* endeavoured to make a party in the city, by throwing into it letters upon the points of arrows; but all proving ineffectual, and seeing his vast army reduced to less than half its original number; he broke up the siege in great bitterness of mind.

Though the memorable defence of *Belgrade* did great honour to the *Hungarians*, yet *Amurat*, we shall not say with what justice, complained that it legally belonged to him, as being descended from *Bajazet*, who was married to the princess of *Servia*, and therefore, next heir to that country, farther alledging, that as *Belgrade* was part of *Servia*, it was not in the power of *George* to cede it to the *Hungarians*. *George*, who appears to have been a prince of abilities, knew by this, that *Amurat* had resolved on his final destruction; and as he held great estates in *Hungary*, some of which he had got in exchange for *Belgrade*, and was possessed of large sums of ready money, he linked himself with *Hunniades*, who was now raised to the chief command of the *Hungarians*, and considered as the guardian of the infant son of the queen, as *Uladislaus* was of the kingdom, tho' he had the name of king. *George* and *Hunniades* joining their troops, they formed an army of twenty-five thousand men. *Amurat*, to prevent the disgrace of too precipitate a retreat, had left *Isa*, one of his nephews, with a body of troops to scour the country about *Belgrade*, which he reduced to great straits. Upon this, *George* and *Hunniades* passed the *Danube*, and encamped near *Sendrew*, and being followed by *Isa*, (according to the *Christian* writers,) a battle ensued, in which *Hunniades* obtained a compleat victory. Several other battles ensued with

various success, and *Amurat* in some of them, commanded in person. The particulars are told with great contradictions and confusion by historians. It is certain, however, that *Amurat*, alarmed by the *Christians* passing the *Danube*, at last gave an ear to propositions for peace.

A negotiation being set on foot, *Sendrew*, and the other places that had been taken from *George*, in *Servia*, was restored; and it was agreed, that neither the *Turks* or *Hungarians* should pass the *Danube* to attack each other.

A solemn peace concluded between the *Othmans* and *Hungarians*.

This peace is a clear proof, that, notwithstanding the darkness and confusion of historians, *Hunniades* had, before then, gained many glorious victories and advantages over the *Turks*, who lost, in that war, above two hundred thousand of their best troops. This treaty was most solemnly sworn to by *Amurat* and *Uladislaus*, the one upon the *Alkoran*, the other upon the *Gospel*. Accidents, however, might have appeared powerful towards concluding the treaty. *Karaman*, encouraged by the disgrace the *Othman* arms had suffered in *Hungary*, again invaded *Amurat's* dominions with great fury, and soon recovered the places taken from him. This brought *Amurat* with an army into *Karamania*, where he retook *Iconium*, with a vast quantity of treasure; and he proceeded with great severity till he was appeased by his sister, *Karaman's* wife, who became answerable for her husband's fidelity to the *Othman* government.

Amurat resigns the government to *Mohammed*.

This placability, so uncommon in a *Turkish* prince, was owing to a philosophic turn of mind, indulged by *Amurat*; he grew weary of greatness, and sought to retire to a private life. This desire for solitude was increased, when, on his return from the *Karamanian* war, he heard that his son *Aladin*, a promising young prince of eighteen years of age, was dead. He immediately convoked an assembly of his great men, and formally resigned the imperial turban to his son *Mohammed*, then about twenty years of age. The restless *Karaman*, hearing of this great revolution, and that the great *Amurat* was buried in a philosophic retirement, he immediately sent ambassadors through all the *European* and *Asiatic* states that were contiguous to the *Othman* dominions, exhorting them once more to resume their arms, as he himself intended to do, and exterminate the tyrants of *Asia*, now that their head had resigned his authority.

A confederacy against him.

The juncture for this was favourable. The *Greek* emperor, *John*, was then in *Italy*, and in high favour with the pope, for his endeavours to unite the *Greck* and *Latin* churches. That emperor had three brothers, each of them possessed of the estates that still remained to the empire without the walls of *Constantinople*, though, in fact, not only they, but the emperor himself, were no better than vassals to the *Othmans*. They, however, could bring considerable bodies to the field. The *Venetians* and the *Genoese*, on their account, were extremely well disposed to humble the *Othman* power; and all the

the populous states upon the borders of *Hungary* waited only for the signal from *Uladislaus* to rise in arms.

Uladislaus had ambition, and was not insensible of the advantages which the juncture presented; but with what face could he break a treaty so lately, and so solemnly, ratified; and so well observed on the part of *Amurat*? His conscience soon found a salve for perjury. Cardinal *Julian Cesarini*, the pope's legate in *Germany*, an enthusiast and a bigot, had long employed himself in bringing heretics, as they were called, to the stake, and preaching up crusades against infidels. On hearing of *Amurat*'s resignation, he repaired to *Hungary*, and, in his master's name, declared the peace, concluded between *Uladislaus* and the *Hungarians* on the one part, and *Amurat* on the other, to be void, because made against the consent of the pope; who, in his letter, which the cardinal presented at the same time, said that the *Christian* princes had no authority to make such a peace without being impowered to do it by the holy see. In short, *Uladislaus*, and his *Hungarians*, being absolved from their oaths by the legate, a resolution, in which the great *Hunniades* concurred, was taken to recommence hostilities against the *Othmans*.

Amurat, at this time, was living in retirement at *Magnesia*; and his son, *Mohammed*, was in the actual exercise of sovereignty at his court; and the great officers, both civil and military, hearing that a kind of general confederacy had been formed, both in *Europe* and *Asia*, against the *Othman* power, which, if not opposed, must end in its destruction, applied to *Amurat* to reassume the reins of government. At first, being not fully informed of circumstances, or being in love with his retirement, he refused to leave it; but, upon the farther application, he agreed to their request; and, as if solitude had given a fresh spring to his body and spirits, he prepared to set out for *Adrianople*, there to take upon himself the command of his army. It is remarkable, that we know of no opposition made by *Mohammed* to this resolution, tho' he was one of the fiercest as well as the most ambitious princes that ever breathed.

In the mean while, the confederates proceeded with vast spirit and unanimity. The pope's and the *Venetian* gallies, to the number of one hundred and twenty-five, lay before *Calipolis* and at the mouth of the *Bosphorus*, to cut off all communication between *Europe* and *Asia*. Notwithstanding all their precautions, *Amurat* passed the *Bosphorus*, in *Genoese* vessels, which he hired at an immense expence, and, reaching *Adrianople*, led his army to the field. That of the *Christians*, under *Uladislaus* and *Hunniades*, composed of *Hungarians*, *Poles*, and other nations, and volunteers from several parts of christendom, had already taken the field, and, tho' *October* was almost spent, they passed the *Danube* and burned the suburbs of *Nicopolis*, the capital of *Bulgaria*; which

country, by the late treaty, remained in the possession of the *Othmans*.

Success of
the latter.

Here *Uladislaus* mustered his army, but the generals of the greatest experience found it unequal to the attempt he was to make. *Dragul*, the waywod of *Wallakia*, one of those *Christian* princes who have no religion but interest, would gladly have persuaded *Uladislaus* to have returned; but finding the pope's legate bore all the sway in his councils, he was obliged, not only to desist from his remonstrances, but, according to *Christian* historians, to send his son with a body of troops to the *Hungarian* army. At first, *Uladislaus* proceeded with great success, and took several places of importance from the *Turks*. But certain accounts arriving that *Amurat* had passed the *Bosphorus*, he was struck with consternation. He, and all the heads of the confederacy, had hitherto proceeded on the supposition of the *Bosphorus* being so well guarded by the *Italian* shipping, that it was impossible for the *Othman Asiatic* army to get over to *Europe*. Though we are ignorant as to particulars, yet it is certain that the gold of *Amurat* removed this impossibility; for it not only procured him transports for his troops, but relaxed the vigilance of the pope's and *Venetian* admirals. His army, according to the best accounts, consisted of above one hundred and fifty thousand fighting men. *Uladislaus*, understanding this, fell back to *Varna*, a city, near the *Euxine Sea*, in *Bulgaria*, which he had taken a day or two before from the *Turks*; and there he held a council of war, to deliberate whether they should give battle to *Amurat*, who, with his army, lay within four miles of them, or retire. *Hunniades* thought there was danger in both, but that there was least in a battle; and his opinion, with the heat of the pope's legate, carried the question for fighting.

The battle of *Varna*. On the tenth of *November*, 1444, was fought the great battle of *Varna*, between *Amurat* and *Uladislaus*. The *Christian* army was drawn up by *Hunniades*. It was flanked, on one side, by a morass; and, on the other, with the baggage belonging to the camp; and behind it lay a steep hill; so that the *Christians* could not be advantageously attacked but in their front. *Amurat's* indignation at the perfidy of the *Christians* appears to have hurried him into an oversight at the beginning of the battle; for he advanced in person, at the head of his horse, too far before his infantry to be supported; and met with so severe a repulse from *Hunniades*, at the head of the *Hungarian* and *Polish* cavalry, that he was in danger of being totally defeated. In this distress, *Amurat* pulled from his bosom the original of the treaty he had lately made with the *Christians*; and, in the hearing of both armies, he appealed to God for the punishment of perjury; at the same time unfolding the writing to their sight, and ordering it to be held aloft upon the point of a spear. Putting divine vengeance

Appeal of
Amurat.

ance out of the question, we meet with nothing in history better judged than this action of *Amurat* was. It damped the spirit of his enemies, and rekindled that of his own troops. Great part of the *Christian* army was composed of over-zealous prelates, and church-men, and their followers, who were placed upon one of the wings; but, on the impulse of the *Turkish* cavalry, they quitted their posts and joined in a disorderly pursuit. By this time, the janisaries and the *Turkish* infantry, having come up, fell upon the weak wing, and forced *Hunniades* and the king to return from the pursuit; which they had, for some time, continued with prodigious slaughter. This gave *Amurat* an opportunity to rally his cavalry, and the battle was now renewed with fury. *Uladislaus* fought with great courage, and singling out *Amurat*, who was equally forward, his horse was killed by a javelin thrown at him by the sultan. The king falling to the ground, his head was instantly struck off by a janisary; and being, by *Amurat's* orders, exposed on the point of a spear, the dispirited *Christians* were every where put to the route. It was not in the power, even of *Hunniades*, to rally them, all he could do was to retire, in tolerable good order, with a body of horse, towards the *Danube*, which he passed.

It is said, in this fatal battle, two thirds of the *Christian* army were put to the sword; and, that all who survived perished miserably in fens and bogs, or by the inclemency of the season, or were carried into slavery. Of the *Turks* thirty thousand are said to have been killed.

As to the brave *Hunniades*, he, having passed the *Danube*, and finding that his cavalry could not subsist in a body, was obliged to dismiss them; and most of them met with the fate of their fellow-soldiers on the other side of the *Danube*: for no sooner did the despot of *Servia*, and *Dragul*, hear of the defeat of the *Christians*, than they again changed sides, and cut off the stragglers of the *Christian* army wherever they found them. *Hunniades* being thus left alone, fell into the hands of *Dragul*, who would have put him to death had he not been afraid of the *Hungarians*. *Hunniades*, however, had afterwards his revenge upon him, by putting to death both *Dragul* and his son.

As to the cardinal, that fire-brand of war, he likewise was killed in the pursuit, as were a great number of other church-men and prelates. The clergy, in general, to palliate their own madness and perfidy, threw the blame of the defeat upon *Hunniades*, who, they say, withdrew from the battle with ten thousand of the best troops, because of a secret enmity he had towards the king. But this calumny against one of the bravest and most successful enemies the *Turks* ever had, carries along with it its own refutation.

Amurat bore his victory with great moderation. The loss of thirty thousand of his best men sunk so deep into his mind that he appeared to be melancholy, and he resumed his inclination

Total de-
feat of the
Christians
and death
of *Uladis-*
laus.

Loss of
both par-
ties.

Hunniades
escapes.

Amurat
again re-
signs the
govern-
ment,

clination for retirement. Accordingly, when he returned to *Adrianople*, he again embraced a monastic life at *Magnesia*; though, others say, at *Prusa*. His retirement, however, proved extremely detrimental to his subjects. *Mohammed*, to whom he again relinquished his empire, had not authority enough to curb the janisaries, who everywhere murdered and robbed the other subjects of the empire, and threatened universal dissolution to the state. Add to this, that *Amurat's* second retreat gave fresh spirits to the *Christians*; and *Hunniades*, upon his return to *Hungary*, had raised a fresh army, with which he had obtained several considerable advantages against the *Othmans*.

but re-
sumes it.

All those considerations, backed with the importunities of the greatest men of the empire, prevailed with *Amurat* again to resume the government, which he seems to have done with some resentment against his son *Mohammed*; for we are told he sent him, in disgrace, to the cell which he himself had quitted in *Magnesia*. His first care was the internal peace of his empire, and then he made preparations for subduing the famous *Skander Beg*.

History of
Skander
Beg.

The history of this prince, so well known to the *Christians* by the name of *Skander Beg*, is extremely uncertain. It does not even clearly appear whether he was a prince or a rebel, a *Christian* or a *Mahometan*. According to the most accurate accounts, he was the son of a petty despot in *Albania*. His true name was *George Castriot*; and, that country falling under the power of *Amurat*, the *Othman* obliged *John Castriot*, the father, to deliver up to his custody *George*, and three of his elder brothers, as pledges of his fidelity. It is said the latter were put under confinement by *Amurat*; which is not quite unlikely, when we consider how very ready those petty princes were to suit their conduct to times and accidents.

George being too young to give any umbrage to the *Othman*, he was circumcised and educated in the *Mahometan* religion. As he grew up, he discovered such pregnancy of parts, with such amazing strength and agility in all his exercises, that he became the greatest favourite *Amurat* had; so that, before he was twenty years of age, he acquired the name of *Iskander*, or *Lord Alexander*, alluding to the *Macedonian* conqueror, the highest compliment which the *Turks* can pay to a subject; and he was sent upon an expedition against the despot of *Servia*. He behaved so well in this, and many other commands, that he was preferred to the government of a province; but, in the mean time, his three elder brothers died of a dreadful plague which broke out at *Prusa*.

Young *Skander Beg* could not be ignorant that he was now the only surviving son of his father, whose estates remained still in the possession of *Amurat*; and the perpetual wars which, on all hands, surrounded the *Othmans*, prompted his daring

daring spirit to attempt a recovery of his paternal dominions, however questionable the means might be. Growing every day more and more in favour with *Amurat*, he was again sent to command against the *Christians* under the bashaw *Carambey*, the governor of *Romania*, and brother-in-law to *Amurat*. *Carambey* was defeated by *Hunniades*, and taken prisoner. *Skander Beg* fled in the rout, but kept his eye upon the bashaw's secretary. It appears, from the evidence of history, that *Skander Beg* had held a continual correspondence with his countrymen, and that a conspiracy had actually been formed to support him in recovering his country. But the great difficulty was to get possession of *Croia*, the chief town of *Albania*. With this view it was that he and his men flying, with the bashaw's secretary, drew him into a solitary place, where they cut his attendants in pieces, and afterwards obliged the secretary to write, and seal with the bashaw's signet, a letter addressed to the governor of *Croia*, which was in *Carambey's* province, commanding him instantly to resign his government of the city to *Skander Beg*, its new governor.

After this, he put the secretary likewise to death, and by which he gets marched, with great quickness, towards *Albania*, attended with a body of his country-men, who had been in *Amurat's* possession pay, the *Albanians* being then accounted the best soldiers in *Croia*, *Asia*. Every thing succeeded so well with them, that *Skander Beg* not only got possession of *Croia*, but found means to introduce a body of *Albanians*, and cut the throats of all the garrison, excepting a few who abjured *Mahometanism* to save their lives. His success raised such a spirit amongst the *Epirots*, and other *Albanians*, that, in a few weeks, many of the *Turkish* garrisons in *Epirus* were put to the sword; and, in short, all the *Turks* who were found in the country were massacred.

Amurat, whose sincerity and good faith stands unimpeached, and even in *Christian* histories, was not more exasperated by the massacre of his soldiers and subjects, than he was at the ingratitude, as he thought, of *Skander Beg*, and, tho' he had many more threatening wars upon his hands, he resolved, at all events, to reduce the rebels. It happened, fortunately for *Skander Beg*, that the *Venetians* were in possession of several ports of the *Adriatic Sea*, which lay on the coast of *Albania*, but were divided from the in-land country by vast chains of mountains. *Skander Beg* knew the genius of *Amurat* too well not to make the *Venetians* his friends, and to avail himself of every other advantage before the *Othman* could approach him.

The severity, if not cruelty, with which he had hitherto treated the *Turks*, daunted the garrisons they still held in that country so much, that *Skander Beg* reduced them, one by one, almost without blood-shed, granting them the most favourable terms, which he punctually performed. *Sfeti-*

His cruelty.

grade, the strongest fort in all *Albania*, ventured to hold out; and the courage of the garrison, particularly of a common soldier, drove *Skander Beg* into an unmanly action; for he ordered all the *Turks*, some of whom were of quality, who would not embrace *Christianity*, to be put to death in sight of the garrison. This act of cruelty rather exasperated than intimidated the garrison; so that *Skander Beg* was obliged, for that time, to raise the siege; but, at the head of fourteen or fifteen thousand chosen troops, he laid the neighbouring countries under such contributions, and acquired so much plunder, that it was said his ravages were all his revenue.

He defeats the *Turks*.

Such, in the main, is the history and rise of this great champion of *Christianity*, in whom we can hitherto discover nothing but dissimulation, cruelty, and barbarity. He undoubtedly is defensible, nay commendable, for rescuing his country from a foreign yoke; but he did it in a manner which a virtuous man and a real *Christian* would not have followed. The history of that country and time is too rude and imperfect to inform us whether he re-established the civil government of *Epirus* or *Albania*; but we are told that he had a nephew, who was a brave young prince, the son of one of his younger brothers, and extremely serviceable to him in his wars. His name was *Ameſa*. The bashaw *Ali*, one of *Amurat's* great generals, marched against *Skander Beg* with forty thousand men; which obliged the latter to return to the defence of *Epirus*. A battle ensued; in which the *Othman*, too much despising *Skander Beg's* force, was defeated, with the loss of twenty-two thousand men.

This victory, joined to *Amurat's* passion for retirement, and his being involved in a multiplicity of other wars, seems to have given *Skander Beg* time to breathe. He entered into a correspondence with *Hunniades*, and, it is said, though with no manner of probability, by the *Christian* writers, that he attempted to join *Uladislaus* before the battle of *Varna*; but that he was prevented by the despot of *Servia*, who fortified the passes of his country against him. *Knolles* and other historians have not only drawn a comparison between *Skander Beg* and *Hunniades*, but likewise given the letters that passed between *Amurat* and *Skander Beg*, and *Skander Beg* and *Uladislaus*. These, however, are manifest forgeries; as, indeed, great part of *Skander Beg's* history seems to be romance. All we know, with any degree of certainty, is, that, after the defeat of *Ali*, he fortified the mountains and passes into *Epirus*, and made himself master of *Sfetigrade*, and removed his family and principal effects to the *Venetian* territories.

Amurat's wars with the *Greeks*.

The scarcity of historians amongst the *Turks*, joined to the insincerity, arrogance, and inaccuracy of those few scraps we have from them, leaves us in the dark as to the internal transactions of the *Othman* empire at this time, and the reasons why so great and active a general as *Amurat* was, left so formidable an enemy as *Skander Beg* was, so long at leisure to

to render himself still more so. *Ducas* and *Khalkondylas*, the *Greck* historians, assist us, in part, to fill up the gap: for *Constantine*, the prince and governor of *Morea*, called, by *Khalkondylas*, the duke of *Peloponnesus*, like *Amurat*'s other enemies, taking advantage of his wars, made an irruption into the *Othman* territories, took the city of *Pindus*, and overran *Beotia* and part of *Akhaia*, and advanced to the very gates of *Athens*. *Amurat*, informed of this irruption, advanced in person, with a great army, to *Pharres*, which obliged *Constantine* to fall back to guard the *Heximilion*, or the wall, six miles long, built across the isthmus of *Corinth*, for the defence of the *Morea*; and is said to have run between the *Ægean* and *Ionian Seas*. *Amurat* knew how feeble a defence this rampart was, and what wretched soldiers *Constantine* commanded; and, continuing his march, his troops invested the whole length of the wall. *Constantine* would then have gladly made peace, but *Amurat* threw his ambassador, who was father to *Khalkondylas*, into irons; and, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, he attacked them with very little opposition, took and demolished the celebrated *Heximilion*, and soon reduced all the *Peloponnesus*, or *Morea*, to the form of a tributary province. This expedition happened in the year 1448, or the beginning of the year 1449, though others have made it more early.

Here we are to fix the first expedition of *Amurat* in person against *Skander Beg*. Before he set out, he dispatched the war two of his generals, *Ferises* and *Mustapha*, at the head of flying armies, but with orders to ravage the frontiers of *Epirus*, and prevent the incursions of *Skander Beg*; but, by no means, to advance into the country before his arrival with the main army. Both those generals were surprized and defeated by the active *Skander Beg*, who had spies both in the enemies court and camp. It appears, as it often does upon such occasions, *Skander Beg* gave very little quarter; for, in one encounter with a party of the enemy, consisting of six thousand men, five thousand *Turks* were killed on the spot, and three hundred made prisoners, while all *Skander Beg*'s loss amounted to no more than twenty horse and fifty foot.

By this time, *Amurat* had advanced to the borders of *Epirus*, at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand men. He ordered a profound silence to be observed as to the place of and be their destination, and, entering the country, he immediately besieged *Sfetigrade*, which was defended by *Perlat*, one of *Skander Beg*'s best officers, and a chosen garrison. The place made a noble defence, not only against *Amurat*'s power, but his money, repeated offers of which *Perlat* and the garrison rejected with disdain.

As to *Skander Beg*, he did all that could be done by a great Conductor and a wise general. He sent as many of the aged and infirm, with women and children, as he could into the *Venetian* territories,

ritories, or towards the mountains, and ordered all the able inhabitants to march into *Croia*, and other fortified places, while he himself kept the field with ten or twelve thousand choice horse, and was perpetually alarming, harrassing, and destroying the *Othman* troops. The efforts made by *Amurat* to carry the place, as described by all historians, seem to have been the effects of despair rather than those of generalship: and, according to the best accounts, he lost before the place thirty thousand of his best troops. The force of money, however, prevailed where arms could not. The *Albanians* who defended the place were called *Christians*, but their priests and teachers were so extremely illiterate, that their whole nation was more ridiculous and superstitious than the worst of *Jews*. A traitor of the garrison was bribed by *Amurat* to throw a dead dog into the only well which supplied them with water; and they who had braved all the thunder of the *Othman* arms, were subdued by a pitiful piece of superstition. There was not a common soldier of the garrison who did not chuse rather to perish with thirst than drink from that polluted well; so that the governor was obliged to propose a capitulation, after having defended the place from *May* to *September*, 1449.

and taken. *Amurat* was so agreeably surprized, when the capitulation was proposed, that he could scarce believe his own good fortune, and granted all the terms the garrison required; which were, that all the military men and officers, as well as other inhabitants, if they chose it, might depart with their arms and baggage; and that, if any chose to remain, they might be permitted to live in the same manner as they did under *Skander Beg*; but that their houses should be built without the walls of the city. *Amurat* punctually performed all those conditions.

Croia be-
sieged. The taking of *Sfetigrade*, was all the fruit which *Amurat* reaped from this bloody and expensive expedition. He had ordered fresh reinforcements of troops to be sent him, in vast numbers, both from his *Asiatic* and *European* dominions; and, the season of the campaign not being quite over, he penetrated farther into the country and laid siege to *Croia*. Having engaged a great number of *European* engineers and matrosses in the service, he had a most formidable train of artillery, with which he battered the place, and made a breach which the janisaries, the bravest of his troops, desperately endeavoured to storm. The name of the governor was *Uranacotes*, a person of great courage, virtue, and conduct; and *Skander Beg*, in all other respects, had provided so well for the defence of the city, that the *Turks* were constantly repulsed in all their assaults; and, the weather becoming now intolerable, *Amurat* saw himself reduced to the mortifying necessity of raising the siege. *Skander Beg*, at the head of his chosen body of horse, did not fail to harass him in his retreat;

The siege
raised.

so that he was in danger of having it cut off, and of perishing in the mountains, if he had not left the governor of *Romania*, with thirty thousand men, to make head against *Skander Beg*; while he himself, at the head of the main body, with infinite difficulty, regained his own dominions, and passed the remainder of the winter at *Adrianople*.

Amurat remained there for several months, till he raised an *Amurat* army more numerous than the former, with which he again entered *Albania*, and penetrated to *Epirus*. He was, perhaps, encouraged to this by some differences which had *Epirus*, fallen out, in the mean time, between *Skander Beg* and the *Venetians*; but, upon *Amurat's* approach, which each of them had equal reason to dread, they soon became greater friends than ever. *Amurat* having therefore, in vain, endeavoured to bring the *Venetians* over to his side, again laid siege to and *Croia*. *Skander Beg* pursued his former conduct, and chose a strong camp in the mountains lying between *Epirus* and the *Croia*. *Venetian* territories, at a proper distance from *Croia*; so that he could act as he saw occasion. *Amurat*, on the other hand, altered his former dispositions. He divided his vast army into two parts: one of them he employed in carrying on the siege; while the other was to face *Skander Beg*, and prevent his harassing the besiegers as he had done during the last siege.

It is, on all hands, allowed that *Skander Beg*, on this occasion, performed prodigies of valour; and the almost total silence of the *Turkish* historians, with regard to him, more than proves it; because they could not mention him without notoriously perverting the truth, or throwing a shade upon the glories of their sultan; which, amongst the *Turks*, is a capital crime.

While the *Turks* were battering *Croia* with the most destructive fury, *Skander Beg*, and his chief general, who, in the history, is called *Moses*, fought a most terrible battle in the mountains; where he defeated the *Turks*, and opened to himself a passage to *Amurat's* camp, just as he had ordered a general assault to be given to the city. *Skander Beg* fell with such fury on the guards that had been left in the camp, that *Amurat* was obliged to reinforce them with four thousand men under one of his best generals, who was followed with a much greater body under prince *Mohammed* himself.

Skander Beg was now in imminent danger. The love either of glory, revenge, or money, had drawn him too far from his soldiers; and, in an instant, he found himself surrounded by *Othmans* in the midst of their camp. *Moses*, who commanded under him, giving him up for lost, had made an orderly retreat; while *Skander Beg*, with the officers and soldiers that had followed him, by a most prodigious effort of valour, cut his way through the barbarians, who could make no impression with their weapons upon his armour; and, at last, joined *Moses*, to the inexpressible surprize and joy of all his camp.

The

The siege
of *Croia*
continued

The tumult occasioned by *Skander Beg*'s irruption daunted the ardour of the besiegers, so that the general assault of the city was but feebly carried on, and they were repulsed with great loss. A great number of bloody actions and attacks, greatly to the honour of *Skander Beg*'s memory, followed during the course of the siege, in all which the *Turks* were defeated. We are even told by contemporary writers, that *Amurat* carried with him a large foundary, and vast quantities of metal for casting new cannon, to replace those which should be rendered unserviceable during the siege, and that prince *Mohammed*, proclaimed a reward of one hundred thousand aspers, to the soldier who should first mount the walls. But every day produced some new attack from *Skander Beg*, who held the *Othman* camp in perpetual confusion and alarm. The infidels at last, became convinced of the superiority of *Skander Beg*'s troops and generalship, so that it was with the utmost difficulty that *Amurat* and his son could prevail upon them to make fresh assaults. At last, the losses and disgraces they suffered every day, made them lose all courage, and *Amurat* was obliged to desist from his assaults, and to work by mines, but those likewise proving ineffectual, he first turned the siege into a blockade, and then intirely abandoned it to return home.

but is
raised.

Reflection

We have been the more particular in our account of *Skander Beg*'s wars with the *Othmans*, because in fact, they have been misrepresented by most historians, and in so many different lights, that many have looked upon the whole to be little more than a romance. They have not even preserved the chronology of the facts, recent and important as they are. The western historians in particular, have blended the first and the last sieges of *Croia* into one, and have made *Amurat* die of desprite under the walls of that city, because he could not take it. The truth is, before he raised the siege, he received advices, that *Hunniades* and the restless *Hungarians*, had raised a fresh army to revenge their late defeat. This news had prevailed with him to offer *Skander Beg* the quiet possession of *Epirus*, provided he would submit to pay ten thousand ducats, as tribute; but the offer was rejected. *George*, the despot of *Servia*, seems at this time to have been in *Amurat*'s interest, for he gave him the first intelligence of the motions of *Hunniades*. That general, ever since the death of *Uladislaus*, had acted as guardian of the kingdom, during the minority of *Ladislaus*, the son of *Albert*, and his army was both numerous and powerful, having at that time the *Wallakians* on his side. Having passed the *Danube*, he fell into *Servia*, and summoned the despot to join him and the *Christians*. The despot had had many differences with *Hunniades*, about the lands he had received in exchange for *Belgrade*, and he was exasperated at *Hunniades* being preferred to him in the guardianship of the kingdom. He therefore evaded the summons of *Hunniades*, which

War with
the *Hun-*
garians
renewed.

which indeed the latter had no right to send him. *Hunniades* was then obliged to content himself with threatening to be revenged of the despot, and he advanced against the *Othmans*. *Amurat* receiving exact intelligence from the despot, of the motions and strength of the *Christians*, suffered them to advance into his dominions as far as the great plain of *Kossova*, in *Bulgaria*, through which runs the river *Schichiniza*; both armies passed that river, being the same plain on which the battle that cost *Amurat* the first his life, was fought. *Amurat* attacked the *Hungarians* with great vigour, but was repulsed; his vast superiority of numbers however, enabled him to renew the fight, and the *Hungarians*, who had not fifty thousand men in the field, not being above a third of the number of the infidels, were at last surrounded. *Hunniades*, is said to have fled out of the field with great dishonour. But the circumstance, which all historians agree in, may serve to clear up his conduct. For we are told, that *Danus*, a *Wallakian* general, who commanded the left wing of the *Christians*, went over with eight thousand of his countrymen, who were esteemed the flower of the *Hungarian* troops, and offered to serve under *Amurat*, but that the latter suspecting, or detecting them, ordered his cavalry to surround them, and to cut them in pieces. This cowardice and treachery might have made *Hunniades* suspect he was betrayed, and might have prevailed upon him to have left the field of battle, sooner than otherways he would have done. By the best accounts, the battle or skirmishing lasted for several days, but at last ended in the total defeat of the *Christians*. It appears, that the despot of *Servia* remained all the time unactive, though he made professions of his friendship to *Hunniades*. About twenty thousand *Christians*, and forty thousand *Othmans*, fell in the battle. *Hunniades*, after being almost famished in the mountains, was made prisoner by the despot, and redeemed his liberty by giving his daughter in marriage to the despot's son.

Defeat
of the
Christians
at the
battle of
Capora.

Upon the whole, it is by no means improbable, that *Amurat* had a secret intelligence with the chief of the *Christian* officers, who had great resentments against *Hunniades*. We are likewise told, that *Amurat*, out of resentment of the despot's having set *Hunniades* at liberty; invaded his dominions, and destroyed them with vast fury, which obliged the despot to call in *Hunniades* to his assistance. Upon *Amurat*'s return to *Adrianople*, the marriage of his son *Mahommed*, with the daughter of a *Turkish* prince, many of whom still remained both powerful, and independant, in the more remote parts of *Asia*, was celebrated with great magnificence. It does not appear that *Amurat* long survived this event, for he died in a fit of apoplexy, in the beginning of the year 1451-2, after a debauch, for he very freely indulged himself in the use of wine; he was but forty-nine years of age at the time of his death, and that with other circumstances,

By what
means
We effected.
Death of
Amurat.

circumstances, is sufficient to give us some idea, how ignorant the *European* writers are of that great man's history and character; for they represent him as being eighty five years of age, at the time of his death, and as dying under the walls of *Croia*, which he had besieged.

His character.

Moderation, and equanimity, seemed to have formed the true character of *Amurat*; though a zealous *Mahometan*, he strictly kept his faith with the *Christians*, but he appears to have been greatly disgusted at the breaches of faith towards him; he was according to his religion charitable, but though his reign in the main was glorious, his life cannot be said to be happy, and this undoubtedly was the reason why he so often laid down and resumed the reins of government, that he might retire to a private life. But even his remounting the throne, though unwillingly, when the state of public affairs rendered it necessary, is perhaps, a greater proof of his moderation, and philosophy, than if he had capriciously buried himself in his retirement.

The Reign of Mohammed the Second, commonly called the Great, and the first Emperor of the Turks.

Accession
of Mohammed
the second

his cruelty

THE vizier *Halil*, had long held the reins of the *Othman* government under *Amurat*, and upon his master's death he dispatched a messenger to inform his son and successor *Mohammed* of that event; upon which that prince immediately repaired to *Adrianople*. Either through his own filial affection, or perceiving the respect which all his subjects retained for the memory of his father, he shewed great marks of affliction at first, but in a few hours after he assumed the throne, he put to death his brother, a child of no more than eight months old; forced his mother to marry a slave against her will, and even murdered the executioners of his own orders. This lady is said to have been daughter to the prince of *Sinope*, and if so, she was mother to *Mohammed* himself. This opinion received some countenance from what we are told by *Khalkondylas*, that he made *Isaac* governor of *Asia*, that he might be secure from all danger. As to her, the daughter of the despot of *Servia*, he sent her back to her father, and gave her some lands in jointure, and at the same time he shewed a great disposition to cultivate a friendship with all the *Christian* powers, particularly with *Constantine*, the emperor of *Constantinople*.

and policy

But this conduct was all dissembled, that he might be at more leisure to take measures for carrying his vast schemes into execution. His first care was to reduce *Karaman*, from whom his father had received so much trouble, and which he did in a most effectual manner. The empire of *Constantinople*,

Constantinople, was at that time extremely weak. All the princes of the imperial house, who had any dominions without that capital, were subjects or tributary to the *Othmans*. Notwithstanding this weakness, *Constantine's* ministers sent a very imprudent message, insinuating to *Mohammed*, that it was in their power, by means of a prince called *Orcan*, descended from the sultan *Bajazet*, by *Mussulman*, or *Soleyman*, to raise a rebellion in the *Othman* dominions, and that it would be easy for them to bring the *Hungarians* again to invade them. *Mohammed*, and the *Othmans*, had long considered the emperor of *Constantinople* as their subject. *Mohammed* was at this time in *Anatolia*, and being informed by *Halil* of the demands of the *Greeks*, he received the information with the utmost indignation, but he dissembled his resentment, and gave orders for the *Greek* ambassadors to attend him at *Adrianople*. He no sooner was arrived there, than he upbraided them with their folly, and infidelity, and produced the treaty he had lately made with them, by which at their own request, he had allowed *Orcan* three hundred thousand aspers a year. But looking upon the treaty as now being void, he ordered that allowance to be stopped, and having given orders for a prodigious quantity of cannon of the largest size to be made, he ordered two forts to be built at the mouth of the *Bosphorus*, by which *Constantinople* was in a manner shut up on that side. They were forts of amazing strength, and the *Greeks* easily saw with what intention they were built. It was in vain for the emperor and his ministers to desist from all their high demands, and even to offer to pay a yearly tribute if *Mohammed* would stop the building. But the *Othman* equally despised their submissions, as he had done their menaces. He told them, that the ground on which the forts were built, were part of his own dominions, that if he was again troubled upon that subject, he would order the ambassadors, or messengers, to be flayed alive.

Constantine finding all his remonstrances and treaties ineffectual, proceeded to put his capital in the best state of defence he could. For this purpose, he applied to several *Christian* courts; but the state of affairs in *Europe* at that time not admitting his receiving any succour from them, he was obliged to have recourse to *Italian*, and other mercenaries. *Justiniani*, a brave *Genoese* of quality, was made general. An embargo was laid on all shipping, and about five thousand troops were taken into pay, though the whole of the garrison, even including the *Greeks*, did not consist of above nine thousand men. Before the two forts were finished, *Constantine* had found means to provide the city with proper means of defence, and whatever was necessary for the subsistence of the garrison; and he had even the spirit (finding *Mohammed* inexorable) to send him a defiance.

If

History
of the
siege of
Constantinople.

If all circumstances are rightly considered, the defence made by *Constantine* on this occasion was amazingly intrepid. *Mohammed* having compleated his forts, by which the city was blockaded towards *Europe*, and *Asia*, returned in a kind of triumph to *Adrianople*, where he made the necessary preparations for bringing into the field an army of above three hundred thousand fighting men. The *Greeks* on the other hand, though sensible of their danger, were divided about immaterial points of religion, or rather superstition. The emperor wanted by all means an union between the *Greek* and the *Latin* church, but in this he met with a strong opposition; and his own brother declared that the people would rather choose to see *Mohammed's* turban, than the pope's tyara, upon their altar. This unseasonable dispute, perhaps more weakened the place, than all the formidable artillery that *Mohammed* brought before it. His engineer is said to have been a *Hungarian*, the dimensions of his cannon, as represented by cotemporary historians, exceed all belief; so that they appear to have been mortars. Two of the best historians say, they carried balls of a hundred pounds weight, and that each piece required seventy yoke of oxen, and two thousand men to draw it. Other writers say, that the *Turkish* cannon threw balls of six hundred weight.

Wonderful
enter-
prize of
Mohammed.

Constantinople itself is of a triangular form, two sides of which are bounded by the *Propontis*, and the port, or harbour; and the third is defended by a wall reaching from sea, to sea, before which the *Turkish* army sat down. The wall towards the land was double, the outer wall being but indifferent, and trusted to its fosse, which was two hundred feet wide, but the inner wall high, strong, and regular. The entrance of the haven was secured by a chain, within which was a fleet of ships. *Mohammed*, after several fruitless attempts to take or destroy those ships, by the vast navy he had before the town, would have despaired of success, had he not formed and executed one of the boldest projects that ever entered into the breast of man: this was no other than to transport fourscore gallies over land, by main force. This amazing attempt, is said to have succeeded by placing the keels of the ships upon strong planks besmeared with tallow and fat, by which being drawn to the eminences above the harbour, they were launched into it, in much the same manner as ships of war are now launched in *England* from their stocks. Prince *Cantemir*, an author of great credit, observes however, that the *Turks* in this exploit employed a number of stupendous engines for transporting the vessels over the inequalities of the ground; and others add, that the *Greek* ships were awed by the great and small artillery of the *Turks*. The infinite consternation of the *Greeks*, in seeing a fleet of fourscore great gallies thus carried over a tract of land of above three *Italian* miles, can scarce be conceived, when they saw them, next morning, riding in their harbour,

harbour, for the whole transportation was effected in one night. The operations of the besiegers were thereby greatly facilitated. It does not however appear, that any more than two *Turkish* ships were destroyed upon this occasion, or that *Justiniani*, and his mercenaries were dispirited; the emperor having promised them vast rewards, in case they should succeed in raising the siege. This was the case with the *Greeks*; they were daunted by the perpetual thunder of the *Othman* artillery, which exceeded all belief; by the mines which the *Turks* worked, the towers and machines they brought against the place, and, above all, by the vast breaches which now began to be made in the outer wall. After this, *Mohammed* ordered a wooden bridge, of a most amazing construction, to be built, on which a battery of cannon was erected, and, every thing being ready for a general assault, a negociation ensued. *Mohammed* offered the emperor, and his nobility, their freedom and effects, and the people great privileges, but denounced the severest vengeance if his terms were refused. The conditions were not complied with, and, according to the *Latin* and *Greek* historians, on the twenty-seventh of *May*, 1453, the general storm began; it was carried on with the utmost obstinacy, though it appears to have been that of the outer walls alone, which, at last, the *Turks* carried. But as the inner wall was still pretty entire, the besieged might have made a brave defence, had not *Justiniani* been wounded, and obliged to retire. His retreat dispirited his men, who abandoning their posts, gave the *Turks* an opportunity of mounting the outer wall, and of rushing by thousands through the breach. Here they were opposed by the emperor in person, who manned a narrow gate, which served for their admission through the inner wall into the city. The *Turks*, who were encouraged by the most magnificent promises of their master, and equally terrified by his threats, bent their whole force against the gate, which was called the gate of *Kartias*. Could the emperor have shut it, he might still have made a good defence, but that was impracticable, nor could *Constantine* himself return into the city, so great was the press. The *Turkish* officers perceived the advantage they had gained, and *Mohammed* in person, with an iron-rod in his hand, drove on his battalions towards the breach. It was here *Constantine* was slain; being wedged up with the crowd, and unable to defend himself, he called for one of his followers to put an end to his life; but he was reserved to die by the hands of the *Othmans*, as did many of his nobility, and bravest officers.

Greek emperor killed and Constantinople taken.

It was about one in the morning, before the *Turks* got possession of one part of *Constantinople*, and in the assault they are said to have lost no more than three men, which if true, is an evident proof that *Constantine* and his followers were so wedged in at the time of their death, that they could

do nothing for their own defence. A great many were killed after the infidels entered the city, from an opinion that the garrison and inhabitants were much stronger than they were.

Many ridiculous, and some improbable, accounts are added to what we have aboved recited. It seems, however, to be certain, that the loss of *Constantinople* was, in a great measure, owing to the credulity, and amazing superstition, of the *Greeks*; for they had among them a general perswasion which had been propagated by some impostors, that, if the *Othmans* were suffered to advance to a certain pillar, within the city, an angel from Heaven was to appear and drive them back with great slaughter.

The
Turkish
account
of that
affair.

The *Turkish* accounts, as given by prince *Cantemir*, make it probable that a treaty was on foot, between *Mohammed* and *Constantine*, at the time the city was taken. They tell us farther, that *Mohammed*, after having had a conference with the *Greek* deputies, and having dismissed them, sent a party of horse after them to call them back, to add something to what he had said. The *Greeks*, mistaking this party for assailants, fired upon them; and, both parties being supplied with fresh troops, the assault and defence became at last general, till it ended, as we have observed, by the death of the emperor before a postern gate of the inner wall. But here the *Turkish* accounts, as collected by prince *Cantemir*, are much more candid and consistent than those of the *Christians*; because the *Turks* did not get immediate possession of the inner wall upon *Constantine's* death; for, though *Mohammed* continued the assault with the greatest obstinacy, yet he ordered a cessation of arms; and, upon the besieged claiming the benefit of the terms that had been agreed upon, he instantly ratified them, as to that part of the city which was not in his possession; but refused to do it as to that part which he had taken by assault. This conduct renders all the accounts given by the *Christians* of the cruelties practised by the *Othmans*, after taking the capital, extremely suspicious; especially as some of the authors were themselves sufferers, while others of them had nothing so much in view, as to give their readers the most horrid ideas of the perfidy and inhumanity of the *Mahometans*.

Zogai, who was *Mohammed's* head vizir and general in this siege, acted towards the harbour, where his post lay, much in the same manner as his master had done in the land-attack; for, seeing the inhabitants flying on all sides with their effects, he persuaded most of them to return with him, upon promise of safety to their persons and property. As to the *Italians*, and the other mercenaries, they seem to have suffered but little, and to have got off in their ships, as did great numbers of the wealthy inhabitants.

Barbarity
of *Mo-*
hammed,

Allowing, however, all that the *Turkish* accounts say to be true, it is certain that a great deal of barbarity and rapine followed

followed, upon the taking and surrender of the city: nor is this surprising, when we reflect upon the length and obstinacy of the siege, which continued for fifty-one days; and, above all, the natural disposition which the *Turks* had to plunder. *Mohammed*, however, was so much of a barbarian; that, when the emperor's dead body was found, it was ignominiously exposed, and the head carried through all the chief cities of his empire, to raise, in the princes and inhabitants, the higher ideas of *Othman* grandeur.

Other instances, related by the *Christians*, of *Mohammed's* who puts inhumanities, are questionable; particularly with regard to the grand death of *Notares*, who is called the great duke, and whose credit in *Constantinople* was almost equal to that of the emperor. This nobleman, or prince, was indeed put to death, as were some of his family; but it is uncertain whether he did not provoke *Mohammed* by his imprudent intrigues, in expectation of troops and ships being sent from *Europe* to recover the city. But he died like a man of courage and virtue. In other instances, *Mohammed*, heated, perhaps, with wine, as well as success, put off humanity. He purchased many of the chief *Greek* noblemen from his soldiers, who had made them prisoners during the siege, on purpose that he might have a kind of a right to put them to death, and to appropriate such wives and children as were handsome to his own lust.

As to the great number of slaves made, and the severities practised to extort ransoms, and to make the richer sort discover their effects, they were enormities which *Mohammed* himself could not prevent; and all were reckoned slaves who fell into the hands of the besiegers before *Mohammed* had ratified the terms of the capitulation. The like observation may be made with regard to the profanation of sacred places, holy books, vestments, vessels, and the like, which the *Turks* held it as meritorious to profane, as the *Christians* did the *Turkish* mosques, and *Alkorans*, and other implements of *Mahometan* superstition. But that some of those outrages were exaggerated, appears highly probable from *Khalkondylas*, who tells us, that the *Turks* threw away gold and silver to go in quest of brass and baser metals; an ignorance too gross to suppose of the meanest barbarian, amongst the *Othmans* especially.

Mohammed being now in full possession of *Constantinople*, and entered entered, in the most magnificent manner, into the grand *Constantian* church of *Santa Sophia*, where he commanded the worship of *Mohammed* to be performed in his presence. He remained in the city four days, and then crossed over to *Galata*, the fortifications of which he ordered to be destroyed, lest it should tempt some of the *European* maritime powers to retake it. He next ordered *Halil*, the prime-vizier, who had so faithfully served his father and himself, to be put to death. His crime was his notorious avarice, by which he had amassed immense

immense riches, and which had prevailed upon him to be bribed by the *Greeks*. This charge was strongly urged against him, before his face, by *Notares*, the great duke, before his death: but *Mohammed*, perhaps, would not have regarded the accusation, had he not reflected, that, ever since the beginning of the siege, *Halil* had strenuously endeavoured to persuade him to raise it.

In this place we are not to forget the famous story of his cutting off the head of a beautiful *Greek* lady, with whom his soldiers thought he spent too much time. Though this act of barbarity is doubted by some authors, yet, not to mention the great credit it has obtained, it is by no means improbable, when we consider the cruel catastrophe of *Notares* and his family, after receiving from the tyrant the highest marks of esteem and affection; and that, very possibly, he might discover, that this fair *Greek* was a party in their intrigues.

Returns
to *Adria-*
nople.

Mohammed, having given orders for repairing and refortifying *Constantinople*, and for preserving to the *Christians* the places of worship that had been ceded to them, returned to *Adrianople* on the eighteenth of *June*, being the twentieth day after *Constantinople* was taken. Here he appeared in all the glory of a great emperor, and was courted, even by *Christian* princes, of whose interest he became the umpire. He seems to have spent the remaining part of the year 1453, and part of the succeeding year, in *Adrianople*.

He ac-
quires
Servia.

His next warlike expedition was against *Servia*, the inheritance of which he claimed, as his father had done. All he got by this acquisition seems to have been a sum of money from the despot, who, with the principal inhabitants, and their effects, had retired to *Hungary*, together with an acknowledgment of his superiority; for he found himself unable to take the fort of *Sendrew*, which would have opened his passage over the *Danube* into *Hungary*. Soon after, the old despot died, and his sons fell at variance amongst themselves.

Mohammed had not better fortune in the next attempt he made, which was against *Rhodes*, and upon which he had likewise pretensions; but the knights refused to pay him tribute. His ships had, however, some better success at *Lesbos*, and other islands in the *Archipelago*; the reduction of which he seems to have attempted chiefly with a view of raising a naval power, and for the sake of commerce. This rendered them more formidable to the *Italian* states than even the conquest of *Constantinople* had done; for the pope, and others of them, fitted out a fleet of forty sail, which proved too strong for that which *Mohammed* sent against the prince of *Lesbos*.

In *July*, 1456, *Mohammed* attacked *Belgrade* with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, and a fleet composed of three hundred vessels. He was encouraged to this expedition

by

by his becoming now sole master of *Servia*. By the help of his mortars, of which he is said to have been the inventor, he had, at first, great success; but *Hunniades*, throwing himself into the city, with a great body of excellent troops, he was repulsed with vast loss. This served only to redouble *Mohammed's* attempts upon the place, but all of them proved unsuccessful, and he lost a great part of his artillery; so that *Hunniades*, in a manner, besieged him in his camp. This brought on a general engagement, in which *Mohammed* behaved with great personal courage, but lost the bravest of his officers and troops, and was himself so dangerously wounded in several places, that he was carried back for dead to his camp; and, when he recovered, he raised the siege, which cost him, in the whole, about forty thousand men. The very remembrance and mention of this siege is said to have affected him visibly ever after. Amongst his other losses was that of his whole fleet, which he brought up the *Danube*, and of which the *Hungarians* took twenty ships, and run the rest on shore. This was the severest mortification that *Mohammed* ever received, but his grief was alleviated by the death of the brave *Hunniades*, which happened soon after; some say of his wounds, and others by the plague. This stroke was so fatal to the *Christians*, that the *Turks* looked upon it as a victory; and, on that account, they have represented the sultan as having the advantage of the *Hungarians*, tho' they do not dissemble his raising the siege of *Belgrade* with vast loss.

Thomas and *Demetrius*, the late *Greek* emperor's two brothers, still held a shadow of command in the *Morea*, where they were revered on account of their brother's high quality, and were, in a manner, necessary both to the *Othmans* and the *Venetians*; the latter possessing most part of the sea-coasts. But *Mohammed*, after taking *Constantinople*, and raising to himself a great naval power, thought those precautions needless. Upon his building the castle upon the *Bosphorus*, he sent *Thurakan*, one of his best generals, to keep the *Greek* princes in awe; but both *Thurakan* and his son *Abmed*, who succeeded him in his command, were defeated.

Soon after, the news of his taking *Constantinople* struck such a terror into the *Greek* princes, and the *Italians* of the *Morea*, that they entered into a resolution to abandon *Greece*, and to retire, with all their effects, into *Italy*. This resolution, if executed, would have crushed all *Mohammed's* purposes. He therefore entered into a treaty with the two *Greek* princes, and promised to continue them in his protection. But the *Albanians*, a hardy and unpolished race of men, inhabiting the mountains and inlands of the *Morea*, hearing of the desperate state of the *Greek* affairs, arose in arms; and, choosing one *Kartakuzemus* for their leader, committed vast depredations upon the states of the two brothers.

The *Christian* writers, who have been most inveterate against *Mohammed's* memory, by their own relation of facts, bestow the greatest encomiums upon his good faith in his proceedings with regard to those two brothers: for, though the *Albanians* took and plundered many considerable places in the *Moraa*, and sent a great many of the *Greek* inhabitants into slavery, yet they were bravely opposed by the two brothers, *Demetrius* and *Thomas*, the latter of whom was a great general. This made the *Albanians* secretly have recourse to *Mohammed*, to whom they promised to deliver up all the places they had taken upon the sea-coast of the *Morea*, provided they were left in possession of the open country. Two *Greeks*, *Centerion* and *Lukanus*, privately managed this negotiation; but *Thomas* seized them both, and threw them into prison; escaping from whence, they put themselves at the head of the *Albanians*, and attacked *Patras*, one of the strongest cities of the *Morea*; from whence they were bravely repulsed by prince *Thomas*. But the number of the rebels daily increasing, they must, at last, have been successful, had not *Mohammed* sent an army to the assistance of the princes which reduced the rebels to their duty.

Could the two brothers have been prevailed upon to stand to the terms they had so often sworn to observe with *Mohammed* and his father, in all probability they might have remained in quiet possession of their several dominions: but they not only, upon every favourable piece of news they received from *Italy*, disputed the payment of the tribute, but, upon the smallest respite they had, quarrelled with one another, each endeavouring to seduce the other's subjects. This made *Lukanus* renew his intrigues to cause the *Albanians* again to take arms, but with no success; and the accounts, of the defeat of *Mohammed's* fleet, arriving in the *Morea*, the two brothers again refused to pay the immediate tribute of nineteen thousand ducats a year for possession of the finest and most populous country in *Greece*, with the arrears of two years owing.

Mohammed invades the *Morea*.

Mohammed understood, perfectly well, the motives of their refusal, and the vast preparations that were making against him in *Italy*, and other parts of *Europe*, and he resolved to observe no farther measures with such faithless tributaries. Notwithstanding all the provocations he received, he proceeded with great openness and honour. He sent to let the two princes know that they must either pay him the three years tribute, or quit the country. Receiving no satisfactory answer, in the beginning of the year 1459, or the end of the year preceding that, he fell into the *Moraa* with a great army. He detached part of his troops to besiege *Corinth*, which was governed by one *Asan*, commonly called *Asanes*, who was related to *Demetrius*, and a man of great interest in the *Moraa*. *Mohammed's* approach alarmed *Demetrius*

trius so much, that he submitted, and delivered into his hands *Lakonia*, or the antient *Sparta*. Other places held out, but the garrisons and inhabitants of those who made any considerable resistance met with no quarter. This cruelty daunted others of the *Moreans*, so that, at last, all submitted to *Mohammed* but prince *Thomas*, who, for a whole year, defended the castle of *Salmenica* against the *Othman* power. At last, the place was no longer tenable, and he made his escape to *Italy* by sea, where he was received with those distinctions that were due to his high birth and courage.

Mohammed, who was a great judge of mankind, bestowed upon *Thomas* a very extraordinary compliment; for he said, That, during all his wars in the *Morea*, he encountered none but slaves, excepting *Thomas*, who was a man. *Demetrius*, his brother, found means to draw his wife and family out of *Epidaurus*; which *Mohammed* afterwards besieged and took. One of *Demetrius*'s daughters being excessively handsome, and married *Mohammed* is said to have fallen in love with her, and afterwards to have married her. Greek princesses.

Though *Mohammed* was a *Turk* and an infidel, yet he received an education superior, perhaps, to any prince of his age. He understood *Latin*, he spoke *Greek*, *Arabic*, and *Persian*, and was a considerable proficient in the mathematics and geography. He was so well skilled in drawing, that he sent for the famous *Gentili Bellino* from *Italy* to paint him, and nobly rewarded him for his trouble. A prince so accomplished, and master of the country which was once the mistress of all arts, could not be without some degree of curiosity to visit the stupendous remains of antiquity in that territory. *Athens*, at that time, still possessed many monuments of its antient greatness; and it was governed by the *Italians* under the protection of the *Othman* court. *Mohammed* had a laudable desire to see the amazing remains of antiquity there; and, having gratified it, he took the city under his peculiar protection. His accomplishments.

The prince of *Athens*, at that time, was *Nerio Acciaoli*, of a *Venetian* family, who dying, left his wife, and his young son, under the care and tuition of the *Othman* court. The princess, having youth and beauty on her side, soon made a party at *Constantinople*, which put her in possession of the government of *Athens*. She fell in love with *Palmerio*, a young *Venetian* merchant, but he was married. She offered, however, to make him her husband, and prince of *Athens*, provided he could get rid of his wife. *Palmerio*, equally amorous and ambitious as the princess, found no difficulty in becoming a widower, for he poisoned his wife, having gone to *Italy* for that purpose. The princess then married him, and, by her interest at *Mohammed*'s court, she put him in possession of the principality of *Athens*. But *Franko*, a near relation of her husband, throwing himself at *Mohammed*'s feet, made him sensible of the wickedness of the princess and her He visits Athens.

her husband, who proved a tyrant to the people. *Mohammed*, being convinced of the truth, gave the government to *Franko*; who was no sooner in possession of it than he imprisoned and murdered the princess: and, in his turn, he experienced the justice of *Mohammed*, who ordered his general, *Omar*, to take *Athens* and hold it for him. *Omar* performed his commission, but found some difficulty in reducing the citadel. *Franko*, however, delivered it up in lieu of another government, bestowed upon him by the moderation of *Mohammed*.

Mohammed's policy.

We have been the more minute upon this history of *Athens*, because it places the character of *Mohammed* in a new light, and discovers that he was far from being the faithless barbarian some have represented him. He was not wanting in policy as well as justice; and his great care, about this time, seems to have been the peopling *Constantinople*. *Christians*, with one accord, allow that the *Greeks*, after the *Turks* had taken the city, abandoned it. *Mohammed* well knew the indolence of his own subjects, and how unfit they were to people the capital of a new empire. He therefore transplanted thither the inhabitants of all the places he conquered, and granted them peculiar privileges.

Subdues islands in the *Archipelago*.

The *Genoese* had declared war against him for not restoring *Gallipoli*, or *Pera*; upon which he took from them *Amasris*, and sent the inhabitants to people *Constantinople*. About the same time, he subdued the empire, as it was called, of *Trebizond*, though it was no other than a pitiful district of *Kolkis*; and its emperor *John* submitted to pay him a yearly tribute. The islands of the *Archipelago* had the same fate; and their inhabitants, in consequence of *Mohammed's* favourite scheme, were sent to people *Constantinople*.

His justice

His chief general in all those conquests was *Zogan*, who appears to have been a man of intrigue as well as courage, and was made governor of the *Morea* by *Mohammed*. It appears pretty plain that the *Othmans* were strangers to the strength and beauty of that country. It was so populous that *Mohammed* every month found new enemies in it to subdue; but, at last, he completed the conquest of it. Amidst all his victories, *Mohammed* still kept up a shew of justice: for, having understood that his favourite, *Zogan*, had made a tyrannical use of his power, he stripped him of his command. He treated him, at the same time, like a slave; for he obliged him to reform his manners, and then he restored him to his places, after having forced him to put to death *Acciaoli*, the late duke of *Athens*.

and great successes.

When one reflects upon the state of christendom about this time, 1459, it is hard to pronounce who were the greatest barbarians, the *Christians* or the *Othmans*; perhaps the latter were now the more virtuous people. We cannot otherwise account for the amazing success of *Mohammed's* arms, since nothing is more certain than that, if the *Christians* had been united

united in any one principle, the *Turks* might have been driven out of *Europe*. But, far from that, *Mohammed* extended his conquests into christendom itself, even to the subduing two hundred cities and twelve kingdoms; by which we are to understand petty provinces.

The reader may be amazed why we are not able to give a detail of those prodigious conquests, which would have made so great a figure in the history of *Rome*, *Greece*, or *Bockaria*. The reason is plain. The *Othman* policy and pride were equally enemies to letters; and *Mohammed*, though the most accomplished prince of his age, trusted more to the renown of his great actions, than to literature, for diffusing his glory to posterity.

Uzan Hassan, a prince on the borders of *Persia*, but whose Conquests territories at present cannot be described either as to their *Uzan Hassan* extent or value, was a perpetual thorn in the side of *Mohammed*. Prince *Cantemir* improperly calls him the king of *Cappadocia*, though it is certain that the greatest part of *Persia* was subject to him. He was in league with the prince of *Sinopi*, one of the strongest cities in all *Asia*. *Mohammed* found means to detach the prince of *Sinopi* from his alliance with *Uzan Hassan*, by giving him up *Philippoli* in lieu of *Sinopi*. After this, having provided a most immense fleet, which, in fact, was rather for show than service, he invaded *Uzan Hassan's* territories, and obliged him to make peace. He then and the marched to *Trebizond*, which he conquered, and put the empire of emperor to death, together with all his family. This trans- *Trebizond*. action reflects great disgrace on the memory of *Mohammed*, because we know of no motive he could have for such shocking barbarity.

The active *Skander Beg* continued still to be the scourge of Wars with the *Turks*. *Hamza*, upon *Mohammed's* accession to the *Oth- Skander man* throne, was sent, with twelve thousand chosen horse, *Beg*. into *Epirus*; but he was defeated and taken by *Skander Beg* and his nephew *Amesa*. *Debreas*, another *Turkish* general, at the head of a still greater army, met with the same fate. Those defeats of the *Turks* left *Skander Beg* at liberty to act offensively against *Mohammed*. He proposed, at first, to besiege *Sfetigrade*; but his chief general, *Moses*, dissuaded him from the resolution, being corrupted by *Mohammed*; and *Skander Beg*, receiving a supply of men from *Alphonso*, king of *Naples*, laid siege to *Belgrade*, upon the borders of *Epirus*. As it was a place of great consequence, *Mohammed* sent *Sebalias*, one of his bashaws, with forty thousand horse, to raise the siege; and he defeated *Skander Beg* in a great battle, in which the latter lost the greater part of his *Italian* auxiliaries.

It must, however, be confessed, that there is somewhat Doubts extremely unaccountable in this period of *Skander Beg's* history. We are told, that, after his defeat, *Moses* abandoned ing them. him, and entered into the service of *Mohammed*, who sent him

him with an army into *Epirus*. This army was defeated by *Skander Beg*; and *Moses*, returning to his duty, was not only received and pardoned by that prince, but restored to all his former posts and dignities: a clemency that can scarcely be reconciled to common sense or prudence.

Mohammed then changed his measures, and, finding means to inveigle *Ameſa* into his service, he proclaimed him king of *Epirus*; to which he seems to have had a right, as being the son of *Skander Beg*'s elder brother.

Here the history of *Skander Beg* is all confused and uncertain. The *Latin* writers represent him as being perpetually victorious against the *Turks*, and as defeating his nephew *Ameſa*, and *Mohammed*'s other generals, with prodigious slaughter, in every encounter. The *Greek* writers, on the other hand, say that *Mohammed* forced him to abandon *Epirus*, and to retire to *Italy*, from whence he returned into *Albania*, and harraſſed the *Turks* at the head of flying parties. This last seems to be the most probable account; and we are told that *Mohammed*, after committing the most horrible cruelties in *Albania*, about the year 1461, found himself under a necessity of making peace with *Skander Beg*, to whom he sent considerable presents.

Mohammed's

great naval power.

But, whatever *Mohammed*'s land-wars might have been, it is certain that he never lost sight of raising a great naval power, which he employed against the islands of the *Archipelago*. He subdued *Mytelene*, and left his grand-vizier, *Mahmud*, at the head of a great army, to besiege *Lesbos*, which he likewise took and depopulated after a brave resistance. *Nicholas Gattiluzio* was then prince of *Lesbos*, and, though all the inhabitants of that island are said not to have amounted to above twenty-five thousand souls, he murdered his brother that he might enjoy the sovereignty. The island being subdued by *Mohammed*'s general *Mahmud*, *Nicholas*, and his cousin-german *Lucius*, who had been a party in his guilt, turned *Mahometans* to save their lives; but even this did not prevent their being put to death by *Mohammed*.

He subdues *Wallakia*.

While the latter was thus intent upon conquering the islands of the *Archipelago*, he was diverted from his purpose by *Bladus*, the son of *Dragul*, prince of *Wallakia*, who threw off the *Othman* yoke. This *Bladus* is represented as a monster of inhumanity, and is called *the pale-maker*, from the vast number of persons, his own subjects as well as foreigners, whom he impaled alive. *Mohammed* had always looked upon himself as sovereign of *Wallakia*, and the prince, or waywod, of it, to be no other than his substitute and tributary. He accordingly imposed upon *Bladus* an annual tribute of ten thousand crowns and five hundred young men, who were to be employed in the *Othman* service; and, not contented with that, he insisted upon *Bladus* repairing to his court at *Constantinople* with the young men, and doing him homage.

Bladus,

Bladus, far from complying with the imperious demand, impaled the messenger alive, and invaded the *Othman* dominions, which he laid waste with fire and sword. He was opposed by *Hansa*, one of *Mohammed's* chief generals, whom he defeated, and, as if he had been determined to shew the *Othman* that there was in the world a man more haughty, and cruel than himself, he impaled *Hansa* alive, and all the other *Turkish* prisoners he had taken.

Mohammed upon this, fell into *Wallakia* with two hundred and the thousand men, and sent his fleet up the *Danube*. He is said, prince of to have been instigated to the invasion by *Bogdan* the prince *Karabog-* of *Karabogdania*, who was at war with *Bladus*, and had be- *dania*. sieged *Kilia*, upon the *Danube*. *Mohammed's* fleet burnt *Bidina*, and *Praylabum*, then the most considerable places in *Wallakia*, but his army advancing into the country, he found it destitute of inhabitants, *Bladus* having withdrawn them into the cities, and fortified towns. *Mohammed* pursuing his march, came to the spot where *Hansa*, and the other *Othmans* had been impaled; the sight of their bodies upon the stakes, struck him with horror; and *Bladus*, who kept the field with a flying camp of ten thousand men, attacking him with vigour, he suffered considerably. Had it not been for the cruelty of *Bladus*, he might have given a severe check to the *Othman* power. But he was so much detested for his cruelties, that *Mohammed* found means to set up his brother *Drakula* against him, by which he gained so strong a party among the *Wallakians* themselves, that *Bladus* was expelled from the waywodship, and, being equally hated by the *Hungarians*, as by the *Othmans*, he was sent prisoner to *Belgrade*, but was afterwards killed by the *Turks*.

From what has been said, the cruelties of *Mohammed* seem His far- in several respects to have been necessary. It is certain, ther con- that he lived in an age when *Christians* thought it merito- questsover- rious to break their faith with *Mahometans*; and the greatest the *Chris-* part of *Hungary*, *Wallakia*, *Moldavia*, *Transilvania*, and the *tians*. adjacent countries, were still little better than idolaters, and if they were of any religion, it was worse than *Mahometanism* itself. The *Venetians*, far more politic, but equally faithless, about the year 1462, again invaded the *Morea*, and made great conquests; but they were soon stripped of all, so that they gained nothing, but their having fresh severities inflicted upon the *Christians*, through *Mohammed's* resentment. We are told, that after he had recovered the *Morea*, he demolished the church of the *Holy Apostles*, which was built in the middle of *Constantinople*, by the emperor *Justinian the Great*, and that in the place of it, he erected a mosque, or janie, which, His mag- though he was a tyrant, shews him to be no barbarian; for it nificent was thought, next to the temple of *Sancta Sophia*, to have mosque, been then the largest place of worship in the world. One *Khristodulus*, a *Greek*, and a *Christian*, was the architect, and rewarded by *Mohammed* with a whole street, that was given

to him in property, besides other noble presents. It is absurdly said by *Christian* biggots, that *Mohammed* impaled him alive, to prevent his rearing so noble a structure for any of his successors. This ridiculous calumny has been applied to other tyrants, particularly *Basilides*, the great duke of *Moscovy*.

He subdued *Bosnia*.

Lemnos subdued.

Victories of *Skander Beg*.

Doubts concerning his history.

About the year 1464, *Mohammed* subdued, and slew *Stephen* the prince of *Bosna*, and reduced all the tract of land from the *Iconian Sea*, to *Sclavonia*; upon this occasion mention is made of *Sandal*, the prince of the *Illyrians*, who had a dispute with his brother about the government. *Mohammed* took *Sandal's* part, but *Stephen* the other prince, submitted to *Mohammed*, who by degrees made himself master of all *Illyria*, and at last, put the prince of that country to death. Notwithstanding those vast successes, the *Venetians*, and other *Italians*, again invaded the *Morea*, but with no better success than before, though they were supported by the *Hungarians*, under *Mathias Hunniades*, the son of the famous *John*. They found means however, to subdue *Lemnos*, but they were defeated at *Mytelene*, in *Lesbos*. After this, the *Venetians* applied for a kind of crusade against *Mohammed*; and the pope interested himself so much in the same, that he prevailed with *Skander Beg* to break the peace with *Mohammed*. This pope, *Pius*, gave *Skander Beg* assurances, that he would in person invade the *Othman* dominions, and he actually had made interest with the *Christian* princes for that purpose, but died before he could fulfil his resolution. *Skander Beg* gave the *Othmans* several signal overthrows, by which the *Venetians* once more landed in the *Morea*, and made an attempt upon *Patras*, in which they were again unsuccessful. *Skander Beg* in the mean time, whose history approaches so near to romance that we dare not give the particulars of it a place, heaped victory upon victory, till at last *Mohammed* found himself under necessity to employ assassins to murder him. Perhaps the whole of the infamous attempt is a fable, and calculated only to blacken *Mohammed*, whose assassins, it is said, were discovered and executed. It is however pretty certain, that, about this time, *Mohammed* invaded *Epirus*, and besieged *Croia* with two hundred thousand men, and even the *Christian* writers allow that *Skander Beg* was so much distressed, as to be obliged to repair in person to *Rome*, to solicit aids of pope *Paul* the second. The *Turkish* general who commanded at the siege of *Croia*, was *Balibanus*, and *Skander Beg* receiving some succours from the *Venetians*, defeated him, and raised the siege, but the particulars are told with so much confusion, and such disagreement amongst authors, that very little dependance can be had upon them. For though *Skander Beg* is represented as being perpetually victorious, yet, according to the same authors, we find him generally in *Italy* soliciting aid of the pope, the *Venetians*, and other *Christian* powers.

powers. Upon the whole, therefore, it is most probable, that the famous *Skander Beg's* successes had not always foundation in truth. *Mohammed*, in his last invasion of *Epirus*, had built a city called *Valmes*, which greatly annoyed the dominions of *Skander Beg*, and he repaired to *Lyssa*, a *Venetian* city, to consult measures for taking it. All we know more of him is, that he died at *Lyssa*, in the sixty-third, or sixty-fourth year of his age, and was held in such respect, even among his enemies, that they wore pieces of his bones (which they dug out of his grave) by way of amulets, or charms, to procure them good fortune. It appears through all the mists and clouds of history, that he was a great and a fortunate commander, though his real actions have been debased by, and intermingled with, fables. It is not even certain, though he was a perpetual enemy to the *Othmans*, whether he was by birth a *Christian*. It is plain, that the *Christian* powers had the greatest opinion of his success and abilities in war, and perhaps it was his interest to keep up that opinion, by magnifying his own exploits. After his death, which happened about the year 1466, His death. *Epirus*, and all *Albania*, fell under the *Othman* yoke, as all *Karamania* did soon after.

The *Venetian* fleet, however, and the *Hungarian* armies, Success of kept *Mohammed* for some time in play, and recovered great the *Vene-* part of *Bosnia*, and *Servia*, together with several islands and *tians*. cities in the *Archipelago*. But the *Venetians*, at this time, began to degenerate. They were still in possession of the city of *Negropont*, lying in the antient *Eubœa*, and deemed to be almost impregnable. *Mohammed* therefore resolved at any rate to make himself master of the city and the whole island, and sent no fewer than three hundred gallies upon the expedition, which were followed by himself in person, with a most immense army. The siege of *Negropont* was accordingly formed, and both that and the whole island was subdued. *Mohammed* is accused of being guilty of putting the *Venetian* general and garrison to the sword, contrary to his capitulation upon this occasion. He is likewise accused of having put to death the governor's daughter, a young lady of exquisite beauty, for refusing to submit to his embraces.

About the year 1470, the terror of *Mohammed's* arms was so alarming to the *Christian* princes, that they entered into a confederacy against him, and even engaged *Uzan Hassan*, who had pretensions upon the empire of *Trebizond*: and in the same quarrel, the other parties were, pope *Sixtus* the fourth, the kings of *Naples*, and *Cyprus*, and the grand master of *Rhodes*. The *Venetians* under *Mocenigo*, joining seventeen gallies belonging to the king of *Naples*, committed prodigious ravages upon the *Othman* coasts, and their fleet being afterwards increased by the pope's gallies, they even took *Smyrna*, and spread terror to the very gates of *Constantinople*.

tinople. This success induced the king of *Persia* to offer to enter into the confederacy against *Mohammed*, and that prince applied to the *Christian* powers for some great guns, to begin the war. About the year 1473, *Mocenigo*, the *Venetian* admiral, ravaged the country of *Lydia*, and restored the king of *Cilefia* to his territories, which he had been dispossessed of by *Mohammed*. *Uzan Hassan*, about the same time, invaded the *Othman* dominions, both by himself and his generals, but his son *Zeynoddin* was killed by *Mustapha*, *Mohammed's* eldest son, and his army defeated, though with prodigious loss to the *Othmans*. This brought on a peace between *Uzan Hassan* and *Mohammed*, who reduced to his subjection all the antient *Pesida*. The defection of *Uzan Hassan* from the grand confederacy, was fatal to the *Christian* interest. *Mohammed's* general *Ahmed*, took from the *Genoese*, *Kaffa*, and made such conquests in *Tartary*, that *Mohammed* even appointed a crim, or head lord, to that country, and was acknowledged to be lord paramount of it.

The *Turks* were not equally fortunate upon the side of *Europe*, where they were defeated by *Stephen*, the waywod of *Moldavia*, and their general, *Soleyman*, was killed; all the satisfaction that *Mohammed* had for the loss, was to lay the country waste, but it was abandoned by the inhabitants, who, upon the approach of the *Othman* arms, generally fled into the walled cities. The great *Skander Beg* being now dead, the *Venetians* pretended to be the protectors of his country, and defended *Croia*, when it was besieged by the *Othmans*. But they were defeated, and *Mohammed*, in his turn besieged *Skutari* with one hundred and thirty thousand men. The siege proved long and difficult, and the *Othman* troops brought before the place, are said to have amounted at last to three hundred and fifty thousand men. This irresistible force drove the *Venetians* to despair, and they purchased a peace with *Mohammed*, at the expence of giving up *Skutari*, and all their pretensions to the isle of *Lemnos*, and surrendering *Tenarus*, in the *Morea*. In short, they became to be little less than tributaries to the *Othman* court, for they paid eight thousand ducats a year, for liberty to traffic upon the *Euxine Sea*, and other *Turkish* dominions. The haughtiness of *Mohammed*, however, could bear of no appearance of rivalry in power; for, notwithstanding the peace he made with the *Venetians*, they took from *Leonardo*, who was called the prince of *Neritus*, *Zakynthus*, and *Cefalonia*; but his army under *Ali Beg* was defeated by the *Hungarians*, near *Alba-Julia*.

The knights of *Rhodes* were, at this time, in high reputation for their piety and courage, which was a sufficient motive for *Mohammed* to invade that island. The grand master of *Rhodes* was, then, the famous *Peter D'Amboise*, who most gloriously defended the city, though attacked by eighty thousand of *Mohammed's* best troops, and conducted

ducted by secret traitors, who had discovered to the *Othmans* all the particulars of the place. One *Gervase Rogers*, an *Englishman*, is said to have signalized himself in the defence of *Rhodes*, by breaking down a bridge, from which the *Turks* battered the tower of saint *Nicholas*, the principal defence of the place. After this, the *Turkish* general *Masih*, is said to have employed some treacherous *Rhodians* to poison the grand master, but the treason was discovered, and the traitors were executed. The siege, however, went on with the utmost fury, and the *Othmans* in one assault lost five thousand men. This loss, with the great courage and resolution of the grand master, obliged *Masih* to raise the siege.

Mohammed, the longer he lived, contracted the greater *Otranto* hatred for the *Christian* powers. This perhaps may be easily accounted for; because though many brave and ed. worthy *Christians* lived in his time, the governing *Christian* powers were biggotted, faithless, and entirely devoted to the see of *Rome*, which directed them to all actions of treachery and breach of faith. *Mohammed* was sensible that all his opposition in his wars which he had had with the *Christians*, lay in *Italy*; he therefore some time before his death fitted out an armament, and embarked an army at *Vallona*, a sea-port in *Macedonia*. He gave the command of this expedition to one of his bashaws named *Ahmed*, who landed in *Apulia*, and took *Otranto*, which he strongly fortified and garrisoned, in hopes of its serving the *Othmans*, as a key into *Italy*, and after ravaging that fine country he returned to *Constantinople*, intending the year after to renew the invasion.

It happened luckily for the *Christian* powers, that the League princes of *Asia* were equally jealous, as they were, of *Mohammed's* greatness. The sultan of *Persia*, *Usan Hassan* the *Mohammed*, the sultan of *Egypt*, and several other *Asiatic* powers, confederated amongst themselves, and with the *Christians*, against *Mohammed*, who found himself obliged to raise the whole force of his empire to avert the danger. It is said by the *Christian* writers, that his son *Bajazet*, who at first commanded this army, was defeated by *Usan Hassan*. It is certain that *Mohammed*, being joined by his victorious bashaw *Ahmed*, could not renew his attempt against *Italy*, and was advancing in person against the *Asiatic* princes, when being encamped at *Maltepe*, near *Nicea*, he died of the His death gout, and a complication of other disorders, in the year and 1481, in the thirty-first year of his reign, and the fifty-first of his life.

It has been already observed, that the *Christian* writers character. have perhaps been too severe upon the memory of this great prince and conqueror, on account of the barbarities he exercised against those of their religion. This is the more probable, because he was indisputably possessed of virtues that adorn the best of men, and several barbarities of which he was

was guiltless, have been charged upon him. He was the most learned prince of his age, for he spoke *Greek, Chaldee, Arabic, Persian, Latin*. This education seems to have been owing to his father's philosophic turn of mind, but a prince may understand the languages, and yet be a barbarian. That *Mohammed* was not so, appears from the encouragement he gave to fine arts, he was the best poet in his empire, he had an insatiable thirst after knowledge, when his warlike pursuits gave him leave, and in painting he had so good a taste, that he sent, as we have seen, for the famous *Gentili Bellino*, the great reviver of that art in *Europe*, to draw his picture. He was so well pleased with the performance of this artist, that he took him not only into his patronage, but into his friendship. He honoured him with a crown, and collar of gold, and rewarded him with three thousand golden ducats. He equally extended his favours to those who excelled in other arts and professions. He studied history, he was an excellent astronomer, and, as a prince, he is on all hands allowed to have been a great and an excellent justiciary amongst his own subjects. Though we are far from endeavouring to clear him from the charge of blood and cruelty, yet it may be proper to observe, that the *Othman* education of princes is very unfit for teaching them the sentiments of tenderness and humanity. In the course of this history we have observed, that the morals, and practice of the *Christian* princes were equally improper for giving him any exalted idea of their virtues. As to his person, he was below the middle size, but strong set, and his limbs were large. *Philip de Comines*, a cotemporary writer, says, that he used seldom to appear abroad but in a chariot. His complexion was fallow, and his looks, at once, full of sternness, and melancholly. At the time of his death he was, perhaps, the most powerful prince in the world, owing to the disunion that prevailed amongst his adversaries.

The Reign of Bajazet the Second.

He is succeeded by
Bajazet,

ACCORDING to most historians, *Mustapha*, the eldest son of *Mohammed*, and one of his most successful generals, died in his father's life time, and some say, by his command, for having ravished the wife of a favourite bashaw. His second son, *Bajazet*, was appointed by *Mohammed* his successor, but had made a vow at the time of his father's death, to perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, which all *Othmans*, once in their life time, undertake. The first minister sent him an express, informing him of his exaltation to the *Othman* throne, and the danger of his delaying to take possession of it. *Bajazet* was too religious to put off his pilgrimage,

pilgrimage, but ordered his great men to acknowledge his who
 son *Korkud*, in his room. This *Korkud* was a young prince orders his
 of remarkable virtue and modesty, and he accordingly son *Kor-*
 mounted the throne, and performed all acts of sovereignty, *kud* to
 prayers being made, and money stamped in his name. *Ba-* mount the
jazet performed his pilgrimage as the simple governor of *Othman*
Amasia, the station he was in at his father's death, and re- throne,
 turning in nine months, he ordered his great men to continue
 to obey his son as their sovereign, while he himself retired
 to a private life. It is justly questionable, whether *Bajazet*
 seriously meant that he should be obeyed, or whether the
 great ministers knew the sentiments of *Korkud*, as to his re-
 taining the sovereignty. It is certain, that the young prince, who re-
 hearing of his father's return, waited upon him at the head signs to
 of his court and army, near *Necia*, where he was the first to his father.
 do him homage; and conducted his father to the member,
 or imperial throne, which he carried along with him for
 that purpose. This was in the year 1581. *Bajazet* accord-
 ingly entered *Constantinople*, as second emperor of the *Turks*,
 and nobly rewarded *Korkud*, who was then about nineteen
 years of age, for his filial piety. *Jem*, (whom the *Christian* Rebellion
 writer call *Zizem*, *Zemes*, or *Zizemus*), the eldest son of *Mo-* of *Jem*,
ammed, born after he came to the sovereignty, was at that
 time sanjak, or governor of *Iconium*, and pretending that
Bajazet was the son not of an emperor, but of a private
 man, he laid claim to the empire. He likewise pretended,
 that the will of his father not being written, but resting
 only on the credit of a treacherous minister, was of no
 force. *Jem* having courage, ambition, and more amiable
 virtues than *Bajazet*, took the title of emperor at *Prusa*, and
 soon raised a great army of *Asiatics*. But *Bajazet's* troops
 being in excellent condition, and headed by *Ahmed*, the best
 soldier in the empire, soon defeated *Jem*, in a bloody battle
 near *Prusa*, and obliged him to fly to *Kayte Bay*, the sultan who is
 of *Egypt*, or, as he is called, king of *Mefer*. This *Kayte Bay* twice de-
 is said to have been a great, and a politic prince, and, instead feated,
 of gratifying *Jem's* revenge against his brother, he advised
 him to make a tour of pilgrimages to holy places, which
Jem seemed disposed to do, 'till he could see what turn the
 affairs of the empire would take; but, after *Kayte Bay* had
 given him an equipage suitable to his quality, *Jem* joined
 himself to the princes of *Karamania*, *Varsak*, and *Turgad*,
 and again was at the head of an army, which en-
 camped between *Iconium*, and *Larenda*; once more he was
 defeated by *Ahmed*, *Bajazet's* general, and his children were
 put to death by *Bajazet's* order.

It is agreed on all hands, that *Bajazet*, at this time, began
 to be extremely unpopular, so that nothing but the regard
 which the *Turks* had for the right of primogeniture, or ra-
 ther the will of the late emperor, would have kept him upon
 the *Othman* throne. He is said to have distributed vast sums

and flies
to *Rhodes*

Claimed
by *Bajazet*.

Jem's ad-
ventures.

of money amongst his troops, to engage their fidelity. As to *Jem*, after being defeated, he wandered about from place to place, till he came to the sea-coast of *Cilicia*, where he provided a stout ship to carry him off, in case he was pursued. In the mean while, however, he applied to *Damboise*, the grand master of *Rhodes*, for shelter. *Damboise*, imagining that it would be of the highest importance for christendom, to give a retreat to the rival of its capital enemy, readily promised him not only shelter but support, and ordered a small quadron to bring him from *Cilicia* to *Rhodes*. But the pursuit after *Jem* was so hot, that he was obliged to go on board his own ship, from whence, according to *Christian* authorities, he shot upon the top of an arrow a stinging letter to his brother, who hearing of *Jem's* escape, was thrown into the utmost terror and agony of mind.

Jem arrived safely at *Rhodes*, where he was kindly entertained by the grand master, to whom he told his tragical story. But *Bajazet* countermined him, and sent *Ahmed*, of whose credit with the army he was now grown jealous, offering the grand master an advantageous treaty, and a pension of forty thousand ducats a year, for *Jem's* maintenance, if he would keep him in confinement. *Damboise*, thought it neither for his honour or interest to comply; he knew the *Christian* princes, on whose protection he depended, would resent his accepting the offers, and, as the most prudent part he could act, he resolved to disoblige neither them nor *Bajazet*, if possible. According to *Richer*, a *French* cotemporary author, he began to affect a distrust of *Jem*, which gave him a pretext for putting him under confinement, and thereby he was intitled to the forty thousand ducats, which he received of *Bajazet*. But the politicks of *Europe* did not admit of *Jem's* continuing long in this confinement. *Charles* the eighth of *France*, was then meditating the conquest of *Naples*, and found that it would be extremely convenient for him to have *Jem* in his possession. The king of *Hungary* earnestly desired to be his keeper, because he could be useful in stirring up revolts upon the borders of *Turkey* against *Bajazet*; but the pope, as the common father of christendom, put in the fairest claim for the custody of his person. *Damboise* chose to oblige *Charles*, but in a way that he should not forfeit *Bajazet's* pension. He sent *Jem* a kind of prisoner to one of the commanderies of his order in *Poitou*, called *le Bourneuf*. *Charles*, by this, becoming in fact master of *Jem's* person, was applied to at the same time, by an ambassador from *Bajazet*, and by another ambassador from the pope, each desiring to have his person. Pope *Innocent* the eighth had the preference, and *Jem* was carried to *Rome*, where he was received with great pomp, but, according to the best testimonies, he refused, with great indignation, to kiss the foot of his holiness. We are likewise assured, that he continued a strict observer of the

Mahometan

Mahometan rites of religion, and practised them punctually even at *Rome*. From thence he went to *Naples*, under the pontificate of *Alexander* the sixth.

All the writers of that age agree in giving *Jem* the highest of characters for address, politeness, courage, eloquence, and a fine person. But the cotemporary *Turkish*, and *Christian* authors differ widely, as to the manner of his death. It is certain, that he was at *Tarcina*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, when *Charles* invaded it. The *Turkish* histories are very explicit, as to the manner of his death. They tell us, that an artful *Italian* renegade, who had been made barber-bashi, the sixth post of honour in the *Othman* court, or chief barber, for the fine hand he had in shaving, pretended to return to *Christianity*, and being admitted to *Jem's* service, he cut his throat at *Naples*, from whence he escaped to *Constantinople*, where *Bajazet*, according to the oath he made before the barber set out, raised him to the high post of prime vizier. But *Christian* writers give a more propable account of that event.

They tell us that *Alphonso*, king of *Naples*, applied to *Bajazet* for assistance, against *Charles*, by a bishop his ambassador. *Bajazet* received the bishop politely, and sent back an ambassador of his own, with a large sum of money to be employed against *Charles*, and a private letter to pope *Alexander* the sixth. The contents of this letter were, an offer of two or three hundred thousand crowns, provided he would give up *Jem*, or consent to his being put to death; this proffer is said to have operated so well with his holiness, that *Jem* was poisoned. His death probably was effected by the *Italian* renegade, with the pope's connivance, though not in the manner he gave out; and it is very likely, that *Alexander* might, to save appearances, make a cloak of the *Italian*, saying, that he had cut the unfortunate prince's throat. But what destroys, in a manner the credibility of the *Turkish* account, is the silence of *Charles* himself, and cotemporary authors, with regard to it. His death happened in the year 1495, and his body was sent to *Prusa*, where it was interred.

We have anticipated, in point of time, the account of *Bajazet's* *Jem's* death, that we may without interruption attend the farther *Othman* history. About the year 1482, *Bajazet* fortified the conquests. *Morea*, and made himself master of *Kili*, and *Akkierman*, upon the *Danube*, the keys of *Moldavia*. After this, according to the *Turkish* historians, he conquered *Karamania*, and killed its prince in battle, though he was supported by the sultan of *Egypt*. All those, and other great conquests, are destitute of chronology in the *Turkish* histories; which, notwithstanding their inaccuracy, we are obliged to follow. *Christian* writers, however, have given us the motives for his invading *Moldavia*, which were as follow.

His design against *Ahmed*, Upon the return of *Ahmed* from *Rhodes*, *Bajazet* being infligated by an old bashaw called *Isaak*, whose daughter *Ahmed* had divorced, as being criminal with *Mustapha*, *Bajazet's* elder brother, resolved to destroy *Ahmed*. To give some colour, besides jealousy, to the murder, it was given out amongst the courtiers, that *Ahmed* had suffered *Jem* to escape, and had entered into dangerous intrigues with *Bajazet's* eldest son. The emperor, however, was too great a master of dissimulation, to suffer any mark of his design to appear; far from that, he received *Ahmed* on his return from his embassy, with unusual honours, and gave him a noble entertainment, at which both he and his guest drunk to excess of the richest wines; but when the company, according to custom, had robes given them by the emperor, as a mark of his favour, and their dismissal, that of *Ahmed* was of black velvet, which the *Turks* look upon to be the fore-runner of immediate death. *Ahmed*, like a brave moslem, called the emperor a son of a strumpet, and reproached him for suffering him to drink wine, as he intended so soon to put him to death; but whilst the executioners were preparing to do their office, *Bajazet*, reflecting upon the consequences, ordered the execution to be suspended. *Ahmed's* son, however, suspecting the truth, raised the janisaries, who adored *Ahmed*, into a mutiny, they beset the imperial palace, they reviled the emperor, who appeared to them at a window, with the most approbious names, and forced him to deliver their beloved general into their hands; but *Bajazet*, though obliged to dissemble, soon after gave orders to murder *Ahmed* as he sat at supper. This threw the janisaries into new commotions, to appease which, *Bajazet* undertook the expedition into *Moldavia*, in which he made the conquests above-mentioned. The country, however, was far from being conquered, and in the year 1485, his troops again invaded it with great destruction. But the winter approaching, the waywod of *Moldavia*, according to the *Christian* accounts, intercepted them in their return, and cut off forty thousand of their best troops.

whom at last he puts to death. His expedition against *Moldavia*, and his wars against the *Mamlucks* of *Egypt*. The next war of great consequence, in which we find *Bajazet* engaged, was against the *Mamlucks* of *Egypt*, who were commanded by their prince. *Kayte Bay*, was supported by the *Cherkasians*, then reckoned the most warlike people in *Asia*, and the most noble and independent. *Bajazet* knew that *Kayte Bay* had befriended his brother *Jem*, and had given him money. But *Kayte Bay* was so great a general, and so powerful, that *Bajazet* not chusing to attack him directly, incited *Alidulet*, a petty prince of *Asia*, to invade the *Egyptian* dominions; which he did with some success, being supported by *Bajazet's* troops. *Kayte Bay* being equally afraid of the *Othman* power, observed the same policy, and employed *Kior Shah*, another petty prince, to attack

attack the *Othmans*; those wars continued for some time, with various successes, but at last the two principals declared war against one another. That part of *Syria*, which belonged to *Kayte Bay*, was invaded by the *Othmans*, and a general battle ensuing, the latter were defeated, though with an equal loss to the former; but the *Turkish* fleet being destroyed by a tempest, *Bajazet* was obliged to make peace upon disadvantageous terms, by giving up all his conquests to *Kayte Bay*. After this, *Bajazet* invaded *Cberkassia*, and subdued it, so as that *Kayte Bay*, despairing of any farther support from that country, is said to have broke his heart with grief. Upon the whole, *Bajazet* was rather a gainer than a loser by this war.

Bajazet having a religious turn, thought himself about this time obliged to assist the *Mahometans*, who were oppressed, and upon the point of being exterminated in *Spain*. As he could aid them only by sea, he sent a fleet into the *Mediterranean*, which did some damage to the *Christian* princes, but without being able to deliver the *Mahometans* in *Spain*. After this, about the year 1489, he sent *Yakub*, one of his generals, into *Kroatia*, and *Bosnia*, where he gave several severe defeats to the *Christians*, and made great conquests. It was about this time, that *Bajazet* married his daughter to *Ahmed*, the grandson of *Uzan Hassan*. About the year 1490, war again broke out between the *Othmans*, and *Egyptians*, in which the former made several conquests, and defeated their enemies. In the year 1492, *Bajazet's* general obtained several advantages over the *Rhodians*, and his son-in-law *Ahmed*, flying from *Constantinople*, seized the principality of *Tauris*, after defeating the fifth sultan of the dynasty of the *White Sheep*. The *Christian* and *Turkish* authors differ so widely in point of chronology, that it is impossible to fix the precise periods of *Bajazet's Asiatic* wars. We know however, that in the year 1499, he laid siege to *Lepanto*, in *Greece*, and took it at the first assault. He afterwards took *Modon* by storm, and *Koroni* surrendered to him. It is said by *Christian* historians, that he undertook those conquests against the *Venetians*, by the instigation of *Sfortia*, duke of *Milan*, and in resentment of what he had suffered from the *Venetians*. The latter were very unfortunate in the choice of their admiral, who suffered the *Christian* fleet to be defeated; for which he was afterwards banished by a decree of the senate. In this war, *Friuli*, and other parts of *Italy*, were ravaged by the *Othmans*. But in the year 1500, *Pisaurio*, the *Venetian* admiral, took twenty of the *Othman* gallies at one time, and being joined by the *Spanish* admiral, he reduced the isle of *Egina*, and took the city of *Cefalonia*, with the whole island, from the infidels. He afterwards burnt one of their greatest gallies, and took eleven of their vessels that were laden with stores of all kinds, together with the castle of *Pilas*. To counterballance those disasters, in the year 1501, the *Venetians*

tians, finding the vast trade they carried on for so many ages, and their naval power declining, grew weary of the war with the *Othmans*. They had lost *Lepanto*, and *Durazzo*, and through the over great forwardness of some *French*, who joined them, they failed in an attack they made against *Mitelené*; after this the *French* separated their squadron from the *Venetians*, and sailed home, which obliged the latter seriously to think of peace with the *Othmans*. Previous to that, in conjunction with some of the pope's galleys, they took the whole island of *Neritos*; this rendered the terms of peace the more practicable; and indeed when we compare the losses and weaknesses of the *Venetians*, with the power and success of *Bajazet*, we must acknowledge the latter to have acted with wonderful moderation. The agent who managed on both sides, was *Andreas Grittis*, then a slave at the *Othman* court, and the terms were, that *Leukas*, and *Neritos*, should be restored to the *Turks*, and *Cefalonia* to the *Venetians*, who were likewise allowed to have a free trade to *Constantinople*, and the ports on the *Euxine Sea*, with a consul at that capital, and other privileges.

Peace concluded with the *Venetians*.

Attempt to murder *Bajazet*.

Rebellion of *Shah Kuli*,

who defeats the *Othmans*.

From those moderate terms, it is evident that *Bajazet* was far from delighting in war; his real intention was, could he effect it, to live in peace. But the descendants of *Skander Beg*, at the time of making peace with the *Venetians*, raised up fresh commotions in *Albania*, which obliged *Bajazet* to march thither. Upon his return, a *Turkish* dervis, or monk, under pretence of asking for alms, attempted to assassinate him, but missing his blow the traitor was torn in pieces. *Bajazet* having now put a period to his wars, dismissed his army, that he might enjoy the sweats of peace. But his tranquillity was interrupted, by one, who was called *Shah Kuli*, or *the slave of Satan*, who broaching some heterodox opinions, in *Anatolia*, which he pretended to confirm with miracles, got together a great number of followers, out of whom he formed an army. The opinion of sanctity this impostor had acquired, by his confining himself seven years in a cave, was so great, that even *Bajazet*, every year, sent him seven hundred aspers in charity. His actions, however, were far from corresponding with his professions; for having formed an army of ten thousand men, he plundered the country, and committed several acts of inhumanity. He afterwards defeated and took prisoner *Karagosa*, beglerbeg, or chief governor, of the province, and summoned *Kutabia*, its capital, to surrender; upon its refusing, he impaled *Karagosa* alive, in sight of the garrison. *Korkud*, *Bajazet's* son, was then governor of *Magnesia*, where he led a private philosophical kind of a life, and thinking it his duty to bestir himself against this rebel, he raised some troops, but he was defeated.

Bajazet, all this while, was indulging himself in the enjoyments of peace; and, notwithstanding the danger of this rebellion,

rebellion, he never heard of it till he received a letter from *Korkud* acquainting him of his defeat. *Bajazet* was extremely exasperated with his generals and ministers, who had kept him so long in the dark; but ordered the bashaw *Ali* to take the field, and his son *Ahmed* to join him from *Amasia*, where he was governor. But the shah *Kuli*, by this time, had entered *Karamania*, and had defeated and killed several of *Bajazet's* generals. He then advanced to the plain of *Zibbukia*, where a battle ensued between him and the bashaw *Ali*, who fell in the field; on which his army was routed.

We are in the dark as to the sequel of the shah *Kuli's* adventures; some say that he was defeated by *Bajazet's* generals, and that, after committing several acts of robbery, he fled to *Persia*, where he was put to death by *Shah Ismael*. Others pretend that that prince gave him a very favourable reception. Upon the whole, he seems to have been a very extraordinary person, and he merited from the *Turks* the title by which he was distinguished. Scarcely was *Bajazet* rid of this rebellion, before an earthquake destroyed a great part of *Constantinople*, and buried thirteen thousand of the inhabitants in the ruins.

Bajazet still continued to lead a recluse voluptuous life. Rebellion His two sons, *Ahmed* and *Selim*, had active military dispositions; while *Korkud* preferred retirement and study. *Bajazet's* intention to resign it to his son *Ahmed*, who was still governor of *Iconium*. But *Selim*, who governed *Trapezond*, trusting to his interest amongst the janisaries, crossed the *Euxine Sea*, and advanced towards *Adrianople*, on pretence of paying a dutiful visit to his father, whom he had not seen since his accession to the empire.

Notwithstanding this plausible pretence, which, amongst the *Turks* is held next to sacred, *Bajazet* saw through his son's design; and, shaking off his lethargy, he put himself at the head of his troops, and met and defeated *Selim* at *Ogris*. *Bajazet* shewed an uncommon moderation after his victory; for, contented with that, he suffered *Selim* to escape to his father-in-law, the khan of the *Krim*, who had been the principal abettor of his rebellion, and had assisted him with shipping.

The moderation of *Bajazet* created in *Ahmed* some suspicions, and he refused to come to *Constantinople* to receive the empire, though pressed to it by his father. In short, according to the *Turkish* histories, he turned rebel as well as *Selim*, and encamped at *Skutari*, opposite to *Constantinople*. In this distress, *Bajazet* threw his eyes upon his dutiful son *Korkud*, who had been obliged to retire to that capital, and offered to resign his empire to him. But he was no longer master of his own resolution. The janisaries were tired of peace; and *Ahmed*, retreating from *Skutari*, had seized the

provinces of the *Lesser Asia*, which rendered him extremely unpopular.

Selim, on the other hand, entered into private connections with the great men of the empire, and the chief janisaries, who insisted, even with threatnings, that he should mount the *Othman* throne. *Selim*, at first, seemed very backward to comply; but, finding his party too strong to be disappointed, he set out from *Kaffa* with his former pretext of paying his duty to his father, but with a slender attendance.

Selim. The vast resort of janisaries to *Selim*, soon convinced *Bajazet* of what he was to expect. He pressed *Selim* to come to visit him, but that prince reproached him with his indolence and the mismanagements of his government, through which the upstart princes of *Persia* and *Egypt* had aggrandized themselves, at the expence of the *Othman* power; and insisted upon some examples of justice being made.

Bajazet, perceiving that nothing less than an immediate resignation would satisfy his ambitious son, instantly divested himself of the empire in *Selim's* favour, whose permission he begged to live privately at *Dymotika*. *Selim*, having compassed his main ends, pressed his father to remain in his palace at *Constantinople*; but he declined the invitation, saying, That one scabbard could not contain two swords. He therefore took what he thought proper for his future subsistence, out of the imperial treasury, and set out for *Constantinople*, attended by *Selim* and a few friends. *Selim*, taking leave of his father, left him to pursue his journey, but meditated how to deprive him of his life, as he had of his throne.

His death
and cha-
racter.

This unnatural resolution, so agreeable to the *Othman* policy, was carried into execution by one *Haman*, a Jewish physician, whom *Selim* bribed, and who poisoned his father on his journey to *Dymotika*, when he had advanced but forty miles. The *Othman* sovereigns live with so much reserve, and the transactions of their seraglios are so secret, that the *Turkish* and *Christian* writers differ widely with regard to *Bajazet's* age at the time of his death. The former, who are not to be trusted, say that he lived to sixty-two, and that he reigned thirty-two, years; while the latter make him eighty years of age when he died.

By what we have seen of this prince, it appears that he was brave, wise, and moderate. Indolence and superstition, however, got the better of his virtues; and, being naturally jealous, he is said to have given private orders for putting to death his son *Mohammed*, a prince of great expectation and accomplishments. The death of *Bajazet* happened in the year 1510; and several monuments of his magnificence and architecture, in various kinds, are yet to be seen in the *Othman* empire.

Selim

Selim I.

IT is plain that *Selim* owed his advancement to the *Othman* Succession to the partiality of the janisaries in his favour; but he had many difficulties to encounter before he was settled in it. *Korkud*, who was at *Constantinople* at this time, after his father's resignation, retired again to a private life at *Magnesia*; but, by many of the *Turks*, he was considered as designed by *Bajazet* to be his successor, and therefore had great influence in the empire. But *Selim's* greatest danger arose from *Abmed*, who was in the field at the head of an army. *Selim*, however, being in great reputation for his activity and courage, and having the janisaries on his side, defeated and put to death *Abmed*, after experiencing a great variety of fortune in the field.

The next sacrifice which the unnatural *Selim* made to his jealousy and ambition, was the virtuous *Korkud*, whom filial piety could not save from the bow-string; for, being discovered as he was endeavouring to escape to *Rhodes*, he was strangled by his brother's order. Before his death, he is said to have written, in *Turkish* verse, a letter to *Selim*, reproaching him for his inhumanity, which gave the tyrant terrible uneasiness and remorse. This, however, did not prevent him from wading farther in blood, for he put to death all the great men of his empire whom he suspected of favouring either his brothers or his father.

Selim, thinking by those bloody measures that his empire was secure, proceeded to put to death many other princes of his house; and, the plague raging at *Constantinople*, he fixed his residence at *Adrianople*.

It was there that he projected to invade the dominions of *Ile de-Ishmael*, sophy of *Persia*; which he did with a numerous army. This happened in the year 1514. Having advanced to the plain *Khaldrian*, near *Tauris*, he was opposed by the *Persian* troops, and made his treasurer his chief minister, for coinciding with him in opinion that the *Persians* ought instantly to be attacked. A battle accordingly was fought; but it must have been fatal to the *Othmans*, had it not been for a kind of a masked battery of cannon, which was opened against the *Persians*, during the heat of the engagement, by *Sinan Pasha*. This gave the victory to the *Othmans*, who killed the best of the *Persian* generals, and took all the treasures and equipages of *Ishmael*. But *Selim* did not put his prisoners to death, or even carry them into slavery.

Such is the *Turkish* account of this war. The *Christian* historians, on the other hand, say, that *Morad*, one of *Abmed's* sons, had taken refuge at the *Persian* court. *Ishmael* gave him his daughter in marriage; and, being disgusted with a personal affront he thought he had received from *Selim*, sent

sent *Morad*, with ten thousand horse, to invade *Capadocia*. *Morad* was supported by *Vasî Oglî*, at the head of twenty thousand horse more; and the main body of the *Persian* army remained, under *Ishmael* himself, in *Armenia*. *Selim* flew, at the head of forty thousand men, to repel the invasion; but found that *Morad* had obtained several advantages in *Capadocia*. This obliged him to perform a long and a dangerous march, till he arrived at the *Kaldarian* plains, near *Koy*, in *Armenia*, where *Ishmael* still resided. Upon his arrival, some conferences passed between him and *Selim* by heralds; but *Ishmael* refusing to deliver up *Morad*, a battle ensued, in which, after a long contest, the *Persians* were defeated. The number of troops headed by *Selim*, on this occasion, are said to have amounted to three hundred thousand. But the *Persians*, though far inferior in numbers, were much better disciplined. *Ishmael* himself was wounded in the battle, which was fought on the seventh of *August*, 1514; and, in his retreat, he ordered the city of *Tauris* to be surrendered to *Selim*, which was accordingly done.

Loss of
Selim.

But, though both the *Turkish* and *Christian* historians give the victory to *Selim*, it is certain it cost him thirty thousand of his best troops; and the remainder was so harrassed, that they could make no farther progress. It is recorded, to the honour of *Selim*, that a great number of *Persian* ladies being taken in *Ishmael's* camp, he set them all at liberty but one, whom he gave in marriage to a bashaw; and many women, dressed in mens cloaths and armour, being found dead upon the field of battle, he ordered them to be honourably interred. Upon the whole, it appears, from the consequences, that *Selim* lost more than he gained by his victory. Though *Tauris* had been yielded to him, he did not chuse to take possession of it, being distrustful of the inhabitants, and afraid that *Ishmael*, who was getting together a great army, might besiege him, cut off his provisions, and prevent his return to *Constantinople*. But, in fact, *Selim* had been disappointed by great numbers of the *Persian* nobility, who lay upon the borders of the two empires, and who, having been disgusted with *Ishmael*, had invited *Selim* to invade the *Persian* dominions; but they either retracted their engagements or were over-awed by *Ishmael*. That prince soon recruited his army, and the *Turks* prepared to retreat, to the great mortification of *Selim*, who wanted to pass the winter in the neighbourhood of *Tauris*. This the janisaries would by no means agree to; and, upon the approach of *Ishmael's* army, the *Othmans* retreated with such precipitation, that two thousand of them were drowned in the *Euphrates*. *Ishmael* followed in the pursuit; and the inhabitants of the mountains, which the *Othmans* were obliged to cross, harrassed them so much, that *Selim*, with the utmost difficulty, brought back the wretched remains of his army to *Trebezond*.

who is
forced to
retire.

Those

Those misfortunes are said chiefly to have been owing to *Aliaudaulet*, a mountain prince, who pretended to be in friendship with *Selim*, but, in reality, betrayed him. From *Trebezond*, *Selim* marched to *Amasia*, where he passed the winter.

Next year, the war continued with various success; but, at last, by the valour of *Sinan Pasha*, *Selim*'s chief general, the *Persians* were defeated, and their general put to death. It appears, however, that, on the whole, the *Othmans* were the greatest sufferers: but *Selim* had the highest resentment against *Aliaudaulet*; and, in the year 1515, he invaded his dominions. *Aliaudaulet* made a vigorous defence amidst his mountains; but, being betrayed by *Ali Beg*, the general of his horse, he was defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death by the order of *Selim*.

While *Selim* was engaged in the *Persian* war, the *Europe- His domi-*
ans, the *Venetians* especially, harassed his dominions, believ- nions in-
 ing that he could not return alive to *Europe*. *Selim*, in order vaded by
 to undeceive them, sent to *Venice* the head of *Aliaudaulet*, in the *Christ-*
 token of his victory. At the same time, the *Hungarians ians*.
 were defeated by the bashaw *Yonus*, one of *Selim*'s generals,
 who not only recovered all *Bosnia* from the *Hungarians*, but
 took several places of importance in *Hungary* itself. Those
 successes left *Selim* at leisure to settle his new conquests. He He con-
 gave to *Ali Beg* part of *Aliaudaulet*'s dominions, and made his quers *Ali-*
 general *Sinan Pasha* governor of the rest, with a strong mi- audaulet.
 litary force to protect him against the *Persians*. By this time,
 the *Hungarians* had besieged *Semandria*, but *Selim*'s generals
 obliged them to abandon the enterprize.

In the year 1516, the *Kare Emid*, who inhabited the
 country between *Urva* and *Van*, threw off the *Persian* yoke,
 and invited *Selim* to become their protector. *Selim*, at first,
 was averse to trusting them; but, at last, he was prevailed
 upon to give them *Mohammed Beg*, one of their own country-
 men, and very popular amongst them, for a governor under
 his authority. *Kara Khan*, *Ishmael*'s general, still kept the
 field, and *Selim* was obliged to reinforce *Mohammed* with a
 strong body of troops, to prevent his recovering the pro-
 vince. *Mohammed* then attacked, defeated, and put to and other
 death, *Kara Khan*, and after that, he took the two great princes
 cities *Mardin* and *Musul* in *Mesopotamia*, and reduced all and
 the kurds of that province, to the *Othman* allegiance, so places.
 that he even seemed to threaten the conquest of *Persia* it-
 self.

Those rapid successes of *Mohammed* being sufficient, as He under-
Selim thought, to secure the *Othman* empire, on the side of takes the
Persia, he thought it high time to attempt a conquest he had conquest
 long meditated, that of *Egypt*. It is certain that all *Europe* of *Egypt*.
 and *Asia*, had, with great indignation, beheld the rise and
 progress of the power of the *Othmans*, who, in fact, were a
 nation of upstart vagabonds, and had raised themselves, by
 the

the dissensions amongst their enemies. *Selim*, however, from the first time he mounted the throne, found that while the *Persians*, and *Egyptians*, were united together, it would be difficult for him to extend the *Othman* empire, and he deemed it the worst of impiety, to fall short in that respect of his predecessors, who, all of them, had added nations, and provinces to the conquests of their forefathers; the enlargement of dominion therefore was, amongst those princes, a point of conscience, and an article of faith. *Selim* fell behind none of them, either in superstition, or ambition, and being secure of *Persia*, in the year 1517, he invaded *Egypt*, which was then governed by *Kansu Gauri*, whom, in compliance with the *European* orthograpy, we shall, with other authors, call *Kampson Gaurus*.

His
motives

Authors are divided, with the regard to the rise, or rather the pretext of this war. It is certain, that *Selim*, after he had raised his army, pretended that several affronts and insults had been offered him, by the *Egyptians*, and their allies the *Cherkassians*. His true motive was, to break the alliance between *Gaurus*, and *Ishmael*. The former had brought an army into the field, and had threatened *Selim*, but hearing of the successes of *Mohammed Beg*, he had endeavoured to compromise matters. *Selim* was inexorable, and *Gaurus* advanced with his army to *Aleppo*. The *Othmans* are conscientious as to forms. Though *Selim* had entered into secret correspondence with some of the principal *Egyptian* noblemen, and princes, who promised to desert to him, and was resolved to stake his empire upon the success of the expedition, yet, before he undertook it, he consulted his doctors, and learned men, as to its legality; they encouraged him to proceed, and, having a great army on foot, he marched directly towards *Aleppo*, having privately secured the governor in his interest; and he found *Gaurus* encamped under the walls of that city.

Account
of the
Mamluks,

The reader is to observe, that the strength of the *Egyptians*, at that time, consisted in their cavalry, who most of them were *Cherkassians*, but received from the *Turks* the opprobrious name of *Mamluks*, or *Slaves*, because of some active slaves, trained to arms from their infancy, who were intermingled with them. The accounts we have of the valour and dexterity of this body, in feats of arms, would be incredible, did they not rest upon unquestionable authority. But they seem to have been destitute of fire arms, and we are told their numbers did not exceed twelve thousand, while the *Othman* army amounted to two hundred thousand fighting men. *Gaurus*, by the advice of some of his ablest generals, understanding that *Selim* had crossed the mountain *oman*, and was within two days march of him, was inclined to retire to *Damascus*, and to stand upon the defensive, till he could be joined by his allies the *Persians*, and receive some artillery from *Europe*. But the *Mamluks* thought themselves

themselves invincible, and persuaded *Gaurus* to give the enemy battle.

The two armies being properly drawn out, the *Mamluks* who are gave the *Othmans* so furious a charge, that the latter must have been destroyed, had not *Selim*, after loosing the flower of his cavalry, led his janisaries up to the front of the battle, and plied the *Mamluks* with so dreadful a discharge of great and small artillery, that they were thrown into confusion, which was improved by the great superiority of the *Turks*, into a total defeat. *Gaurus* himself, after performing stupendous acts of valour, fell from his horse through the fatigue of the slaughter he had made, and the greatest part of the *Mamluks* were cut in pieces. It appears, however, by the relation of a *Turkish* officer, who was kadi of *Constantinople*, and who wrote the history of this war, in which he served, that notwithstanding the fire arms of the janisaries, the *Mamluks* must have been victorious, had not *Kayer Bay*, the governor of *Aleppo*, betrayed *Gaurus*, by going over to *Selim*, who treated him with great distinctions of honour. As to *Gaurus*, historians are divided concerning his character. It is most probable, that he was vain and insolent, or at least, the inhabitants of the *Syrian* dominions imagined him to be so, because, in reality, they had invited *Selim* to invade them. This appeared by the great cities of *Aleppo*, and *Damascus*, submitting voluntarily to the conqueror, and their example was followed by all the rest of *Syria*.

Selim, notwithstanding his savage disposition, which was Policy of so well known to his subjects, that they gave him the title of *Selim*. *Yavaz*, or the *Fierce*, behaved with wonderful policy, in this expedition. He granted, with the best grace in the world, all that was desired of him by those who submitted to his power. He exceeded, in acts of alms and devotion, and erected sumptuous monuments, to the memory of some *Moslem* heroes, who were buried near *Damascus*. All this shew of piety, clemency, and generosity, gained *Selim* the hearts of the *Syrians*, in so much that, in a few weeks, he begun his march against *Cairo*, the capital of *Egypt*. Having lately habituated himself to affability, one of his general officers, upon his march, was imprudent enough to ask him, how soon they could reach *Cairo*. When it pleaseth God, replied *Selim*, but it is my pleasure that thou remainest here, and he ordered his head instantly to be struck off. Proceeding on his march, that he might keep up to that appearance of sanctity, which does such wonders amongst the *Mahometans*, he went slenderly attended, and paid his devotions, he visits within the holy city of *Jerusalem*. After that, he reinforced *Jerusalem*. a party which he had at *Gaza*, the entrance of *Egypt*, with fifteen thousand men, under *Sinan Pasha*.

This precaution saved *Selim's* army. *Tuman Bey* had *Tuman* succeed *Gaurus*, as sultan of *Egypt*, and *Algazeli*, one of the *Bey* suc- bravest generals of the *Mamluks*, obtained leave from him, ceeds to *Gaurus*.

His army
defeated
at Gaza.

to surprise the *Turkish* posts at *Gaza*. *Selim* was always well served with spies, in the courts of his enemies, by which *Algazeli's* intention was betrayed to him. When *Algazeli* advanced, he was startled to understand, that his enemies were so numerous; but though he had with him no more than five thousand *Mamluks*, yet, depending upon their fidelity and courage, he resolved to attack his enemy. *Sinan Pasha*, on the other hand, left all his sick and wounded at *Gaza*, and advanced against the *Mamluks*. The inhabitants of *Gaza*, seeing him leave the place, thought that it was in order to retreat to *Selim*, and instantly cut in pieces all the sick and wounded of the *Othmans*, not even sparing the physicians who attended them. After this, they sent a messenger to *Algazeli*, informing him, that his enemies were retreated, while they were within an hour's march of his army. The *Turkish* kadi, who has wrote the history of this war, and who was himself present in the expedition we are describing, gives a most curious account of the preparatives to the battle which followed. The *Turks*, being near their enemy, alighted from their horses, girt their saddles, embraced, forgave, and asked pardon of one another, and then joined in solemn prayer, that they might prove victorious through the intercession of *Mohammed*, and the four first khaliffs his assistants. After that, they were harangued by their general *Sinan Pasha*, who told them, that all who were predestinated to be killed, must be killed, and that if the bodies of their slaughtered countrymen, could speak, they would call out, "killed, killed, by dogs, who have put us to death." He concluded, with promising great rewards, in his master's name, to those who should behave well; he was answered by loud acclamations of applause, from his soldiers, who desired to be led instantly to battle. Upon the first charge, the *Mamluks*, as usual, were victorious, but *Sinan* availed himself of his numbers, and disposed his troops so, that they surrounded the *Mamluks*, a thousand of whom, with some of their best officers, were cut in pieces, and the rest with difficulty escaped.

Selim
marches
to Cairo,

The *Arabs*, who either inhabited, or skirted the countries, through which *Selim* marched, were no friends to the *Othmans*, but the fire arms of the janisaries doing great execution amongst them, *Selim* made his way to within a very short distance of *Cairo*. Through various accidents, he had heard nothing of *Sinan Pasha's* success, but being joined by him and his victorious troops, on his march, he gave them public testimonies of his gratitude, and nobly rewarded them. It happened, however, luckily for *Selim*, that a three days rain which had fallen, laid the prodigious whirlwinds of dust and sands, over which he was to pass, and to which the *Egyptians*, and *Arabs* principally trusted for their defence. By this unusual interposition of providence, *Selim's* army was in excellent order, when arrived near *Cario*. *Tuman Beg*,

Beg, or, as the *Christian* historians call him *Tomom Bey*, was then encamped at *Rodania*, within six miles of *Cairo*, at the head of forty thousand men. He had by this time procured some artillery, but it appears that his engineers were extremely inexpert in the use of great guns. *Selim*, likewise, by his spies, was punctually informed of all his dispositions, and took care to disconcert them, by making his approaches, so as not to be annoyed by *Tomom Bey's* cannon. It appears from the relation of the kadi, that *Tomom Bey*, at this time, stood upon the defensive, and had fortified his camp; but the superiority of *Selim's* numbers obliged him to come to a pitched battle.

This battle, which is one of the most renowned in all the *Turkish* annals, has been most minutely described by the *Othman* historians. It is agreed on all hands, that it was fought on the twenty-fourth of *January* 1517, and that the courage of the *Mamluks*, must have been victorious, had it not been for the numbers of the *Othmans*, and the discipline and fire arms of their janisaries. Both armies prevailed by turns, and *Tomom Bey* rendered himself more remarkable by his courage and address in arms, than he was by his dignity, strength, and stature, in which he surpassed all the *Asiatics*. But he could not withstand the fortune of *Selim*, who every minute poured in fresh troops upon him, and obliged him at last to retreat to *Cairo*, with the loss of his camp, and artillery. This victory cost the *Othmans* dear, some of their best troops being left dead upon the field, and amongst the rest the renowned *Sinan Pasha*, whose death was sincerely bewailed by *Selim*; for he is said, on that account, to have taken no pleasure in the conquest of *Egypt*.

Tomom Bey, notwithstanding his defeat, had still great resources. The loss of his artillery was indeed irreparable, and *Selim* had inhumanly caused all his officers, and troops, who had been taken prisoners, to be put to death. *Tomom Bey* bore up against all those misfortunes, and raising a new army, he encamped between the *Nile*, and *Cairo*. The *Othmans* had suffered so terribly in the late battle, that it was five days before they marched to attack him, though the distance between their armies was not above two miles; *Tomom Bey*, on the other hand, had imparted to his general officers a project he had, of breaking, by night, into the *Othman* camp, but this secret was disclosed to *Selim*, by his never failing spies. To prevent a surprise, he ordered fires to be lighted, all over his camp, so that when *Tomom Bey* attacked him, he was repulsed, and obliged to shut himself up in *Cairo*, where he barricadoed and fortified the streets, there being no walls, or regular fortifications round the city.

Before we proceed, it is necessary to inform the reader, that, besides a superiority of force, and the advantage of spies, *Selim* was but little opposed by the *Egyptian* natives. They were indeed a dastardly and inconstant people, but,

in

in general, they had a mortal aversion to the *Mamlucks*, who were foreigners and slaves, and had for some centuries governed them by military law. *Tomom Bey*, being himself a *Mamluk*, or *Cherkassian*, was, like his countrymen, unpopular amongst them, and having an equal aversion to the *Turks*, they were very indifferent which were their masters. *Tomom Bey* seems to have been aware of this, for, we find none of the native *Egyptians* amongst his troops. The better sort, and the men of quality amongst them, were for the government of the *Mamlucks*, who left them in possession of their properties, and an immensely profitable trade, but the lower sort were fond of the *Turkish* government, and proved as so many spies, upon *Tomom Bey*. *Cairo*, at that time, as now, was composed of a vast number of streets, so narrow, that no wheel carriage could be introduced into them, and they were easily guarded. It had, however, one great open street, where *Tomom Bey* drew up his troops, and a kind of a citadel, but of very little strength. It would have been easy for *Selim* to have reduced such an open, and defenceless place, by setting fire to their houses, but he was unwilling to do any thing that could alienate the affections of the native *Egyptians* towards him, and besides, he did not chuse to destroy a capital, in which, within a few days, he hoped to reign.

who desperately
defends
himself.

Tomom Bey, by the dispositions he made, seems to have been sensible of all this. He had received a fresh reinforcement of *Mamluks*, *Ethiopians*, *Moors*, and *Arabs*, whose troops were no way inferior to the *Mamluks*. He had lined both the streets and the houses, even to the flat roofs, with soldiers, and had drawn out of the arsenals, vast quantities of offensive, and defensive weapons of every kind. *Selim* was aware of all this, but he, and his *Othmans*, now were acquainted with the *Mamluk* way of fighting, and they depended upon their numbers, discipline, and artillery. Early in the morning the attack began upon the great street, where *Tomom Bey*'s chief force was, by the janisaries, with their artillery in front, while the *Othman* force attempted an entrance, through the narrow streets, which were intersected by ditches filled with stakes, and slightly covered over. The encounters all over the city were extremely bloody, and every quarter presented the most horrid scene that can be possibly imagined. But the *Turks* were under inexpressible disadvantages, by the annoyances they met with, from the tops and windows of the houses, and the vast number of barricades, and blind ditches, which they had to pass. They persevered, however, thus surrounded by thousands of deaths, for two entire days. *Tomom Bey*, and the bravest of his *Mamluks*, still facing them in the streets, and fighting them, with a courage, amounting to despair, sometimes on horseback, and sometimes on foot.

It may easily be conceived, that during so long, and but the doubtful a dispute, the face of victory was often changed; *Othmans* and the dastardly *Egyptians*, accordingly, fought with that at last party which prevailed. But some fugitive *Mamluks*, and prevailed. *Arabs*, going over to *Selim*, informed him, that in an opposite quarter of the city, there was a square, to which the *Mamluks*, if defeated, intended to retire, and that their horses stood ready bridled and saddled, to gallop off. Upon this intelligence, *Selim* detached *Mustapha*, one of his best generals, with orders to attack the city on that side, while he himself continued the main attack, with such fury, that he forced the *Mamluks* to retire, and was in hopes of a complete victory; when, all of a sudden, the *Mamluks*, as if ashamed of surviving a defeat, attacked them with such fury, that destroyed the bravest of his officers and troops, and forced the rest to fly in their turns. *Selim* then, filled with fury, shame and despair, had recourse to his last expedient, and gave orders for the city to be fired, in several places at once; this was upon the third day of the battle, and altered the scene of horror, for the noise of the artillery was intermixed with the falling of houses, and the shrieks of men, women, and children, beset with flames, or perishing in them, and imploring mercy. As to the *Othmans*, they had suffered so much, that they trusted to the conflagration, rather than to their arms, and were acting upon the defensive, when, all of a sudden, *Selim* was informed, that *Mustapha* had made his attack good, and had forced the opposite quarter of the city, where he had taken all the *Mamluks* horses, and their accoutrements. Upon this, *Selim* ordered the soldiers to do their utmost to stop the flames from spreading, which by surprising good fortune they did, and then his troops, taking fresh courage, again fell upon the *Mamluks*, who had been dispirited by seeing their city on the point of being reduced to ashes. But no sooner did they see the flames abated, than they again pushed the *Othmans*, and the fight was renewed with such fury, that the streets ran with blood; and, at last, the *Mamluks*, perceiving they were in danger of being hemmed in by *Mustapha*, fled towards the *Nile*, but fifteen hundred of the most resolute retreated to a mosque, which they had fortified, and in which, they are said to have held out, for three days and nights. It was however, at last taken by the *Othmans*; and this may and take be said, to have completed the reduction of *Cairo* by *Selim*. the city. As to *Tomom Bey*, he escaped over the *Nile*, in a boat, in disguise.

Such is the history of this mighty conquest, as related by historians who lived at that time, or were present in the war. It must appear plain, to the thinking reader, that both parties were, at once slaves, and enthusiasts, believing the doctrine of predestination, as all *Mahometans* do, and that enthusiasm alone supported them, under the incredible

Reflection
upon
standing
armies.

fatigues they suffered. When *Selim* first undertook the reduction of *Egypt*, it was a great, and a flourishing monarchy, its sultans being masters of *Syria* and *Mesopotamia* at the same time ; but the fate of this empire is a sufficient evidence of the danger of making a standing army the sole defence of a state. The sultans of *Egypt* had employed *Cherkassians* to defend the *Egyptians*, who are naturally indolent, and the *Cherkassians*, under the name of *Mamluks*, or slaves, became the standing army of the empire, while all the rest of the subjects were ignorant of the use of arms. Thus the defeat of the standing army decided the fate of that great empire ; a consequence, which *Selim* seems to have wisely foreseen.

Selim's
conduct
after his
conquest.

Authors are not agreed, with regard to the use which *Selim* made of his good fortune. He knew that great numbers of the *Mamluks* had escaped, and he had nothing to fear but from them. According to some authors, after *Cairo* submitted, he made proclamation, that all the *Cherkassians*, who surrendered themselves in three days, (though others say in twelve hours) should be pardoned, while, at the same time, he denounced the severest penalties upon those *Egyptians* who should harbour any of them, but after great numbers had surrendered themselves, they were most faithlessly put to death. Perhaps, *Selim* made a distinction between the *Cherkassians*, and the other *Mamluks*, who were *Egyptian*, or *Ethiopian* slaves. It is certain, the janisaries, and the other *Othman* soldiers, made a most unmerciful use of their victory, for they plundered the city, butchered many of the inhabitants, and tortured others, to oblige them to discover their treasures. Those excesses, soon made the *Egyptians* weary of their new masters, and understanding that *Tomom Bey* had fled to the country of *Saetha*, which lies to the west of the *Lower Egypt*, and that he was raising fresh forces, they privately sent to invite him back, promising, that if he came by night, they would make an insurrection in his favour. *Omer*, one of the greatest noblemen in that country, out of hatred to the *Mamluks* and *Tomom Bey*, discovered this correspondence to *Selim*, who nobly rewarded him for his intelligence, and took such measures, as were most likely to disappoint *Tomom Bey's* attempt.

Algazeli
submits to
him.

In the mean while, *Algazeli*, or as he is called, *Gazeli*, who seems to have been an *Arab*, returned from his own country, and finding *Cairo* in the hands of *Selim*, he made his submission to the conqueror, who raised him to a greater dignity than that which he held under *Tomom Bey*, and placed equal confidence in him. For some of the *Arabs*, and *Moors*, as they were called, having attacked the outposts of the *Othmans*, and made incursions to the very gates of *Cairo*, *Gazeli* was intrusted with an army to chastise them, which he did so effectually, that he plundered and took *Kayta*, put the *Moors* within it to the sword, and, to use the

Othman

Othman phrase, he rendered the rest of the inhabitants as tame as hens.

Though the *Cherkassians* were mercenaries, and, as they *Tomom* called themselves, slaves, yet being masters of *Egypt*, it was *Bey* re- with the utmost reluctance that they beheld it under the news the *Othman* dominion. Finding *Tomom Bey* in a disposition to com- war. mand them, he soon was at the head of five thousand *Cherkassians*, and ten thousand *Arab* cavalry, all of them select, choice troops. The news of this, and the discontents of the *Egyptians*, being made known to *Selim*, he sent two of the principal noblemen of his court, and the kadi of *Cairo*, to treat with *Tomom Bey*. According to some authors, he even Treaty offered to continue him in the government of *Egypt*, pro- between vided he would hold it of the *Othman* court, and agree to him and some other moderate conditions, of which, one seems to *Selim*. have been the dismissal of the *Mamluks* from his service. *Tomom Bey* was by no means averse to those proposals, and, according to some, even embraced them, and for some weeks he served as vice-roy of *Egypt*, under *Selim*; but the fact is improbable, nor is it mentioned in the kadi's history. It is certain, however, that the offer was made, and that the *Mamluks* about *Tomom Bey* put all *Selim's* ambassadors to death.

The motives which *Selim* had for proposing such advantageous terms to *Tomom Bey*, were various and powerful. He was at a vast distance from his hereditary dominions, from whence he could recruit his army, which was prodigiously reduced. He was surrounded by a faithless people, and expecting to be attacked by an enemy, whose courage and resolution he had reason to dread, and whom he had defeated only by his superiority in artillery and numbers. But *Tomom Bey*, had a fleet at that time, cruising against the *Portuguese*, in the *Arabian Gulph*, with three thousand *Mamluks* on board it, which *Selim* knew, and he every day expected it. His greatest apprehensions however, arose from the state of affairs upon the frontiers of *Persia*, where he was afraid *Ishmael* might retake *Tauris*, and cut his army there in pieces, which would render his return to *Constantinople*, from whence he had, as yet, received no supplies, very precarious, and might shut him out of *Syria*, and the *Lesser Asia*.

Such were the motives that influenced *Selim's* conduct But it is when he heard of the murder of his ambassadors, by the broken *Mamluks*. This stifled in him, all consideration, but how off. to be revenged, and he ordered his general *Mustapha* instantly to throw a bridge over the *Nile*, by which his whole army could march at once against *Tomom Bey*; this could not be done before *Tomom Bey* had intelligence of it, and he formed a noble, but wise project for revenge. He put himself at the head of fifteen thousand choice *Mamluks*, and *Arab* horse, and travelled with such incredible expedition, that he came up with his enemies, just as the *European* division

Tomom
Bey de-
feated,

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taken

and exe-
cuted.

division of their army had crossed the bridge. The *Othmans* imagining that *Tomom Bey* was at some hundred miles distance, thought themselves secure, when on a sudden they found themselves attacked with great slaughter. *Mustapha*, who was then passing the bridge, flew to support his troops, but found them in a manner routed, and that *Tomom Bey's* great aim was, to break down the bridge of boats, that no more of his enemies might pass over. *Mustapha*, however, with great intrepidity opposed them, and gave time for fresh troops to pass. Notwithstanding this, *Selim's* army must must have been cut to pieces, had he not got together a vast number of little boats, in which he sent over his janisaries to support *Mustapha*. This zeal and activity of the *Othman* troops turned the fortune of the day, and *Tomom Bey*, with bitter expressions of passion, saw himself once more obliged to fly, with a handful of his faithful *Cherkassians*. He was pursued by *Mustapha*, for four days and nights with the flower of *Selim's* *European* cavalry, and at last he traced the unhappy *Tomom Bey* to a farm-house, where fatigue and weariness obliged him, and his attendants, to repose. *Tomom Bey* thought he might do this with more security, as the place belonged to an *Arabian* sheykh, pretending to be descended from *Mohammed*, and as the *Arabians* were famous for their hospitality; but he was deceived. *Mustapha* and his party, besides being very much fatigued, were unwilling to commit hostilities upon the sheykh's estate. *Mustapha* however, by letters, prevailed with the sheykh, to place a guard round the farm, to prevent *Tomom Bey's* escape; and *Selim* making most magnificent promises to the sheykh by letters, persuaded him to give him up. The *Mamluks*, however, made a brave resistance, but to no purpose, for they were killed, or taken prisoners, and the unhappy *Tomom Bey* was taken in a lake, standing to the middle in water.

Some of the *Turkish* historians pretend, that, after this, *Selim* admitted his illustrious prisoner to his friendship, familiarity at table, that he designed to have restored him to the government of *Egypt*, and that he was not put to death, till *Selim* could no longer, with safety to himself, keep him alive. But this is an artful misrepresentation of the fact, for whatever favour of that kind was designed, or promised, happened before, in the manner we have explained; nor was *Selim* of a disposition to commiserate fallen greatness, or unfortunate courage. The kadi of *Constantinople's* account, which is chiefly to be depended upon, because he was present, says, that *Tomom Bey*, when sent by *Mustapha* to *Selim*, was not admitted into that conqueror's presence, but lodged under a strong guard in a neighbouring tent, from whence in a few days he was ignominiously conveyed on a mule to *Cairo*, where he was strangled, and hanged by the neck, under the arch of a gate. It is said, upon good authority,

authority, that, before his death, he was put to the torture, to make him discover the place where the treasures of his predecessors were hid, and that he endured it with wonderful constancy. His death put an end to the government of the *Mamluks* in *Egypt*, which has ever since been under the *Othman* dominion.

The ignominious death of so great a prince as *Tomom Bey*, struck such terror into the cowardly *Egyptians*, that *Alexandria*, and all the strong places in that country, yielded to *Selim*, without resistance, and he made *Khair Beg*, governor of his new conquest. To compleat *Selim's* good fortune, *Rais Soleyman*, one of the admirals of *Tomom Bey's* fleet, perceiving that his master was put to death, killed *Aziz* the other admiral, and went over with his ships to *Selim*. By this time, the *Othman* fleet was arrived at the port of *Alexandria*, and *Selim* having settled every thing in *Egypt*, removed five hundred of the chief *Egyptian* families to *Constantinople*, for which city he prepared to set out, upon his return to *Cairo*. But before he departed, the garrison which he was to leave at *Cairo*, petitioned him for an augmentation of their pay, upon this, *Selim* ordered *Yonus Pasha*, who commanded the army under him, and was grown formidable to *Selim* by his great popularity, to gratify their request. But *Yonus*, who envied *Khair Beg's* advancement, left *Cairo*, in company with *Selim*, without taking measures for that purpose. *Selim* being overtaken with an express from the garrison, complaining of the neglect, he ordered *Yonus* to be put to death in his presence, which was executed. When he came to *Gaza*, he rased that city to the ground, and gave the government of *Damascus*, *Palestine*, and *Syria*, to *Gazeli Bey*, who had so faithfully served *Tomom Bey*. His successes were followed by the voluntary surrender of many of the chief cities of *Asia*, who thought themselves happy, to be under his protection; and even the prince of *Mecca*, from being a sovereign, became his tributary. So that before his return to *Constantinople*, all the *Arab* tribes were, by this prince's means, brought to his subjection. The power of the *Cherkassians* was reduced, and, upon the whole, he added to his empire, territories equal in extent, to all that were left him by his forefathers.

But these immense conquests had drained his treasury so much, that he found himself in no condition to carry on the vast projects he still meditated. This is a kind of a proof, how tender *Selim* was of oppressing his new subjects with fresh impositions, for it is certain, had he proceeded in the oppressive, arbitrary way, practised by other barbarous conquerors, he could have been at no loss for the sinews of war, in a country so immensely rich, as *Egypt* then was. The *Persians*, however, now trembled at his name, and sent ambassadors, who met him on his return, and flattered him with the most fulsome compliments, to which *Selim* paid so little

Death,

and character of
Selim,

little attention, that he solemnly swore, he never would take rest till he had utterly subdued the *Persian* monarchy. With this view, he applied himself to raise money necessary for the war, and, in the mean while, he paid a visit to the tombs of his ancestors at *Adrianople*, where he was seized with a slight fever, and then with an imposthume, which put an end to his life, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign. He was buried at *Constantinople*, in a new mosque.

Selim was by far the greatest conqueror of his time, not only with regard to the extent of territory, but to the numbers, power, courage, and discipline of those he subdued. His conquests therefore, considering the shortness of his reign, are as wonderful, as the wise and political dispositions which he made, to preserve them to his successors. He considered intelligence, as the soul, both of government and war, and he had spies, both in the councils of his enemies, and the bed-chambers of his great subjects, so that it was a common saying, that the emperor to-morrow would know, what passed to night, between man and wife. This art of intelligence contributed to the tranquility of his reign. But all his political and moral qualities, which were very great, were stained by his ambition and cruelty, for he committed general massacres, upon the slightest occasions. He is noted amongst the *Othmans* for his wit and repartees, though, perhaps, a polished *European*, would not be apt to admire either. He was the first *Othman* monarch who, after his accession, shaved his beard, which being somewhat inconsistent with the precepts of the koran, was taken notice of by his mufti, and his excuse was, that he did it, that his ministers might have nothing to lead him by. The pictures we have of him, represent him, with a club in his hand, an instrument of which he was so fond, that, in the eastern stile, he called himself the father of clubs.

The Reign of Soleyman the First.

Who is
succeeded
by *Soley-*
man.

THIS great prince was named *Kanuni*, or the *Institutor of laws*, he being, in fact, the legislator of the *Othman* empire. *Selim*, who had been so terrible to all his adversaries, being dead, *Gazeli Beg*, whom he had made governor of *Damascus*, attempting to render himself independent, besieged *Aleppo*, but being obliged by *Ferhad Pascha*, *Soleyman's* chief general and minister, to raise the siege, he was followed, defeated, and killed by *Ferhad*, who immediately took possession of *Damascus*, and gave it to another governor. *Soleyman* was then at leisure to pursue the schemes of his father, who, before his death, had altered his system, and thought,

thought, that his interest led him to subdue the *Christians*, before he prosecuted his war against the *Persians*. This is the more probable, as we perceive from *European* histories, particularly that of *England*, that all the churches in *Europe* resounded with exhortations to the people, to contribute money for the suppressing the growing power of the *Othmans*. *Selim* had left his son a considerable navy, which *Soleyman* improved, and he sent one squadron into the *Archipelago*, and another to the *Black Sea*, to support his operations by land. He then committed the government of *Asia* to *Ferhad*, and falling into *Hungary*, he made himself master of the strong city of *Belgrade*. Returning to *Constantinople*, he understood that *Ali Beg*, whom his father had raised to the government of *Aliaudaulct's* principality, was preparing to shake off his yoke, he sent orders to *Ferhad Pasha* to take off his head, which he did.

The island of *Rhodes*, which was then possessed by the *He be-Knights Templars*, was by sea the bulwark of christendom. *Soleyman*, therefore, determined to employ the whole power of his vast empire in reducing it. *Philip de Villiers Lisle-Adam*, a man of the greatest virtue and courage, was then grand master of the order; and perceiving *Soleyman's* resolution, he endeavoured to alarm all *Europe* in its defence; but all the forces he could trust to were six thousand men, of whom six hundred were knights of the order. Before *Soleyman* begun hostilities, he summoned the order to surrender, and then he landed upon the island with two hundred thousand men, of whom sixty thousand were pioneers. Though the brave grand master found his solicitations for succours from the *Christian* princes ineffectual, yet, with the small garrison he had, he made as a glorious defence, as any recorded in history. The formidable artillery of the *Othmans*, played night and day upon the city, and one of the *Turkish* mines taking effect, it blew up the *English* bastion, with the destruction of a great number of *Englishmen*. After this, a vast number of assaults were made by the *Othmans*, who were bravely repulsed by the garrison, the very women doing duty at the breaches. *Soleyman*, thus finding his greatest efforts were disappointed, notwithstanding the numbers, and desperate resolutions of his troops, in a rage ordered his two generals *Mustapha*, and *Piri*, whom the *Europeans* call *Pyrrhus*, to be put to death, and the sentence would have been executed, had it not been for the intercession of the other generals. *Soleyman's* chief admiral however, was by his command publickly whipped, and reduced to the station of a galley slave, because the city was supplied, by sea, with men and provisions. It is probable, that *Soleyman*, seeing he had lost twenty thousand of his best troops, would have raised the siege, had it not been for a secret correspondence he held within the city, by which he was informed of the weakness of the garrison, and directed how to make his attacks.

Soleyman
takes
Rhodes.

He sub-
dues the
rebellion
in *Egypt*,

and de-
feats the
*Hunga-
rians*.

attacks. By this means, he made a great breach, and giving a general assault, though he lost five thousand men, he made lodgments so near the walls, that he thought himself sure of carrying the city. But, previous to another general assault, he sent a message to the grand master, promising him all kind of favour, if he would yield up the place. *Lisle-Adam* would have defended it to the last extremity, but he was over-ruled by the other knights, who, knowing the city not tenable, persuaded him to capitulate, which he did upon very honourable terms. *Soleyman* gave a noble testimony of his merit, by treating him with vast respect, calling him father, and expressing his sorrow, that he was obliged to turn him, in his old age, out of his habitation.

Mustapha, *Soleyman*'s general, resented the disgrace and danger he had lately incurred, and was meditating to revolt from his master during the siege of *Rhodes*, when *Soleyman* received in his camp, an account of the revolt of *Egypt*. *Mustapha* was immediately detached to reduce it, and to take the government of it upon himself. He was so successful in his expedition, that the rebels were defeated, and he made himself master of the immense riches that had been left by his predecessor *Khair Beg*. But, during his absence, *Soleyman* supplied his place of prime vizier, with *Ibrahim*, a common janitary. *Mustapha*, disgusted at this, sought to make himself master of *Egypt*, independent of *Soleyman*, and opened his mind to *Mehemmed Effendi*, the chief scribe or secretary of the divan. But *Mehemmed* continued so faithful to *Soleyman*, that he disappointed all the ambitious designs of *Mustapha*, whom he defeated and killed, and, as a reward for his loyalty, he obtained from *Soleyman* the government of *Egypt*. But the affairs of that country still remaining unsettled, *Ibrahim*, who had married the emperor's sister, repaired thither, and after extinguishing the remains of the rebellion, transferred the government to *Soleyman Pasha*, the same who had commanded *Tomom Bey*'s fleet, and had submitted to *Selim*. The peace of *Asia* being thus secured, *Soleyman* turned his arms against *Hungary*, which was then governed by *Lewis* the second, a young, head-strong prince. *Soleyman* invaded his country with two hundred thousand men, and advanced against *Buda*, the capital. He was opposed by *Lewis*, at the head of no more than twenty-five thousand forces, which, under him, were commanded by *Tomoreus*, archbishop of *Colossa*. The insatiations of the *Hungarians* were such, that *Tomoreus* engaged the *Othmans*, before he was joined by the waywod of *Transilvania*. The battle was fought at *Mohatz*, and proved fatal to the *Hungarians*, who were, all but a few, cut in pieces. The young king *Lewis* was drowned, in a ditch, into which his horse plunged him, and his fate was even bewailed by *Soleyman*; this battle was fought the twenty-ninth of *October* 1526. *Buda* then opened her gates to the conqueror, as did many of

of the most important cities in *Hungary*, and *Soleyman* made an unmerciful use of his victory, by ravaging the country, and depopulating it, by killing, and carrying into slavery one hundred and fifty thousand of its inhabitants.

During this expedition, a report was spread in *Asia* of *Soleyman's* death, which raised a rebellion under *Kalender*. This rebel made so formidable a progress that he subdued all the *Asiatic Turkey*, and shook the throne of *Soleyman*, till he was defeated by *Ibrahim Pasha*, who killed thirty thousand of his men.

Soleyman, though a great legislator, was a cruel and unjust judge. His custom was to put whole communities to death for the crimes of one or a few, according to a maxim, if not a law, of the *Othman* government. He ordered all the *Albanians* in *Constantinople* to be cut in pieces, without distinction, because some robbers of that nation had robbed and murdered a *Christian* merchant. Soon after, he ordered all the inhabitants of *Aleppo* to be put to the sword, for the fault of a few who had killed some troublesome ecclesiastics; and it was with great difficulty that *Ibrahim* could prevail upon him to mitigate the rigour of the sentence, by putting to death only the most guilty, and sending the others into banishment.

The commotions of *Asia* had a bad effect upon *Soleyman's* affairs in *Hungary*. *Ferdinand*, king of the *Romans*, having defeated *John*, the waywod of *Transilvania*, who had been elected king of *Hungary*, retook *Buda*, in right of his wife, who was sister to the late king *Lewis*. After this, *John* threw himself upon the protection of *Soleyman*, who again attempted to invade *Hungary*; but, the weather rendering the roads impassable, he was obliged to defer his expedition till next year, which was 1529. He then besieged *Buda* with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men. The city was defended by a *German* garrison, commanded by *Nadaſti*, an *Hungarian* officer of great courage and reputation. The *Hungarians* and *Germans* hated one another, and the garrison mutinying, they threw their governor into irons, and gave up the city, upon terms of having their lives and arms secured to them.

It is said, by some writers, that *Soleyman*, when he took possession of that city, ordered all the *Germans* to be put to the sword for the injustice they had done the governor; but others say, that this was done in direct breach of the capitulation.

The recovery of this important city was attended by the submission of *Bogdan*, the prince of *Moldavia*, who consented that his country should become a fief of the *Othman* empire, with a salvo of the religion of his subjects. This submission was extremely agreeable to *Soleyman*, who presented that prince with a military cap, or cockade, by the *Turks* called *kukka*, made of ostrich feathers, and jewels, with other badges of command.

Elated

Belieges
Vienna.

Elated with this great accession of power, *Soleyman* fell into *Germany*, and, destroying the country wherever he came, he, at last, laid siege to *Vienna*. This city, tho' the capital of the *German* empire, was poorly fortified, but it was defended by a garrison of twenty thousand men, commanded by a prince-palatine of the *Rhine*. The numerous forces of *Soleyman*, however, blocked it up so close that it could receive no supplies from *Frederick*, duke of *Bavaria*, who was general to the king of the *Romans*.

but is
forced to
raise the
siege.

Soleyman, who knew the valour of the *Germans*, would have given the garrison any terms, but they were rejected. Upon this the siege proceeded with great vigour but little success. The heavy artillery of the *Turks* was sunk by the *Germans* in bringing it up the *Danube*; and the different attacks made upon the city cost *Soleyman* eighty thousand troops. He again made magnificent promises to the citizens, persuading them to surrender, but they were also refused; and, the rainy season coming on, *Soleyman*, after causing all his prisoners to be butchered before his face, raised the siege, and, with great difficulty, carried the broken remains of his army to *Buda*. His miscarriage and losses in this expedition is said to have affected him so much, that he pronounced a curse upon such of his successors as should attempt to besiege *Vienna*.

Defends
Buda.

Soleyman, upon his return to *Buda*, confirmed *John*, the waywod of *Transilvania*, in the tributary government of *Hungary*, which he now considered as part of his own hereditary dominions. Returning to *Constantinople*, the circumcision of his three sons, *Muslapha*, *Mohammed*, and *Selim*, was celebrated with a magnificence which took up so much time in preparing, that the king of the *Romans* took that opportunity of besieging *Buda*. The garrison, however, made a noble defence; and the besiegers, being struck with a panic, on account of the resolution shewn by a *Jewish* woman who fired off a canon with the sleeve of her shift, which she tore off and lighted; and with a report that the great *Ibrahim*, prime-vizir, was coming to relieve the city, that they precipitately abandoned the siege.

Affairs of
Hungary.

According to the *Turkish* historians, who are extremely partial to the glory of their own emperors, *Soleyman*, next year, at the earnest request of his tributary king of *Hungary*, invaded the dominions of *Ferdinand*, defeated him, and reduced a great deal of territory to his subjection. But the reverse of this was the truth: though *Soleyman* invaded the *German* dominions with five hundred thousand men, it was with difficulty he could take the little town of *Ganz*; and his detached parties, which were very strong and numerous, were every where cut in pieces by the *Germans*. *Charles*, the emperor, and his brother *Ferdinand*, king of the *Romans*, remained, with the main body of their army, at *Vienna*. *Soleyman*,

Soleyman, not thinking proper to attack them, returned to *Belgrade*; and *John*, the king of *Hungary*, was obliged to raise the siege of *Gran*, which he had undertaken.

Could the emperor *Charles* have been persuaded by his brother *Adventer* to have pursued the advantages they had gained this campaign, the *Turks* might have been expelled out of *Hungary*; but the affairs of *Italy* ingrossed the mind of *Charles* so much, that he hastily returned thither. His admiral, *Doria*, *Soleyman's* however, took the city of *Koron*, with the city and castle of *Patras*, and several other castles in the *Gulph of Lepanto*. But the *Christians*, after *Doria* left that coast, could not maintain their footing at *Koron*, or in the other places they had taken in the *Morea*. In this *Soleyman* was greatly favoured by the friendship of the *Venetians*, with whom he had lately concluded a treaty, and whom he strove by all means to oblige. *Gritti*, the son of the doge of *Venice*, was then at the court of *Soleyman*, and, notwithstanding the difference of religion, was his principal favourite. *Soleyman*, understanding that *John*, the king of *Hungary*, was tampering with the court of *Vienna*, sent *Gritti*, with a magnificent retinue of seven thousand persons, to controul him. This expedition proved fatal to *Gritti*: the *Transilvanians* and *Hungarians* paid but little regard to his authority; and some of his attendants having basely murdered the bishop of *Varadium*, who was likewise a waywod, and a man of great consequence in *Transilvania*, the bishop's friends confederated together, besieged *Gritti* in the castle of *Mege*, became masters of his person, and cut off his head.

It was about this time that the famous *Barbarossa*, *Soleyman's* admiral, began to make a great figure. His original history of name was *Khairoddin*; his father was a *Greek* renegado of *Barbarossa* *Mitylene*; and he and his brother being bred, from their infancy, to the sea, came, at last, to command a squadron of pirates, who were taken in pay by *Selim*, king of *Algiers*, against his brother *Mohammed*. *Horrukkius*, the elder brother, afterwards killed *Selim*, and succeeded to his throne; but being himself slain by the *Spaniards*, his brother took the command of the fleet, and signalized himself so much, that he was taken into *Soleyman's* service, as being the only match in those seas for *Doria*.

His first expedition was to *Italy*, where he plundered several towns and took the city of *Fundi*. He then alarmed and insulted all the coasts of *Naples*, filling every place he came to with blood and desolation. His name being thus terrible, he undertook to place *Rashid*, the son of *Mohammed*, king of *Tunis*, upon his father's throne, which was occupied by his younger brother *Muley Hassan*. He accordingly, pretending that *Rashid* was with him, though, in fact, he had left him at *Constantinople*, got possession of all the kingdom of *Tunis*, and afterwards proved a most useful sea-officer to *Soleyman*, who, having nothing to fear from *Europe*, was carrying on the

the war against *Persia*. He had there been joined by *Mozaf-fer*, the king of *Ghilan*, the antient *Hyrchania*, and other princes of the country, who became his tributaries : but meeting with great difficulties in this expedition, he turned off towards *Baghdad*, which he entered and fortified.

It appears, in this expedition, that the *Persians* had corrupted his *difterdar*, or high-treasurer, who was put to death after he had accused *Ibrahim*, the prime-vizier, of being as guilty as himself. *Soleyman* carefully dissembled this information, which he received in writing from the treasurer while he was at the foot of the gallows. But, as the *Turks* think that the words of dying men are the strongest of all evidence, he put *Ibrahim* to death.

After this, he marched against the shah of *Persia*, who, terrified by his approach, sued for peace. *Soleyman* then set out on his return for *Constantinople* ; but was so much harassed by the *Persian* horse that he lost fifteen thousand men, as his army did the greatest part of its baggage ; circumstances carefully concealed by the *Turkish* historians, who make *Soleyman* return in great triumph to his capital.

Charles,
the em-
peror in-
vades *Tu-*
nis,

During *Soleyman*'s absence in this expedition, *Charles V.* ordered his generals to invade *Bosnia* and besiege *Sulien* ; but they were defeated by *Hasrud*, the governor of the province. This event, and the ravages which *Barbarossa* continued to make on the coast of *Italy*, alarmed the emperor so much that he prepared a powerful armament, in the whole amounting to seven hundred sail, with a proportionable body of land-troops on board, and set sail in person for *Africa*. With this force he had the good fortune to take *Gulletta*, which was the key of *Tunis*, by a general assault ; and thereby made himself master of the greatest part of *Barbarossa*'s fleet, which defended it. Upon this, *Barbarossa* put himself at the head of his land-troops, but being defeated, he retired to *Tunis*, where six thousand *Christian* slaves he had knocked off their own fetters, and made themselves masters of the garrison. *Barbarossa* fled to *Hippo*, while *Charles* entered *Tunis*, which the *Spaniards* plundered, and the *Germans* in revenge cut in pieces all the *Moors* and inhabitants they met with. *Muley Hassan*, whom *Charles* had promised to restore to his throne, prevailed with him to stop the slaughter ; and vast treasures were found in the place. *Barbarossa* had sunk some galleys at *Hippo*, suspecting what might happen, which he now weighed up ; and sailed with them to *Algiers*. This was a great disappointment to *Charles*, who, upon certain conditions, restored *Muley Hassan* to his throne and returned to *Italy*. Though nothing can be better ascertained in history than the whole of this expedition, yet it has been entirely stifled by the *Turkish* historians, who have made *Barbarossa* victorious in all places and upon all occasions.

and takes
it.

From *Algiers* *Barbarossa* sailed to *Constantinople*, where he soon was put at the head of a new fleet, which went against

Korfu,

Korfu, then in subjection to the *Venetians*; but, though *Soleyman*, without any blood-shed, subdued all *Albania*, yet his success in that expedition was very indifferent. Being solicited by the *French* ambassador, he, at first, invaded *Italy* and took *Castro*; but lost twelve of his best ships filled with janissaries, who were all killed or taken by *Doria*. Having landed upon *Korfu*, he proclaimed war against the *Venetians*, with whom, till then, he had lived in friendship, for the insults and injuries they had done to his flag; and he made vast numbers of the miserable inhabitants his captives, of whom *Barbarossa* had fifteen thousand for his own share. The city of *Korfu*, however, was so bravely defended by two *Venetian* senators, that *Soleyman* was obliged to raise the siege in September, 1537. He was afterwards somewhat indemnified for this loss and disgrace, by the successes of his admiral *Lutzi*, who subdued the islands of *Ægina*, *Paros*, and *Naxos*, whose princes agreed to pay tribute to *Soleyman*. In these islands the *Othmans* made an immense booty, and carried from them a vast number of captives. In the mean while the troops of *Ferdinand* besieged *Essek*, in *Hungary*, but with so little success, that they were obliged to raise the siege, and most of their troops were put to the sword by the *Turks*.

In the year 1538, *Soleyman*, who had the trade of his subjects greatly at heart, fitted out eighty large ships, under the command of *Hassan Beg* and *Soleyman Pasha*, the governor of *Egypt*, to cruize upon the *Portuguese* and the *Venetians*, who had ingrossed the trade of *India*. The reader has already seen that *Tomom Bey* had sent a fleet to the *Red Sea* for the same purpose. The basha's first step was to seize the effects and persons of all the *Venetians* who resided at *Cairo* and *Alexandria*; and then sailing down the *Red Sea*, or the *Arabian Gulph*, he arrived at *Adin*, which lies at the bottom of the same, and most treacherously hanged the king of that city, with four of his officers, whom, under pretence of friendship, he inveigled on board his ship, and seized the city.

After this he attacked *Diu*, a *Portuguese* settlement upon the coast of *Kambia*; but was obliged to raise the siege; and, in his return through the *Red Sea*, he took off the head of the king of *Zibid*, for not shewing him a proper respect. He then landed at *Jaddah*, the sea-port of *Mecca*, for the purpose of paying his devotion in that city, and sent *Hassan Beg* to *Suez* with the fleet.

In the mean while the sultan, in person, had invaded *Moldavia* with great cruelty, and obliged the *Moldavians* to pay him tribute; but they prevailed upon him to let them retain the shadow of electing a prince, whom he confirmed; but he took care to plunder them of all the ready-money and treasures that were found at *Soczava*, their capital. During this expedition, *Barbarossa* continued his depredations in the *Mediterranean*, but was repulsed at *Kanea*, in *Candia*, by *Gritti*,

Sea war
with the
Venetians.

Gritti, the *Venetian* governor there. The *Venetians* entered into a confederacy with the emperor, whose fleet was commanded by *Doria*, and the pope; so that the match between *Doria* and *Barbarossa* was pretty equal.

The *Christian* fleet being rendezvoused, sailed forth to the bay of *Ambracia*, where the *Turkish* fleet then rode; but *Doria*'s great ships being becalmed, the engagement which followed was to his disadvantage and disgrace. *Doria*, however, took *Castello Nuovo*, and garrisoned it with four thousand *Spaniards*; but the *Venetians* were then obliged to sue for peace, which they accordingly obtained, though, soon after, *Barbarossa*'s fleet suffered so dreadfully by a storm, that he is said to have lost twenty thousand men. Next spring, being that of the year 1539, *Barbarossa* besieged and retook *Castello Nuovo*; but a peace being clapped up between the emperor *Charles V.* and *Francis I.* of *France*, these two princes invited the *Venetians* into a confederacy with them against the *Turks*. That republic was, in fact, more afraid of those two powers than of the *Turks* themselves; and, instead of joining with them, they made fresh concessions to *Soleyman* for a renewal of the peace.

Buda be-
sieged and
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man.

This left *Soleyman* more at leisure to attend the affairs of *Hungary*, where *Ferdinand*, brother to *Charles V.* had attacked the infant king *Stephen*, who was under the protection of *Soleyman*, and besieged *Buda*. *Soleyman* immediately sent the basha *Hamed* with an army to raise the siege; and promised queen *Isabella*, mother to *Stephen*, that he would, in person, support *Hamed*. He was as good as his word: the *Germans* before the city were defeated with immense slaughter; but *Soleyman* treacherously made himself master of *Buda*, with all *Stephen*'s territories, and sent both the mother and son, who was yet in his cradle, into a kind of honourable exile in *Transylvania*, under pretence of their being unfit for government. He then ordered the churches to be converted into jamis, or mosques, and *Hungary* to be reduced to the form of an *Ottoman* province, and under a *Mahometan* governor.

Ferdinand, whose army was destroyed through the inactivity of his general, endeavoured most abjectly, by his ambassadors, to prevail upon *Soleyman* to suffer him to reign in *Hungary*; and offered him the same tribute as had been paid by the late kings, and even engaging himself to bring off his brother, *Charles V.* from the *Christian* confederacy, that *Soleyman* might be more at leisure to attend the *Persian* war: but the sultan was so far from complying, that he insisted upon *Ferdinand* delivering up all the places that was yet in his possession belonging to *Hungary*; upon his indemnifying him for the charges of the war, and even paying a tribute for *Austria*. Notwithstanding this roughness on the part of the sultan, who denied even to agree to a truce, he magnanimously suffered

suffered the *German* ambassadors to take a view of his camp, that they might have an opportunity of admiring and reporting the excellent dispositions and discipline of it.

The *basia Mehemed*, a haughty severe general, was then made governor of *Hungary*; and *Soleyman*, partly by treachery, and partly by force, made himself master of all *Transylvania*, which he nominally gave to young *Stephen*, as being most agreeable to the inhabitants. It was about this time Expedition that the emperor, *Charles V.* made his ill-judged expedition against *Algiers*; in which his army and fleet, by famine and storms, were almost entirely destroyed. *Algiers.*

About the year 1542, the ambition of *Charles V.* and that of *Francis I.* of *France*, dividing all *Europe*, the latter's resentment got so far the better of him, that he sent an ambassador, one *Rinco*, to solicit the sultan *Soleyman* to declare war against *Charles*. *Rinco* was killed in *Italy* by some *Spaniards*, and was succeeded in his commission by *Polinus*, who, upon his arrival at *Constantinople*, found the divan greatly divided upon the subject of his embassy, which was to solicit the fleet under *Barbarossa* against the emperor's dominions. The vizier *Soleyman* thought that *Barbarossa* was already too great, and, at first, refused to see *Polinus*; but the distribution of some money amongst other ministers, procured him an audience of the emperor, whose ambition was so agreeably flattered by one of the most powerful princes in christendom suing for his assistance, that he ordered *Barbarossa* instantly to fit out a fleet; which he did, to the amount of one hundred and ten gallies and forty galleons; with which *Reggio* he bore down towards the *Fare of Messina*, and took and plundered *Reggio*. He then sailed to *Ostia*, and filled all *Rome* by the with the terror of his arms; so that it was with difficulty the *Turks*. *French* ambassador, by his letters, prevailed with the inhabitants not to abandon the city.

Though this unnatural alliance between the *French* and Alliance the *Othmans* was a matter of convenience for *Francis* at that time, yet it has since operated fatally both upon the interests between the *French* of *Christianity* and the liberty of *Europe*, because it has, ever and *Turks*. since, been the favourite alliance of the *French* in all their differences with other *Christian* powers. *Barbarossa*, after insulting the wastes of *Italy*, sailed to *Marseilles*. This was in the year 1543; and the active *Barbarossa* began to think that the *French* had imposed upon both himself and his master, as he saw no likelihood of their performing their mighty promise, by joining him with a very large force. At last, however, the *French* fleet was put in readiness, with eight thousand land-forces on board; and the combined fleets laid siege to *Nice*. After the preparations for that had been formed, the city capitulated to surrender to the *French*; but the castle under *Paul*, its governor, held out. The janisaries, understanding that, by the capitulation, they were to be deprived of the plunder of the place, and the powder and shot

Siege of
Nice
raised.

shot of the *French* auxiliaries being quite exhausted, were scarcely restrained from putting *Polinus* to death; and *Barbarossa* could scarcely be prevailed upon to stay longer from *Constantinople*, when a letter was intercepted from the *Spanish* general, promising *Paul* relief in two days. Upon this the janisaries broke into, plundered, and fired the city, and *Barbarossa* raised the siege.

It was thought, after this, that he would have attacked *Doria*, who lay with his fleet at *Villa Franca*; but those two great admirals seem to have had their private reasons for not coming to a decisive action; and it is even said, upon good authority, that *Doria*, to preserve his countrymen, the *Genoese*, from being plundered by the *Turks*, supplied *Barbarossa* with necessaries for refitting his fleet, which, before winter, separated into two squadrons. One of these, under his kinsmen *Salek* and *Hassan*, ravaged the coasts of *Spain*, and wintered in *Algiers*; as the other, under himself, did at *Toulon*.

Character
of *Barbarossa*.

Barbarossa was not the barbarian he is represented to have been by *Christian* writers. During this expedition he fell in love with a *Spanish* lady, and made her his wife. He had notions of gratitude; for he obliged an *Italian* governor to set at liberty a young *Jew*, the son of one of his friends; and he was so welcome to his father, that the latter expired with joy in embracing him. His moderation in all his conquests, and his behaviour to the *French* after he thought they had deceived him, were virtues not common to a barbarian; while his valour, discipline, and the care he took of his men, would have done honour to the greatest character. It is true, he, without any remorse, ravaged the *Christian* territories; but the *Christians*, when ever they had an opportunity, did the same by those of the *Othmans*; but he is not accused of any acts of perfidy; on the contrary, he was capable of requiting kindnesses, and seldom, or never, broke his word. In his return from *France* to *Constantinople*, he burnt the city of *Porto Hercole*, ravaged the isles of the *Archipelago*, and spread desolation and distress wherever he came; but failed in a design he had upon *Puteoli*. The greatness of spoil, and the number of captives, he made in this expedition, was incredible; for he is said to have carried off, from the little island of *Lipaza* alone, which he laid waste, seven thousand prisoners. He returned, according to *Knolles*, to *Constantinople* in the beginning of autumn, 1544; where he was received with high honours, and carested by his master, and had the good fortune to die in peace three years after; viz. in 1547.

Crusade
against
Soleyman.

Ferdinand finding *Soleyman* so intractable with regard to *Hungary*, formed a kind of a crusade amongst the *German* princes against him. The princes and free states chose the marquis of *Brandenburg* for their general, and raised thirty thousand foot and seven thousand horse, besides *Ferdinand's* troops, which joined them at *Vienna*, and a large body of
Hungarians.

Hungarian and *Stirian* horse, with three thousand choice *Italian* foot, sent by the pope under *Alessandro Vitellio*. They directed their march towards *Buda*; but the whole of the expedition was rendered shameful and unsuccessful by the dilatory conduct of the *German* generals, particularly the marquis of *Brandenburg*. Instead of marching directly to *Buda*, they laid siege to *Pest*; but their operations were so ill conducted, that, had it not been for a handful of *Italians*, under *Vitellio* and *Medici*, another *Italian* who commanded the fleet, they must have been entirely destroyed; and, in the end, they were obliged to make an inglorious retreat to *Vienna*, where their mighty armament was disbanded; while *Ferdinand*, to cover his disgrace, ordered *Perenus*, an *Hungarian* nobleman of great quality, to be thrown into prison, on suspicion of his aspiring to the throne of *Hungary*.

Soon after this, *Soleyman*, in person, fell into the imperial *Hungary* part of *Hungary*, with great cruelty; and, after reducing invaded. many important places, he laid siege to *Gran*, which was basely surrendered to him by two *Spanish* officers; and then he laid siege to *Alba Regalis*. Here the attack and defence were equally obstinate. The women fought upon the walls, and a female *Hungarian* struck off the heads of two *Turks* with one sweep of a scythe. The place, however, was, at last, taken by *Soleyman*; who is said to have broken the capitulation, and to have put many of the principal citizens to death for their attachment to *Ferdinand* in prejudice of their lawful sovereign. The truth is, of the two the *German* yoke was the least galling.

Amidst all those victories, *Soleyman* received a severe blow by the death of his son *Mohammed*, for whom he expressed an unusual degree of sorrow. The *Turks* thus continued victorious in *Hungary* till the year 1547, when a truce, for five years, was made between them and the *German* princes. Death of
Soleyman's
son.

Tahmasp I. was then shah, or sultan, of *Persia*; and, having disobliged *Alkasib Mirza*, who is said to have been king of *Shirwan*, and his own brother, the latter applied to *Soleyman*, whom he persuaded to bring a large army into the field, and promised to make him master of all *Persia*. While *Soleyman* was on this march, his two sons, *Bajazet* and *Mustapha*, came from their governments of *Iconium* and *Amasia* to pay him their submissions; but their father, suspicious of their entertaining ambitious thoughts, received them coldly and sent them back to their governments. Proceeding to *Persia*, he made himself master of *Tibris*, *Van*, and *Amzeh*; and, by means of *Alkasib Mirza*, his troops over-ran the whole country, and seized the shah's treasures. *Alkasib* relenting, would have returned to his duty; but, being discovered, he fled to *Georgia*, and from thence to *Arabia*, or *Irak*, where an *Arab* prince delivered him into the hands of *Thamasp*, who put him to death. *Soleyman*, by this time, seems to have returned to *Constantinople*, and left the war to War with
Persia.

be finished by the pasha *Mehemed*, who reduced above twenty cities, and placed garrisons in a great number of fortresses. The reader, however, in turning back to our *Persian* history, will find a different account of this expedition.

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Muley Hassan, whom *Charles V.* had made king of *Tunis*, being afraid that *Barbarossa's* armament was designed against him, fled to *Naples*, to throw himself at the feet of *Charles* for protection. He was at *Naples* when *Barbarossa* was obliged to retire from *Nice*, and he there received an account that his son *Amid* had declared for himself, and usurped his government. Upon this, *Muley Hassan*, being well provided with money, hired some *Italian* soldiers of fortune, who served under one *Lofredi*, and passed over to *Tunis*; but, in attempting to remount his throne, was defeated; and, being taken prisoner, his unnatural son cut out his eyes. *Tonarrès*, the *Spanish* governor of the *Gulletta*, for the emperor, upon this, sent for *Abdol Malek*, who was *Amid's* elder brother, and who, by a stratagem, made himself master of *Tunis*; but he died after enjoying his royalty but twenty-six days. He was succeeded by his son, a child of twelve years of age; but, being under the tuition of three barbarians, their government grew so intolerable to the people, that *Amid* was re-admitted to *Tunis*; where he cruelly put all his enemies to death, his father alone escaping through the favour of *Tonarrès*, who gave him shelter in the *Gulletta*.

Dragut's
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During this confusion, *Dragut*, a famous *Turkish* pirate in those seas, made himself master of several cities in the kingdom of *Tunis*, particularly *Mohammedia*; and, being countenanced by *Soleyman*, he committed prodigious depredations on the *Christian* powers. Upon this, the emperor *Charles* ordered his admiral, *Doria*, to suppress the pirate, and to raze *Mohammedia*, his chief haunt; which, by the help of some knights of *Malta*, he accordingly did. *Dragut* applied to *Soleyman*, who, exasperated by *Doria's* successes and ravages, furnished *Dragut* with one hundred and forty sail, commanded by the pasha *Sinan*, who landed in *Sicily*. Here they took the castle of *Augusta*, and, making a fruitless attempt upon *Malta*, they sailed to *Goza*, from whence they carried off above six thousand captives. From thence they sailed to *Tripoli*, then, by the emperor's gift, in possession of the knights of *Malta*; and which, after a brave resistance made by the garrison, they took, through the treachery of a *French* renegado; but the *Othmans* broke the capitulation by depriving the garrison both of their freedom and their effects.

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In the year 1553, *Isabella*, the mother of *Stephen*, the young king of *Hungary*, was obliged to surrender *Transylvania* to *Ferdinand*, being unable to oppose the progress of the *Turks*, who besieged and took *Temeswar*; but, as usual, they most perfidiously broke the capitulation. They likewise took the castle of *Zolnuk*, but were repulsed in their attempt upon

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Whatever passes within the walls of the seraglio, or where-ever the residence of the *Turkish* emperor is fixed, is kept so secret, or rendered so uncertain by different reports, that an author is very unsafe in descending to particulars, either of facts or characters. It is, however, agreed that *Mustapha* was the darling of the empire; and, that *Roxolana*, as is common with ambitious, wicked, women, considered him as the chief bar between her off-spring and the throne. *Soleyman* was now old, and she therefore had the more power over his affections. She prevailed with him to send *Mustapha* and his mother to the distant government of *Cayamania*; and *Rustan*, who had married her daughter, attempted to cut off some part of his revenue. The better to succeed, she assumed an extraordinary fit of devotion, and could not be persuaded to cohabit again with the sultan till he solemnly married her, which he therefore did. She then instilled into *Soleyman* notions of his danger from *Mustapha*; and, if we may believe *Christian* writers, attempted to poison him. But this wickedness not succeeding, *Soleyman* ordered *Rustan* to raise a great army, under pretence of marching against the *Persians*; but, in fact, to seize upon *Mustapha*, and send him in chains to *Constantinople*.

It was easy for *Mustapha* to perceive the danger which both his person and title to the crown were in; and he was so well beloved, that he had intelligence of the designs against both. He raised seven thousand horse, and began his march towards *Syria*; which was sufficient to shew *Rustan* that his design

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A tyrant thinks, that every act of just precaution in a son or subject, is an act of rebellion ; and, next year, which was 1553, he put himself at the head of a great army, and ordered *Mustapha* to repair to him at *Aleppo*, where he lay encamped. The prince, perhaps knowing his resistance would be in vain, endeavoured, by a generous confidence, to win his father over, and presented himself at the door of the sultan's tent dressed in white ; but perceiving he had his dagger by his side he left it without. Entering the tent he was met by seven mutes, who threw him upon the ground ; but, either through the vigour of the prince, or their own disinclination, they were some time in strangling him ; upon which, the unnatural father, from a traverse window, reproached and threatened them for their backwardness, and then they put an end to his life.

This was so secretly executed, that *Jehan Ghir*, so called from his deformity, knew nothing of the matter. He was a kind of favourite with the sultan, who imagined that he would be pleased with his elder brother's death, and intended to make him a present of *Mustapha's* effects and treasures ; but *Jehan Ghir* no sooner saw the dead body, than, either out of affection for his brother, or apprehension of what must be his own fate, flew himself upon the spot.

When the murder came to be made public, it had almost cost *Scleyman* his life and empire, through an insurrection of the janisaries and soldiers that *Mustapha* had brought along with him. It was, however, appeased ; partly by the intrepidity, and partly by the well-timed compliances, of the sultan, who was obliged to strip *Rustan* of his power. But the danger was no sooner removed, than he put to death *Achmet*, *Rustan's* successor, who had been the main instrument of quelling the mutiny. and *Rustan* was re-instated in

peace was concluded, and the cities of *Van* *Marash* and *Mejul* were added to the frontiers of the *Othman* dominions on that side.

By this time two of *Soleyman*'s sons by *Roxolana* were grown Differences between *Bajazet* was the favourite of the mother, and each hated the other. This encouraged an obscure person, at the head of no more than forty men, to appear upon the confines of *Moldavia* and *Wallakia*, and pretend to be the late prince *Mustapha*, or one of his sons; and, perhaps, he really was, the other son having been put to death soon after his father. Some, but we think with very little appearance of truth, say, that this pretended *Mustapha* was set up by *Bajazet*, in hatred to his brother. If there was any thing in this, it must be owing to the pretender's being the real son of *Mustapha*, and to *Bajazet*'s joining him, that he might put aside *Selim* from the succession, of whom he was to expect no favour. Be this as it will, it seems to be certain that *Selim* impressed his father, who was now old and infirm, with an opinion of this pretender being the creature of *Bajazet*, and the sultan ordered both of them to their respective governments. *Bajazet*, in fact, refused to obey, and retiring to *Ancyra* he raised a great army.

In the mean while, *Soleyman* committed the prosecution of the war against *Mustapha* to his sanjacks, or other generals; and *Mustapha*'s soldiers deserting from him, he was taken prisoner and sent to *Constantinople*; where being put to the rack, he discovered his confederacy with *Bajazet*, and was then thrown into the sea. The *Christian* writers make this execution to have been performed while *Bajazet* was at court, and in his father's power; and that he was pardoned at the intercession of *Roxolana*. But the *Turks* are more to be depended upon, who tell us, that *Bajazet* was the chief means of suppressing *Mustapha*'s insurrection; and, that, far

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man's cru-
elty.

A tyrant thinks, that every act of just precaution in a son or subject, is an act of rebellion; and, next year, which was 1553, he put himself at the head of a great army, and ordered *Mustapha* to repair to him at *Aleppo*, where he lay encamped. The prince, perhaps knowing his resistance would be in vain, endeavoured, by a generous confidence, to win his father over, and presented himself at the door of the sultan's tent dressed in white; but perceiving he had his dagger by his side he left it without. Entering the tent he was met by seven mutes, who threw him upon the ground; but, either through the vigour of the prince, or their own disinclination, they were some time in strangling him; upon which, the unnatural father, from a traverse window, reproached and threatened them for their backwardness, and then they put an end to his life.

This was so secretly executed, that *Jehan Ghir*, so called from his deformity, knew nothing of the matter. He was a kind of favourite with the sultan, who imagined that he would be pleased with his elder brother's death, and intended to make him a present of *Mustapha's* effects and treasures; but *Jehan Ghir* no sooner saw the dead body, than, either out of affection for his brother, or apprehension of what must be his own fate, slew himself upon the spot.

When the murder came to be made public, it had almost cost *Soleyman* his life and empire, through an insurrection of the janisaries and soldiers that *Mustapha* had brought along with him. It was, however, appeased; partly by the intrepidity, and partly by the well-timed compliances, of the sultan, who was obliged to strip *Rustan* of his power. But the danger was no sooner removed, than he put to death *Achmet*, *Rustan's* successor, who had been the main instrument of quelling the mutiny, and *Rustan* was re-instated in his power.

Such is the manner, in general, in which the *Christian* historians tell this event. The *Turkish* historians seem to admit that *Mustapha* was guilty; and some, with probability on their side, say that *Jehan Ghir* was poisoned by his father's order.

New war
with *Per-*
sia.

Perpetual action is the surest means of keeping mutinous troops in order. The spoils of christendom and *Persia* were always agreeable to the *Turks*; and, in the year 1554, *Soleyman* denounced war against the shah of *Persia*, and laid siege to *Erivan*, which he took and destroyed, though the finest city in that empire. He laid waste all the tract between *Ti-bris* and *Maragha*; and several of the *Persian* governors, or rather princes, put themselves under his protection, and favoured his operations. In the following spring he marched to *Baghdad*, where, upon the shah's humble application, a
peace

peace was concluded, and the cities of *Van Marash* and *Mejul* were added to the frontiers of the *Othman* dominions on that side.

By this time two of *Soleyman's* sons by *Roxolana* were grown Different to man's estate; the one *Bajazet*, and the other *Selim*. *Bajazet* was the favourite of the mother, and each hated the other. This encouraged an obscure person, at the head of no more than forty men, to appear upon the confines of *Moldavia* and *Wallakia*, and pretend to be the late prince *Mustapha*, or one of his sons; and, perhaps, he really was, the other son having been put to death soon after his father.

Some, but we think with very little appearance of truth, say, that this pretended *Mustapha* was set up by *Bajazet*, in hatred to his brother. If there was any thing in this, it must be owing to the pretender's being the real son of *Mustapha*, and to *Bajazet's* joining him, that he might put aside *Selim* from the succession, of whom he was to expect no favour. Be this as it will, it seems to be certain that *Selim* impressed his father, who was now old and infirm, with an opinion of this pretender being the creature of *Bajazet*, and the sultan ordered both of them to their respective governments. *Bajazet*, in fact, refused to obey, and retiring to *Ancyra* he raised a great army.

In the mean while, *Soleyman* committed the prosecution of the war against *Mustapha* to his sanjacks, or other generals; and *Mustapha's* soldiers deserting from him, he was taken prisoner and sent to *Constantinople*; where being put to the rack, he discovered his confederacy with *Bajazet*, and was then thrown into the sea. The *Christian* writers make this execution to have been performed while *Bajazet* was at court, and in his father's power; and that he was pardoned at the intercession of *Roxolana*. But the *Turks* are more to be depended upon, who tell us, that *Bajazet* was the chief means of suppressing *Mustapha's* insurrection; and, that, far from behaving undutifully, he continued in quiet during the remainder of his mother's life.

The war being now renewed between *France* and *Spain*, His fleets the coasts of the latter were again ravaged by *Soleyman's* fleet, commanded by *Karli Ali Beg*; and we are told that they took and ransacked *Durazzo*, which was retaken by the *Venetians*. The *Othmans* seem now to have been a formidable maritime power; for, besides the ravages they committed in *Europe* this year, they invaded and plundered *Ormuz*, and the adjacent countries in the *Persian Gulph*, and then returned by the *Streights of the Red Sea* to *Suez*; from whence the rich spoils of the expedition were conveyed to *Constantinople*.

We are likewise told, that, in the year 1555, *Soleyman* sent another fleet to the assistance of the *French*; which, as usual, made vast depredations upon the islands and coasts of the *Mediterranean*, and returned with great spoils to *Constantinople*. But, though the *Turks* mention every attempt they made,

made, and ravages they committed, as so many conquests; yet it is certain they kept none of the places they attacked; plunder being the only end they had in view. Their chief admiral in this expedition was *Kapudan Piali Pasha*.

His civil
regula-
tions.

Soleyman snatched a small interval of peace, at this time, to make certain civil regulations; and, for that purpose, he drew up the *Kanun Nanch*, or, *The Book of Rules*; which is, to this day, of great authority at the *Othman* court. It contains a kind of a system of the posts, precedencies, expences, and revenues of the empire. He likewise ordained, that, from thence forward, the sons of emperors should not have governments assigned them, but that they should be maintained in or near the court. Neither was he wanting to his own character in magnificence, for he now finished the *jami*, or mosque, which, after himself, he called *Soleymaniye*. It stands on an eminence looking towards the harbour of *Constantinople*; but, though it undoubtedly is a most superb building, they who say, that no structure in the world is to be compared to it, exaggerate too much. *Soleyman* is said, by the *Turkish* writers, to have spent ten years in these important regulations; but we are not from that to conclude he was not, during these ten years, engaged, either by his admirals or his generals, in many warlike undertakings.

Hungari-
an war.

Ali, pasha of *Buda*, after surprizing *Buboza*, in *Hungary*, made an attempt upon *Sigeth*; one of the most important places in that kingdom. Failing in this attempt, in *June*, 1556, he laid a regular siege to the same place, and pressed it, for some time, with the utmost fury; but, being continually repulsed by the courage of the garrison, under *Horwath*, he raised the siege, on the twenty-second of *July* following, after losing above two thousand men before it, and retired to *Quinque Ecclesie*. Notwithstanding this, he renewed the siege next year; but *Ferdinand's* generals, *Polcecher* and *Serini*, attacked and defeated his army; upon which they abandoned *Buboza*, and many other places in the neighbourhood, and again retired, with great loss in their retreat, to *Quinque Ecclesie*.

Death of
Roxelana.

In the year 1557, died *Roxelana*, the mother and protectress of *Bajazet*; upon which, *Selim*, to prevent *Bajazet's* retreat into *Syria*, where he was sure of great support, made himself master of *Iconium*. Though this was a great disappointment to *Bajazet*, yet, being very popular, he got together an army at *Ancyra*; and, refusing all terms of accommodation proposed by *Soleyman*, he marched to attack *Selim*, or, at least, to open his way into *Syria*; but, before he could reach *Iconium*, *Soleyman* had taken care to re-inforce *Selim* with a large body of his best troops and a great train of artillery (of which *Bajazet* was destitute) and some of his best generals. Notwithstanding all this, *Bajazet*, presuming on his own popularity with his father's soldiers, ventured to give him battle. Forty thousand *Turks* fell in it; But *Bejazzet*,
whole

whose chief strength lay in his *Arabian* cavalry, was, at last, obliged to retire; but did it in such good order, that *Selim* durst not pursue him; and he got more credit by that battle, on account of the vast odds of every kind which were against him, than he had done in all the preceding actions of his life.

This obliged *Soleyman*, old as he was, to pass over to *Asia*; *Soleyman* which he did in *June*, 1559. He was followed by *Busbequi*-passes over us, the *German* resident, whose entertaining letters are the to *Asia*. most authentic accounts we have of the *Turks* at this period. He gives us a wonderful idea of the discipline, the abstinence, and the modesty of their soldiery; and he tells us, that, when certain presents arrived in the camp sent from the emperor of *Germany*, *Soleyman* received them formally in the sight of all his army, that he might shew them in what high esteem he was held amongst the *Christian* powers. His going over to *Asia* defeated all the designs of *Bajazet*, who now wanted to make his submissions; but being informed that his father was determined to destroy him, he, with great difficulty, fled with no more than twenty followers to *Persia*, where he was received by the shah *Tahmasp*.

Soleyman understanding this, sent two officers, *Hassan Aga* and the pasha of *Marash*, to prevail with *Tahmasp* to put him to death. The shah, at first, refused to do that, but he threw him into prison; and, the *Othman* envoys tempting him with a considerable sum, *Tahmasp* gave them leave to put him to death; which *Hassan* did with his own hands, by strangling him and three of his children, in prison. Puts his son to death. We are, however, given to understand, that, a great number of *Bajazet*'s followers repairing to him, he had the face of an army, which made *Tahmasp* uneasy. He therefore gave orders for billeting them around the country, and, being thus divided, they were all put to the sword. A fourth son of *Bajazet*'s was strangled at *Prusa*.

Those dissensions in the imperial family at *Constantinople*, encouraged the *Christian* powers to think of recovering *Tripoli* in *Barbary*. *Tripoli* invaded. A considerable armament, for this purpose, was fitted out by the knights of *Malta*, with the assistance of the pope and the king of *Spain*, and, in *February*, 1560, they sailed for the island of *Zerbi*, and took the strongest castle upon the island. In the mean while, *Piala Pasha*, the *Turkish* admiral, landed a body of men upon the island from eighty-five galleys, and, before the *Christians* could perfect the new fortifications they intended, attacked the remainder of the fleet, a part of it being before returned to *Malta*, and destroyed it.

The infidels then laid siege to the castle, which made a noble resistance. *Dragut* considering himself as the proprietor of the whole island, having taken it from a petty *Moorish* prince called *Karawan*, poured in reinforcements for carrying on the siege, and the garrison's water entirely failing them, the place was surrendered on promise of having their lives

lives saved. In this expedition, besides their ships, the *Christians* are said to have lost eighteen thousand men. Some *Spaniards* of great quality were made prisoners, who were obliged to ransom their lives. *Piala* is said to have concealed the most considerable of them, who was son to the duke of *Modena*, intending to put his ransom into his own pocket. But, finding *Soleyman* very inquisitive after the young nobleman, he privately put him to death, so that he never was more heard of. The *Turks* thus victorious, renewed or continued their depredations upon *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Malta*, during all the year 1561. The king of *Spain*, *Philip* the second, indeed, fitted out a fleet against them, under the command of his admiral *Mendoza*; but it was dispersed by storms, and twenty-five of his gallies, together with the admiral, were lost.

Successes
of Soley-
man.

Busbequius, who was then at *Constantinople*, informs us, that *Soleyman* received the news of his great success at *Zerbi*, and, from a gallery, beheld the captive *Christian* fleet, and prisoners, which were brought in great pomp, with as much coldness and serenity of countenance, as if the matter had not concerned him. His admiral *Piala*, and the *Othmans* in general, did not behave with the same moderation; *Piala* intimated his conquests, by a galley, which dragged at the poop of it one of the *Christians* great ensigns, with the picture upon it of *Christ* crucified, and the prisoners were treated with great indignities and inhumanity. These vast successes, and growing power of *Soleyman*, who now had made such warlike preparations, as threatened the destruction of the *German* empire, prevailed with the emperor *Ferdinand*, to whom his brother *Charles* had resigned the empire two years before, to think in earnest of a peace with *Soleyman*, as they were then upon very precarious terms together. A diet of the empire assembling at *Franckfort*, November 24, 1562, for electing a king of the *Romans*, *Soleyman* sent *Ibrahim Pasha* thither, with presents and a letter, in answer to the application *Busbequius* had made, for an eight years truce. The sultan's titles, and the preamble to that letter, came up to the height of extravagance, but the conditional parts of it are very plain and equitable. The first condition is, that *Ferdinand* should pay, as a pledge of the league, thirty thousand ducats yearly, with two years arrears. This truce being concluded, *Ferdinand* survived it only two years, and then it was broken, but by which party first, is hard to be determined, for they who pretend that *Melchior Balas*, the imperial lieutenant of *Hungary*, first began hostilities, allow, at the same time, that the *Turkish* governors were equally ready to make incursions upon the emperor's territories, which is generally the case, in all governments distant from the court, vested with discretionary powers, and consequently not easily brought to trial. Be that as it will, in the year 1564, hostilities recommenced with as much fury as ever, between the *Germans*, and the *Othmans*. The

Treaty
with the
Germans.

Turks;

Turks took *Haden*, and besieged *Ungar*. As *Suendi*, the imperial general, did *Tokay* and *Erden*.

All this time, *Soleyman* was making the most prodigious *Stiria* in-preparations for war, which threw the *Christian* powers vaded into the utmost consternation, as not knowing where the storm would break. The imperial minister at *Constantinople*, assured *Ferdinand*, that he intended to fall upon *Germany*, while *Soleyman* negociated at the court of *Vienna*, for the continuance of the peace. Mean while, hostilities continued, the *Turks* retook *Erden*, and invaded *Stiria*, where they were cut in pieces by *Charles* the archduke of *Austria*; and the fortune of the war was so various, that it was hard to say, which side suffered most. *Soleyman* carried his dissimulation so far, that his agents in *Hungary*, after suffering themselves to be taken as spies, declared, that he intended speedily to besiege *Sigeth*, *Raab*, and other important places in *Hungary*.

But the *Hungarian* war was not the chief object which *Design* *Soleyman* had at this time in his eye. *Koffum*, *Barbarossa's* son, upon and *Dragut*, persuaded him, that he never could be master *Malta*. by land till he was so by sea, and for that purpose he must reduce *Malta*. Upon this, *Soleyman* ordered *Piala* to take thirty thousand of his best soldiers on board one hundred and forty-two gallies, seventeen galliots, twenty-three ships of burden, and other transports. The land forces were commanded by *Mustapha Pasha*, a man of seventy-five years of age. Those ships landed at *Porto Maggiore*, on the north-west of the island, which is no more than twenty miles long, and twelve broad. The chief strength of the island, or rather the city, of *Malta*, lay in three castles, *Saint Angelo*, *Saint Michael*, and *Saint Elmo*, which last the *Turks* determined to besiege.

The grand master of *Malta* then, was the famous *Valette*. Preparation for He had had so good intelligence from *Constantinople*, that he knew of *Soleyman's* intention, and had made preparations to its defence. receive him, but his garrison was weak, compared to the force which was to attack it. He had not above three thousand men, who properly could be called soldiers, for he could not depend upon five thousand of the country people, who had thrown themselves into the city, to avoid the enemy. The *Turks* attacked *Saint Elmo*, with amazing obstinacy, and were twice as bravely repulsed, but at the third assault they made a lodgment, which enabled them to renew their attack. Still they were repulsed by the incredible courage of the knights, and in one repulse they lost two thousand men, among whom was the brave *Dragut*. This resistance, and the vast train of artillery, and engines they had, served only to render them more resolute, and after battering down the walls of the castle to the very rock, on which it stood, they prepared for another general assault. The garrison of the castle was now reduced to a handful, and the grand master

master offered to carry them off in pinnaces, but they refused; and the *Turks* prevailing, every man of them was put to the sword. The resistance *Mustapha* had met with amazed him, and he sent to *Soleyman* for fresh supplies, which he received under *Kossun*, who undertook the siege of the castle of Saint *Michael*.

Its siege,

The brave grand master was not so fortunate in his applications. *Spain* was the power most interested in the preservation of *Malta*, and he sent to the vice-roy of *Sicily* for succours. All he could obtain, was a liberty for the knights residing there to depart, with a few galleys and some soldiers on board; but they found the ports of *Malta* so closely blocked up by a *Turkish* fleet, that they were obliged to return to *Messina*. The siege of Saint *Michael's* castle under *Kossun*, who is called king of *Algiers*, and of Saint *Angelo's* under *Mustapha* himself, was still carried on with all the destruction that artillery, engines of every kind, mining, sapping, and a more than human intrepidity, could effect. The defendants had the advantage of possessing more cool, and therefore more true, courage; and the more desperate the attacks of the *Turks* were, the more dreadful was their loss of men, for they continued to be beat off in all quarters, till at last *Mustapha* began to think of raising the siege. The grand master, by this time, had received a few considerable reinforcements, and *Mustapha* had certain intelligence by deserters, that the vice-roy of *Sicily* was ordered to sail with a powerful armament for the relief of the island. At the same time he understood, that the castle of Saint *Michael* was now but slenderly garrisoned, and that one other resolute attack would carry it. This intelligence determined *Mustapha*, who had reembarked some of his men, to recommence the siege. He attacked both castles and the town, with a fury next to madness, and they were defended with a courage that did honour to the name of *Christians*. Every person in the forts and the city, from the grand master down to the tenderest youth of both sexes, ran to the breaches and plied the infidels with such arms as they could manage, till, at last, after seven assaults with all their army and artillery, every succeeding one being more desperate than the other, they were beat off with prodigious slaughter. The attack upon what was called the new town, was renewed in like manner next day, and must have been carried, had not the grand master flown to its defence, and forced the infidels there to retire, with the loss of two thousand of their best men. *Mustapha* then attempted the breaches of Saint *Michael's* castle, but courage still prevailed over despair. The assailants found new works run up in the night behind the breaches they made in the day, and, though they repeated their storms with unusual fury, they not only were repulsed, but suffered greatly by sallies from the garrison.

It must have been beyond the powers of humanity, for either the besiegers or the besieged to have exerted themselves much longer than they had hitherto done. In the intervals of the attacks, *Mustapha* attempted to treat, but the grand master rejected all his advances with disdain; and in resentment of the butchery at Saint *Elmo*, and other inhumanities exercised on the dead bodies of the knights, he ordered that no quarter should be given to any *Turk*. *Mustapha* was likewise very assiduous in procuring spies and intelligence; and the *Christian* fleet being retarded by contrary winds, after the siege had lasted above four months, he prepared to give a general assault. But, on the seventh of *September*, *Garcias*, the vice-roy of *Sicily*, arrived at *Malta* with the long expected succours, which consisted of ten thousand men, on board seventy-two gallees. Upon this, the *Turks* broke up the is raised. siege with great confusion and embarked before the succours could throw themselves into *Malta*. This vice-roy, upon landing his men, returned to *Sicily* with his ships, and *Mustapha* having false intelligence that the succours did not exceed three thousand men, landed seven thousand of his troops so as to intercept them in their march to the city; but the *Christians* soon put them to the rout; with the loss of two thousand of their men; and had they known the ground none of the infants could have escaped back to their shipping. Soon after, they sailed out of sight of the island, having lost, during the siege, twenty-four thousand of their best men, and twenty-four pieces of great ordnance. The loss of the *Christians* was two hundred and forty knights of the order, and about five thousand soldiers.

Thus, to the immortal glory of the grand master, ended a Moderation of siege, one of the most memorable we have in history. Many circumstances occurred during the course of it, which we *Soleyman*. have not room to insert; and, more than probable, many more did occur, that never came to the knowledge of the public; for it appears that the grand master was well served with intelligence, even amongst the *Turks*. Upon the return of the fleet to *Constantinople*, *Soleyman* behaved with unusual moderation, in not inflicting the smallest punishment upon his unsuccessful generals, thinking, perhaps, that the vast loss he had sustained was a proof of their having done their duty. He ordered *Piala*, however, to seize upon the island of *Scios*, because its governor had kept a correspondence during the siege with the grand master, and had been tardy in paying the arrears of his tribute. *Piala* executed his commission with great punctuality; he sent the governor and the principal persons of the island in chains to *Constantinople*, and established the *Mahometan* worship there instead of the *Christian*. He then renewed his usual ravages upon the coast of *Italy*.

While the siege of *Malta* lasted, hostilities between the *Hungarian* *Turks* and *Germans* continued in *Hungary*. *Maximilian* was *rian* war then continues.

then emperor, and had on foot a very fine army, raised by himself and the princes of the empire, by which his troops were successful. The waywod of *Transilvania*, had assumed the title of king of *Hungary*, in hopes of obtaining the kingdom by gift from *Soleyman* his patron and protector; and this made him extremely active on the side of the infidels, who at first had some success, and *Soleyman*, old as he was, marched from *Constantinople* to support them. The pasha of *Buda* besieged *Palotta* by *Soleyman*'s order, but he was obliged by *Hoffenstein*, an imperial general, to raise the siege with loss. After that, he took *Wrisboun*, where he put to death all the *Turks* of the garrison, in revenge for the cruelties they exercised against the *Christians*. Count *Salm*, another imperial general, reduced *Dotis*, where he took the governor and the pasha of *Buda* prisoners, and put to death all the *Turks*, except fifty. After this, he reduced the forts of *Gesles*, *Wittha*, *Ischolika*, and *Samboc*, without any loss. Count *Serini*, the governor of *Sigeth*, surprized a great convoy of the *Turks*, near *Quinque Ecclesiæ*, and not only routed them with great slaughter, but took all they had in charge, which was very valuable. *Soleyman*, however, was still advancing with a vast army, and, by menacing the pashas who superintended the work with death, he threw a bridge, said to be a mile in length, over the *Drave*, in order to besiege *Sigeth*, which he actually did. The governor of the place was count *Serini*, who made so brave a defence that the anguish *Soleyman* thereby conceived, concurring with other maladies of age and sickness, he fell into a slow fever, which carried him out of the world. So profound is the secrecy of the *Turkish* government, that it is uncertain, whether he lived to see the place taken. *Christian* writers say, that he withdrew to *Quinque Ecclesiæ*, where he died on the fourteenth of *September* 1566, which was some days after the place was taken by his vizier, who was favoured by a dreadful conflagration that broke out in the town, and which, the *Turks* say, was the effect of *Soleyman*'s dying prayers for the prosperity of the *Othman* arms. When *Serini* found the place no longer tenable, he dressed himself in a new suit of cloaths, and plunging with the remaining part of his garrison into the thickest of the infidels, they were all, but a few, put to the sword. The defence made by *Serini*, though not so successful, was, if possible, still more glorious than that made by the grand master. The *Turks* own that they lost before the place seven thousand janisaries, and twenty-eight thousand other soldiers, besides great officers, and volunteers, whom they did not muster. The brave *Serini*'s head was cut off after his death, and after being exposed to the rage of the infidels, it was sent by the vizier to count *Salm*, with the following short, but remarkable letter, "In token of love, I send thee the head of a most
 " resolute and valiant commander, thy friend. The re-
 " mainder

“mainder of his body I have decently buried, as became such a man. *Sigeth* bids thee farewell for ever.” The taking of *Sigeth* and *Giula*, which was betrayed for a great sum of money by the governor to the infidels, who, contrary to agreement, put all the garrison to death, as they did himself afterwards, was all the fruit of *Soleyman*’s mighty preparations for subduing not only *Hangary*, but the *German* empire.

Soleyman lived, according to *Christian* historians, seventy-six years, of which he reigned forty-six : the *Turks* say two years less. He was a prince of extraordinary endowments, he was a more elegant poet than any of his empire, the civil policy of which he founded, and thereby he deserves the character of being a great legislator. He knew the *Persian* and the *Arabic* languages : he was magnificent, magnanimous, faithful when rightly informed, generous when well served, indefatigable to a miracle, brave in his person, and punctual in his religion. With these great qualities, he is said to have been scandalously uxorious, though temperate as to all other pleasures ; and the almost incessant wars he carried on, with the victories he atchieved, prove him to have been immoderately ambitious. His stature was tall, and both his person and features were slender, his nose long and hooked.

The Reign of Selim the Second, surnamed Mest, or the Drunkard.

NOTwithstanding all the precautions which *Mohammed*, the prime vizier took to conceal the death of *Soleyman*, for fear of the insolence of the janisaries before the arrival of *Selim* from *Magnesia*, whom he instantly informed of his father’s death, that turbulent body suspected the truth. The vizer, to conceal it, is said to have ordered all the physicians and apothecaries who had attended *Soleyman* to be strangled, and the dead body to be exposed to the public in a litter, as if still alive, but wrapt up, as if in a fit of sickness, which satisfied the janisaries.

Selim was then about forty-two years of age, and posting from *Magnesia* to *Constantinople*, he there mounted the *Othman* throne, and gave the usual largesses to the janisaries. He next set out for *Sigeth*, but he no sooner appeared in the camp than the soldiers ran to their arms to defend the person of their aged emperor, whom now, for the first time, they knew to be dead. The time between *Soleyman*’s death and his son’s arrival at the camp was forty-one days. *Selim* having no competitor for the empire was unanimously acknowledged emperor by the army, and by all degrees of his subjects. On his accession to the throne, he gave twenty his bounty dollars

dollars to every one of his janisaries, who were in all forty thousand, and twenty-five to every spahi, whose number were fifteen thousand. He gave a magnificent interment to his father, whose memory is held in the utmost reverence by the *Turks* to this day. Upon his mounting the throne a rebellion broke out in *Arabia*. The *Persians* shewed dispositions to attack him, and his arms had been unfortunate in *Hungary*. All this made him desirous of a peace with the emperor *Maximilian*, which was concluded in *January*, 1568, for eight years, upon the same terms as the former. The rebellion in *Arabia*, however, continued to rage under *Ulian Ogli*, but at last was suppressed by the *Othman* generals.

and situa- After this, *Selim*, for the better carrying on the war with
tion of his *Persia*, formed a project of joining together the *Don* and the
affairs. *Volga*, in that place where those rivers are but six miles distant, by a navigable canal, by which he was in hopes to sail through the *Euxine Sea*, to that of *Azof*, or the *Palus Meotis*, and so into the *Caspian Sea*, and landing his army to penetrate into *Shirwan*. The care of this work was committed to the khan of *Crim*, who passing through *Astracan* began the canal, but the labourers were obliged to abandon the undertaking, on account of the inclemency of the weather, and want of provisions. This project miscarrying, rendered *Selim* more tractable as to a peace with the shah of *Persia*, whose ambassadors and presents he received with great complacency, and the peace was concluded. He likewise made a peace with the *Venetians*, though he seems to have been ignorant of the terms of it; and his generals suppressed a fresh insurrection in that part of *Arabia* that is called *Yaman*.

Attacks
Cyprus.

About the year 1570, *Selim* took it into his head to attempt the conquest of *Cyprus*, then belonging to his new allies the *Venetians*, designing with the revenues of the island to endow some religious houses he was building at *Adrianople*. While he was meditating this conquest, the *Moors*, or *Mahometans* of *Spain*, chose for their king *Mansur*, who was descended from the ancient *Saracen* princes, and applied to *Selim* for support, but he excused himself on account of his preparations against *Cyprus*. The prime vizier *Mohammed*, a man of moderation, was against the *Cyprian* war, but *Piala* and *Muslapha*, the second pasha, being for it, all that the *Venetian* ambassador could obtain was, that one *Kobad* was sent ambassador from *Constantinople* to *Venice*, to make a demand of the island for his master, to indemnify him for the injuries he had suffered from the subjects of the republic. This demand being rejected with indignation, preparations went on on both sides, for attacking and defending the island. Early in the year, *Selim* begun hostilities against the *Venetian* territories on the continent, to prevent their assisting the *Cypriots*, and *Piala* sailed with two hundred ships of war, besides transports, for *Cyprus*, where he landed the
army,

army, and besieged *Nicosia*, the capital of the island, which was provided with a garrison of eight thousand horse and foot. The attack of the *Turks*, though furious, was so injudicious that they lost a vast number of men before they took the place, which they at last did, by pretending a retreat, then suddenly returning mounted the walls and carried the city by storm on the ninth of *September*; fourteen thousand of the besieged, amongst whom were the bishop, and *Dandalo* the governor, on this occasion were put to the sword by the barbarous infidels, who made a prodigious booty, the place being immensely rich, and took two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. *Cyrina*, standing on the north-west of *Nicosia*, tho' very strong, fell next into their hands, through the cowardice of the governor; and *Mustapha* who commanded the land troops in this expedition, at last formed the siege of *Famagusta*, the strongest fortification on the island; but the season advancing, he thought proper to abandon it for that year.

During those misfortunes, the *Venetians* were not idle in Preparing soliciting succours from the *Christian* powers, and after many tions of delays, their fleet with that of *Spain* under *Doria*, and the the *Venepope's* under *Colonna*, the whole consisting of one hundred *tians*. and ninety-two galleys, one hundred and twelve galleasses, or large ships, besides smaller vessels, sailed to the relief of *Cyprus*. This was about the middle of *September*, and before they landed they heard that *Nicosia* was lost. Upon this *Doria* refused either to proceed, or to fight the *Turkish* fleet, and returned to *Messina*, notwithstanding all the remonstrances made by the other two admirals, who upon the departure of *Doria* thought themselves too weak for action, and sailed to *Corfu*, from whence the *Venetian* admiral *Zani*, was, by order from the senate discharged from his office, and sent prisoner to *Venice*. He was succeeded by *Venieri*, who The *Turks* after gaining several important advantages over the infidels defeated. in the *Mediterranean*, threw nineteen hundred men into the garrison of *Famagusta*, with a proportion of provisions, and ammunition, and bravely defeated the *Turkish* galleys. This procured the disgrace of several great officers amongst the *Othmans*, and amongst the rest of *Piala*, who was succeeded in his command by the pasha *Partek*, but the governor of *Scio* was put to death. In *April* 1571, *Mustapha* renewed the siege of *Famagusta*, the garrison of which consisted of five thousand men, and two hundred *Albanian* horse, all of them experienced troops, under *Baleonus* and *Bragadino*, who was governor of the city. *Mustapha* proceeded by raising up mounts higher than the walls of the city, which lay low, by driving vast masses of combustible wood against the gates, and by mining the principal towers, in which they chiefly succeeded. Great part of the wall was blown up, and the *Turks* endeavouring to enter the breach were repulsed with the loss of four thousand men. Notwithstanding
ing

but they
reduce
Cyprus.

ing this, they plied the city so furiously with their artillery, that they discharged eight thousand balls against it in a day, and repeated their mines so often, that the garrison was reduced to three hundred men and seven barrels of powder. This prevailed with *Bragadino* to listen to the cries of the citizens for a capitulation; and the *Turks* agreed that the inhabitants should enjoy life, liberty, and estate; and that the garrison should be carried to *Candia* with the honours of war. *Mustapha* perfidiously broke this capitulation, by putting *Bragadino*, and the other chief commanders, to the most torturing deaths that ingenious cruelty could devise. After this, all the fine island of *Cyprus* fell under the power of *Selim*.

During the siege of *Famagusta*, the two *Turkish* pashas, *Parteu* the admiral, and *Ali* the general, together with *Kilij Ali*, called by the *Christians* *Uluz Ales*, viceroy of *Algiers*, made an attempt upon *Candia*, the antient *Crete*; from whence they were driven with loss by the *Venetian* general *Justiniano*. They then plundered the now almost defenceless islands, and carried six thousand of the inhabitants into captivity. After this, *Kilij Ali* went, with a separate squadron of sixty gallies, to *Karzola*, a *Venetian* island, which was abandoned by the governor and all the inhabitants, except eight women and twenty men, who all of them took arms, and defended the town, till a storm arising, obliged the barbarians to return to their ships.

The
Christian
powers
alarmed,

and con-
federate
together.

The dreadful progress of the *Turks*, as a maritime power, at last united the *Christian* princes. *Mohammed*, the prime-vizier, had foreseen this union, and strove to prevent it by opposing the *Venetian* war; and, even while *Famagusta* was besieged, the *Venetians* had a minister at the *Porte* treating of peace. The pope and the king of *Spain* understanding this, without farther deliberation, offered to enter into a league with the *Venetians*, who accepted of the same; and it was signed on the twenty-fourth of *May*, 1471. It was agreed that fifty thousand foot, and four thousand five hundred horse, should be ready, every year, in the spring, together with two hundred gallies, and one hundred other ships; and, that *Don John* of *Austria*, the king of *Spain*'s natural brother, should command the whole. The *Venetians*, at the same time; sent an ambassador to persuade the shah of *Persia* to attack the *Turks*, but he met only with evasive answers. The confederates, at the time of signing the league, had a great naval force ready, and they invited the other popish powers of *Europe* to join them.

The first intelligence which *Selim* received of this formidable confederacy, was by some letters taken at sea; but, far from being daunted, he ordered his forces, both by sea and land, to proceed more vigorously than ever against the *Venetians*. They obeyed him, by committing the most horrible outrages upon the territories of that republic; and pro-
ceeded

ceeded so far, that *Venice* itself appeared to be in danger: the news of the league, however, obliged the *Turkish* admirals to re-unite all their fleet, which sailed to the bay of *Lepanto*. The rendezvous of the *Christian* ships was at *Messina*. The *Venetian* fleet consisted of one hundred and eight gallies, six galeasses, two tall, and some other smaller ships, commanded by *Venieri*. The pope sent twelve gallies, under the command of *Colonna*. *Doria*, the *Spanish* admiral, brought with him eighty-one gallies, three of which were *Maltese*; and the land forces on board, which were twenty thousand, were the flower of all *Europe*. Amongst them was *Alexander Farnese*, prince of *Parma*, afterwards the ablest general of his time. After some debates, it was resolved to attack the *Turks*, whose fleet consisted of three hundred and thirty-three sail, and their commanders were as determined as the *Christians* were upon a battle. Two so great navies never perhaps had encountered before, and had the *Turks* that day prevailed, they stood fair for universal empire. Both sides were animated with the deepest hatred to each other, and the fate of the engagement was for some time doubtful, but at last the *Christians* obtained a compleat victory. Thirty-two thousand of the infidels are said to have perished in this fight, which is the more credible, as the *Christians* were so exasperated against them, that they seldom gave quarter; and amongst their killed were all their great officers except *Parten*, and *Kilij Ali*, who escaped with twenty-five ships. One hundred and sixty-one *Turkish* gallies were taken, forty were sunk or burnt, and about sixty smaller vessels were taken.

The *Turks*
defeated
at *Lepanto*.

This victory did great honour to *Don John*, who was but twenty-four years of age, and he had the generosity to ascribe it chiefly to the courage and conduct of *Venieri*, the *Venetian* admiral, before the battle, with whom he had been at variance. The loss of the *Christians* were seven thousand five hundred and sixty-six killed, many of them of the best blood of christendom, and about seven thousand wounded, amongst whom was *Don John*. Incredible were the rejoicings throughout all *Europe* for this victory, and it must fairly be owned, that the *Turks* have never, to this day, recovered the blow. When the certainty of it was reported to *Selim*, he received it with great seeming composure. Some say that he was almost choaked with grief, indignation, and despair, and that it was with difficulty that *Mohammed* dissuaded him from the barbarous resolution of ordering all the *Christians* in his dominions to be immediately massacred; but this barbarity does not agree with his general character. On the arrival of *Kilij Ali*, who reported, that the *Christian* fleet was almost destroyed likewise, the sultan made *Kilij Ali* of the his high admiral, and gave orders, throughout all his empire for fitting out a more formidable armament than that which he had lost. On the other hand, the *Venetians* retook *Supeto*, in *Epirus*, and intercepted the *Turkish* gallies that

were carrying home the spoils of *Cyprus*. They likewise obtained many other advantages. The other *Christian* confederates were not equally alert, and when *Foscarini*, who succeeded *Venieri*, put to sea, he was joined but with a very inconsiderable force, nor did *Don John* at all appear; *Foscarini*, however, was at last joined by *Superantio*, another *Venetian* admiral, who had performed great exploits at *Corfu*, and by twenty-two *Spanish* gallies sent him by *Don John*, and with the pope's gallies, so that the whole *Christian* fleet consisted of one hundred and fifty-five gallies; six galleasses, and twenty tall ships. *Selim's* orders, on the other hand, had been so punctually obeyed, that, before the *Christians* had formed their junction, which they did in *August* 1572, his fleet consisted of two hundred and fifty gallies. The naval spirit of the *Turks*, however, was irretrievable, and almost all their best seamen had been destroyed in the battle of *Lepanto*. The *Spaniards*, on the other hand, being then embroiled with both *France* and *England*, acted with great caution; and tho' *Don John*, at last, joined the confederates with fifty-three gallies, and eighteen ships of war, at *Corfu*, nothing decisive was done this season, *Don John* opposing all the vigorous measures proposed by *Foscarini*. The *Turkish* fleet under *Kilij Ali*, consisted of one hundred and sixty gallies, sixty galliots, and four great ships. But though *Kilij* was a brave experienced officer, he kept aloof from a general engagement. *Superantio* and *Foscarini*, however, attacked part of the *Turkish* fleet and damaged it, but not being supported, the infidels got into the harbour of *Modon*, where *Foscarini* could not persuade *Don John* to attack them, and though they attempted to take both *Modon* and *Navarino*, the antient *Pylus*, they failed in both undertakings. *Don John's* backwardness was very detrimental to the *Christian* cause, for it was thought, that, had *Foscarini's* advice been followed, the fleet of the infidels must have been totally destroyed. *Don John* returning to *Messina*, *Foscarini* sailed to *Venice*, and the republic perceiving it was unsafe to trust to the confederacy, was obliged to accept of the terms *Selim* was pleased to prescribe; and, after various negotiations, a peace was concluded in *February* 1574, by which the *Venetians* were obliged to pay to *Selim* three hundred thousand ducats, and to restore all their conquests, while the *Turks* were to keep all theirs. Such was the end of the naval operations of the year 1572.

Devotions
of *Selim*.

The year 1573 was mostly spent by *Selim* in the discharge of religious duties, and building or repairing houses of devotion, to conciliate the favour of heaven. The *Germans* besieged *Nova*, in *Bosnia*, but were obliged to retire with loss, while *Selim*, to wipe out the disgrace he had suffered at *Lepanto*, ordered his admirals and generals to attack *Messina* with a great armament, but all they could do was to ravage the adjacent country. In the mean while, upon the representations

sentations of *Amed*, the king of *Tunis*, *Don John* sailed with one hundred and five gallies, and forty ships to *Goletta*, where being joined by the pope's and the *Maltese* squadrons, he surprized *Tunis*, but, far from restoring it to *Amed*, he ordered the monster's eyes to be put out, for his unnaturality to his father, and brother, and threw him into chains. He then appointed *Mohammed* to be king of *Tunis*, and, having given orders for building a strong fort between that city and the *Goletta*, he returned to *Sicily*.

In the year 1574, *John*, the waywod of *Moldavia*, and natural son to the waywod *Stephen*, having been raised from a defeated private station to that dignity by *Selim*, renounced *Mohammedism*, upon which *Selim* appointed *Peter*, the brother to the waywod of the *Lesser Walachia*, to succeed him. *John*, who appears to have renounced *Mohammedism* only for political reasons, refused to resign his government, and took into his pay a body of *Polish* kosaks, commanded by *Sujercevius*. Upon this, *Selim* sent thirty thousand *Turks*, and two thousand *Hungarians*, to assist the palatinate of the *Lesser Walachia* in deposing *John*, and these being joined by the palatine's own forces, his whole army, consisting of one hundred thousand men, passed the *Moldaw*; but observing no discipline, they were surprized by *John*, and *Sujercevius*, and almost to a man cut in pieces, except the palatine, and his brother the expectant king, who passing the river reached the castle of *Brabilow*. *John* made a most inhuman use of his victory, by desolating the country, and taking the castle of *Brabilow*, he put to death every living creature within it, to the very dogs, and then razed the castle. While he was besieging that place, *Sujercevius* killed fourteen thousand out of fifteen thousand *Turks*, who were advancing to relieve it, and the remaining thousand threw themselves into the castle of *Tyma* or *Teina*, leaving the town to the mercy of *John*, who massacred every person within it.

Selim, alarmed by *John*'s progress, ordered public prayers to which to be put up for the success of the *Othman* arms, and two hundred thousand men to march against him. At the same time he employed agents to tamper with *Jeremiah Czarnie- viche*, *John*'s favourite, who was trusted to defend the passes of the *Danube*, and who, for a present of thirty thousand *Hungarian* ducats, not only suffered the *Turks* to pass that river, but in a battle which ensued, went over to the infidels with thirteen thousand of *John*'s best troops, who being placed in the front of the army, were all of them cut to pieces, either by the *Christians* or by the *Turks* themselves, who suspected their fidelity. *John*, after performing wonders in the battle, was at last obliged to give way to superior numbers, and retired to a ruined fortification, where he was, by the *Turkish* agents, persuaded to surrender himself, which he did upon terms for himself and his followers; but he no sooner came into the power of the pasha *Kejouji*, who

commanded the *Turkish* army, than he and his *Moldavians* were all most perfidiously put to death. The *Kotaks* fell with their swords in their hands, and only the brave *Sujerccvius*, with a few of the principal officers who were made prisoners, survived the massacre. After this, the infidels in a manner depopulated *Moldavia*, by either putting the inhabitants to the sword, or transplanting them to distant colonies.

They take *Tunis*. This year, *Selim* ordered his admiral, the pasha *Sinan*, to sail with three hundred gallies to retake *Tunis*, which service was performed with great success, in about three months time, during which the *Turks* lost thirty thousand men; so bravely was the *Goletta* and the new castle defended under the two commanders *Serbellio* and *Salazar*, who were both taken prisoners. It is added, that *Sinan* most unmanfully struck old *Serbellio* when brought before him, and ordered his son to be put to death before his eyes. After the reduction of the *Goletta*, and the new fort, the *Turks* possessed themselves of *Tunis*, and king *Mohammed's* person. Such are the chief transactions of this last year of *Selim's* life, except the defeat of a body of fifteen hundred *Hungarians*, by the governor of *Giula*, as they were marching to surprise *Sigeth*.

Selim's death and character. All we know of the sultan's death is, that, having built a magnificent bath, he entered it before the mortar was quite dry, having previously fortified himself with a large quantity of wine, against the exhalations of the mortar, and thereby contracting a head-ach, which, by degrees, threw him into an apoplexy, that carried him out of the world on the eleventh day of his illness, on the ninth of *December* 1574, after living fifty-two years, of which he reigned eight years, five months, and nineteen days. It seems to be agreed, both by *Christian* and *Turkish* writers, that he was excessively addicted to women and wine, but the latter pretend that he was never intoxicated, but inspired with divine enthusiasm. Notwithstanding this, he appears to have been of a more amiable personal character than any of his predecessors, and to have possessed more private virtues. He never was guilty of cruelty, unless we charge to his account the horrible cruelties practised by his admirals and generals. Notwithstanding his favourite vices, he possessed a sound judgment, and great intrepidity: he was secret, he was generous, steady, and constant, as appears by his attachment to *Mohammed* his prime vizier, though he often acted contrary to his advice. After he came to the empire he seldom took the field in person, but, notwithstanding his defeat at *Lepanto*, he may be said in general to have made a judicious choice of his great officers, both by sea and land. His being so soon able to establish his marine, is a proof of his excellent public oeconomy, and his successes against the *Christians* were wonderful, when we consider that the latter, during his reign

reign, were arrived at a far higher pitch of power than ever they had known before. The *Venetians* were in possession of a vast marine, and the king of *Spain*, *Philip* the second, (who was the soul of the *Christian* confederacy) of the mines of *Peru* and *Mexico*. Add to this, that no age before, or, perhaps, since, produced such a number of great *European* generals and admirals, as those were whom he had to fight against. He is said to have been constant in his devotions, easy even to jocoseness and familiarity with his domestics; a great favourer of the learned, and to have been fond of that kind of buffoonry which is in use among the *Mahometans*. As to his person, it is said to have been clumsy, and of a middle stature, and his face was bloated through the effects of wine.

The Reign of Morad the Third.

SELIM the second, was succeeded by his son *Morad* the Succeeded third, by *Christian* authors called *Amurath* the third, who, by *Morad*, after gratifying some exorbitant demands of his insolent or *Amu-*janisaries, ordered his brothers *Mustapha*, *Soleyman*, *Abdollah*, *rath*. *Ozman*, and *Jehan Ghir* to be strangled before his face; an inhumanity of which even *Christian* writers talk with coolness, because it is customary and political. *Morad*, however, is said to have dropt a tear, when he saw the mother of *Soleyman*, in despair for the loss of her son, plunge a dagger into her own breast,

After discharging the necessary and popular parts of go- Affairs of vernment, he wrote a letter to the *Polish* diet, recommend- Poland. ing to them for their king, in the room of *Henry de Valois*, who had abandoned them for the crown of *France*, *Stephen Battori*, the waywod of *Transylvania*. The emperor *Maximilian*, and the great duke of *Moscovy*, were then competitors for that crown, and *Morad* fearing least the election should fall upon *Maximilian*, conceived his letter in terms which shewed he expected to be obeyed; which, in fact, he was, for they chose the princess *Anne*, of the *Jagellonian* family, for their queen, on the express condition of her marrying *Stephen*. She performed the condition, and *Morad* ever after had, in the person of *Stephen*, a faithful and a useful ally.

In the first year of his reign he gave orders for invading *Podolia* *Podolia*, but the *kosaks* broke into the dominions of *Peter*, invaded the new waywod *Walachia*, so that nothing passed on that side but mutual ravages. But the great object of *Morad*, at this time, was the war with *Persia*. The reader in our history of that country, will see in what state it then was. *Morad* intending to take advantage of its distractions, spent three years in securing himself, both at home and abroad,

War with
Persia.

by regulating his empire, and fortifying his frontiers towards *Europe*, or making peace with those *Christian* princes from whom he had most to apprehend. In the year 1576, his army consisting of two hundred and one thousand men, under *Mustapha*, encamped in the plains near the mountains of *Khieldar*, between *Kbers* and *Teflis*; *Mustapha* then divided his forces, and part of them, under the pasha of *Ezerum*, attacked *Diarbeker*; *Tokmate Khan*, the *Persian* general, who had not with him above twenty thousand horse. But the *Turks* received, on this occasion, a terrible sample of the discipline and courage of their enemies; the pashas were defeated with great slaughter, till *Mustapha* moved with the main army to support them, and though the *Persians* were at last obliged to retire, *Mustapha* durst not venture to pursue them. This battle, and the mortality that immediately followed it from the stench of the dead bodies, is said to have cost the *Turks* thirty thousand men. Five thousand *Persians* were killed upon the spot, and three thousand who were taken prisoners were put to death. All their heads were ostentatiously piled up by *Mustapha* in a barbarous pyramid. That general then marched towards *Teflis*, the capital of *Georgia*, which he took possession of; but in his march his army was harrassed by the *Persians*, and distressed by famine. *Mustapha*, after dismantling *Teflis*, and receiving the submissions of several *Georgian* princes, marched towards *Shirwan*, where his army was in such want of provisions, that he detached ten thousand men to forage, but every one of them was cut off by *Tokmak*. *Mustapha*, however, afterwards surprized the *Persians* as they were dividing their spoil, and destroyed them all, excepting *Tokmak*, and a few who escaped by swimming the river. *Mustapha* then proceeded towards *Shirman*, but the distress of his army was so great, that they mutinously refused to pass the river *Kanak*. *Mustapha*, on this occasion, discovered great intrepidity, he told the mutineers, that he was commanded by his master to pass it, and that he would pass it, though not a man should follow him. He accordingly plunged into the water, and being followed by the great officers, all the army prepared to do the same, but before half of it had entered the current, eight thousand of the most forward were drowned, nor would the passage have been effected, had not a ford been discovered at some distance, by which the rest got over. Coming into a plentiful country, the *Turks* forgot what they had suffered, and refreshed themselves for twenty days at *Eres*, where *Mustapha* left a garrison of five thousand men, and giving the province of *Shirwan*, which was now entirely reduced, to the pasha *Osman*, he prepared to return to *Constantinople*. In his march thither he lost a great many men by the *Georgians*, but he every where received submissions from the princes of the country. As to particulars, I must refer to our *Persian* history.

When

When the winter came on, the *Persians* attacked the *Turks* Sequel of in their quarters, and cut off vast numbers of them, which the *Persian* obliged the pasha *Osman* to make a winter campaign, in which both parties suffered greatly. *Osman*, however, having a communication with *Derbent*, called to his assistance the *Tartars*, who prevented his entire ruin. *Hamzeh*, the shah of *Persia*'s eldest son, defeated the pasha *Kaytas*, the *Turkish* governor of *Eres*, and retook that city. Then marching to *Shamakhiya*, he cut in pieces a great body of *Tartars*, and forced the pasha *Osman* to abandon *Shamakhiya*, and fly to *Derbent*, the only place in *Shirwan* that now belonged to the *Turks*. This *Persian* expedition, in twelve months time, cost the *Turks* seventy thousand men. So great a loss and the difficulties which the remaining part of their army was under to leave *Persia*, encouraged the khan of the *Crim Tartars* to rebel, but he was surprised by *Mustapha*, who entered his country by the straits of *Derbent*, and his head was sent to *Constantinople*. The *Persians* as well as the *Turks* were now heartily tired of the war, and though hostilities still continued between them, both parties, for some time, did little more than endeavour to secure their territories by barriers of strong forts.

In the spring of the year 1579, *Mustapha* marched from and the *Erzerum* to *Kars*, and detached the pasha *Hassan* to relieve *Georgians* *Teflis*, then besieged by the *Georgians*. In his march *Hassan* war. defeated *Ali Kouli Khan*, and *Simon*, the *Persian* generals, who way-laid him at the straits of *Tomanis*, and took the former prisoner. *Hassan* having relieved *Teflis*, was again way-laid on his return, and must have been destroyed by *Simon*, had not *Ali Kouli Kan* instructed him how to deliver himself, upon promise of his liberty, which the *Turk* ungenerously refused to fulfil. *Simon*, however, cut off his rear, and took all his treasure, and when *Hassan* joined *Mustapha*, at *Kars*, the place of the general rendezvous, the whole of the *Turkish* army was so much reduced, that, being unable to attempt any thing of importance, *Mustapha* disbanded them.

Morad had set his heart so much upon this expedition, that he ordered *Kilij Ali*, his admiral, to build forts in *Min-grelia*, to facilitate the passage into *Georgia* by the *Euxine Sea*, but those forts were soon demolished by the inhabitants. Thus far the *Persian* war; may be said to have been highly disgraceful, and detrimental to *Morad*. He threw the blame of his miscarriages upon *Mustapha*, whom he disgraced, and gave his command to the pasha *Sinan*, whom he likewise made grand vizier; *Mohammed*, who had so long enjoyed that post having been publicly stabbed by a soldier, whose pay he had withheld. This happened in the beginning of the year 1580, when *Morad* ordered *Sinan*, the new grand vizier to march with a fresh army against the *Persians*, who now begged for peace, but it was refused them by *Morad*, and their

their ambassador imprisoned. Upon this, hostilities proceeded, *Teflis* was again besieged by the *Georgians*, and the *Turks*, under the pasha *Mohammed*, were defeated in attempting to relieve it. *Sinan* was not more fortunate than *Mohammed*. The *Persians*, under *Tokmak* and *Simon*, cut off nine thousand of his troops as they were foraging, and all he could do was to supply *Teflis* with provisions, while the rains prevented his building a fort to secure the important pass of *Temanis*. Unfortunately for *Morad*, his generals hated one another. *Mohammed* endeavoured to destroy a *Georgian* prince who turned *Mahometan*, and assumed the name of *Mustapha*, but the *Georgians* bravely killed one of the *Turkish* pashas, and cut off the ear of another, and wounded *Mohammed* himself. Thus he not only escaped from his danger, but having informed *Morad* of the plot laid against him, he was distinguished by the sultan with an imperial vest, as a mark of his approbation; while *Sinan* was displaced from his vizirship, and was succeeded by the pasha *Shans*. The management of the *Persian* war, in the year 1582, was then committed to *Ferhad*, a general of great reputation, which he lost by his conduct, for he was defeated by the *Persians*; and *Mustapha*, the *Georgian*, renouncing *Mohametism*, he was obliged to return to *Erzerum*, while the pasha *Osman* was appointed to succeed him in the command of the army, in which he met with such difficulties, through the jealousy of the other pashas, that *Morad* was obliged to send *Kilij Ali* with a fleet to assist him.

Venetian
affairs.

Morad was, at this time, ill of the falling sickness, and the war between him and the *Venetians* was upon the point of being renewed, through the horrid barbarities committed by *Emo* the *Venetian* admiral, in the *Adriatic Gulph*, upon some *Turkish* ladies, bound for *Tripoli*. But upon *Morad's* complaint *Emo* was put to death by the *Venetian* senate, and all that *Emo* had deprived the *Turks* of was restored, but the honour and lives of the ladies, who had been first ravished, and then thrown into the sea. *Morad*, the same year, was farther embarrassed, by the mismanagement and corruption of his governors in *Egypt*, where the pasha *Ibrahim*, whom *Morad* had intended to be his son-in-law, was guilty of the greatest cruelty and rapaciousness, but made his peace with the sultan by making him a present of a prodigious sum, which he had plundered from the *Egyptians*.

Great
losses of
the *Turks*.

The post of prime vizier being at this time vacant, it was bestowed upon the pasha *Osman*, the *Othman* general against the *Persians*, who recovered *Tibris* in the year 1585; but, like his predecessors, he was guilty of great cruelty and rapaciousness, and was defeated by *Hamzeh*, the *Persian* prince, in several bloody battles; but at last *Hamzeh*, in his turn, was routed by *Osman*, who, at the same time died, of an ague and flux. His victory, which cost him twenty thousand men, was,

was, in fact, a defeat, for his successor was harrassed in his march by *Hamzeh*. The *Turks*, however, reached *Wan*, where they found they had lost eighty-five thousand men in the expedition; and all they could do was to send some relief to *Teffis*; so their army was disbanded. This encouraged the *Persians* to besiege *Tibris*; but *Ferhad* in the year 1586, obliged them to raise the siege, and lay with his army in the neighbourhood four years. *Christian* authors give us more particulars of this campaign, for they tell us, that prince *Hamzeh*, who continued to do wonders against the *Turks*, was betrayed by the turkmans in his service, who abandoned the siege of *Tauris*, and set up *Hamzeh's* younger brother for king, but prince *Hamzeh* soon defeated them, and struck off the head of the khan *Mohammed* their general. He after that returned to the siege of *Tauris*, which he was obliged to abandon by fresh commotions, and his being a second time betrayed by the turkmans, and other great lords, whom the *Turks* had privately bribed. This conspiracy was more general than he at first imagined, and, being encouraged by his brother *Ismael Hamzeh*, who by some is said to have been king of *Persia* at that time, he was murdered; and thus the *Othmans* were delivered from their most formidable enemy.

In *December*, this year, hostilities recommenced between the *Hungarians* and the *Turks*, and in 1587, they took several places from one another; but count *George Serini*, in an inroad they made into the imperial territories, attacked them while they were on their return laden with plunder, and carrying with them a great number of *Hungarian* captives, with so much success, that he killed two thousand upon the spot, made thirteen hundred prisoners, with fifteen hundred horses, and recovered all the captives and booty; he himself losing only eleven men, though a great many of his army were wounded. *Morad*, understanding that the *Turks* had begun those hostilities, ordered the pasha of *Buda* to be strangled for violating the league, and gave his command to the pasha *Sinan*, who was equally turbulent as his predecessor, but was defeated by the imperial general, with the loss of three thousand men killed, besides two hundred drowned. The *Turks*, after this, lost several places in *Upper Hungary*, and *Morad* disapproving of *Sinan's* conduct removed him likewise.

Abbas, commonly called *the Great*, was now shah, or king of *Persia*, and *Ferhad* still continued to command the *Turkish* troops in that country; but, in the middle of his career against the *Georgians*, he was checked by a mutiny of his army. Notwithstanding that, he still kept his footing in *Persia*, so that the shah was obliged to purchase peace by giving up to the *Turks* the provinces of *Revan*, *Ghiunjeh*, and *Harabag*, and all the conquests the *Othmans* had made in his dominions, together with his brother as a hostage.

This

Queen
Elizabeth
applies to
Morad.

This peace with *Persia* was for ten years, and is by *Christian* writers said to have been concluded in the year 1588, which was so famous for the defeat of the *Spanish* armada, by queen *Elizabeth*. That princess had not declined to apply to *Morad* for assistance against the king of *Spain*; and she solicited him to employ his fleet against her enemies, and for succour to *Don Antonio* king of *Portugal*, who had been dispossessed by the *Spaniard* of his crown. She had likewise informed *Morad* of *Philip's* immoderate ambition, and the vast riches he drew from his *American* dominions, and of the overthrow she had given his fleet. *Morad* answered her letter in very courteous terms, but if this letter is genuine, and the date of it right, viz. the fifteenth of *September* 1589, the peace with *Persia* could not have been concluded, for *Morad* there speaks of his being on the point of subduing that people, whom he calls, "accursed heretics."

A Mutiny

Be that as it will, in 1589 the *Othman* court, as indeed it generally is, being split into factions, a strong party was formed against the *defterdar*, or high treasurer of the empire, and the janisaries, who are always the foremost in commotions at *Constantinople*, accused him of adulterating the coin in which he paid them, and laying them under unnecessary taxes. As it is easy to see the beginnings of a commotion at *Constantinople*, by the flocking together of the mutineers, the aga, or commander of the janisaries, was ordered to appease them, but he not succeeding was displaced, and another person who was to have been *Morad's* son-in-law appointed aga in his room; but when he wanted to exert his authority, he was obliged to fly to save his life. A fire, either wilful or accidental, breaking out, the janisaries were so far from endeavouring to quench it, that they hindered others from doing it, so that it consumed above fifteen thousand houses, (if the number is not mistaken for fifteen hundred), with a great number of public buildings, and continued to demand the person of the *defterdar*, who had taken refuge in the imperial palace. According to the *Turkish* historians, *Morad* gave an uncommon specimen of magnanimity on this occasion. Far from gratifying the insolence of the mutineers, who had blocked up his palace, and threatened death to his ministers and himself, he armed his domestics, who in the *Othman* court are very numerous, and of a sudden throwing open the gates, the janisaries were attacked with such vigour that one hundred and seventeen were instantly killed, and, before the rest could recover their consternation, they were suppressed. But *Morad* thought it sufficient that he had by this well timed active resolution, preserved the imperial dignity from contempt, for he suffered the pasha *Sinan*, now his prime vizier, to interceed for the mutineers, whom he pardoned, all but the

suppress-
ed.

ring-leaders, who were thrown in the sea. He even ordered the janisaries to be paid in good money, abolished the taxes complained of, and gave the authors up to the fury of the people, who put them to death.

About this time, the long subsisting peace between the *Peace Poles* and the *Othmans*, received some intermission, by the *with Pö-* *Polish* kofaks, invading *Koslan*; as the *Tartars*, who were *land.* tributary to the *Turks*, did *Podolia*. But when those mutual incursions were on the point of producing a breach between *Morad* and *Sigismund*, king of *Poland*, an accommodation was effected by the mediation of queen *Elizabeth*.

That great princess had, at this time, vast influence in the *Othman* councils. For when *Morad* saw it necessary to keep his soldiery employed in some foreign war, a party in the divan solicited him strongly to declare against *Spain*, and it was thought that he would have followed that advice, had it not been that *Osman*, now grand vizier, and the pasha *Hassan*, of *Bosnia*, determined him to break with the emperor of *Germany*, *Rodolph* the Second. Pretences were always *Affairs of* ready for a war between those two states; and, though *Mo-* *Germany.* *rad* made a shew of his being unwilling to break the eight years truce, yet he ordered *Hassan* to invade *Croatia* with fifty thousand men, in resentment of the injuries he pretended his subjects had received from the *Austrians*. This happened in the year 1591, and, next year, *Hassan* besieged and took *Wibitz*, the capital of *Croatia*, but the chief command in this war was given to *Sinan*, who hoped thereby to retrieve his character, and gratify his avarice. The emperor found himself unable, at first, to withstand the torrent: six thousand of his foot, and five hundred of his horse, were cut to pieces in one place, and seven thousand in another; but the latter sold their lives so dearly, that they killed twelve thousand of the infidels. It was reckoned, at this time, that the *Turkish* army in *Croatia*, and *Hungary*, amounted to one hundred and sixty thousand men. The slowness of the *Germanic* body, prevented the emperor from being able to oppose this vast force; and, about *September* this year, the infidels made a considerable progress in *Hungary*. The emperor, at last, found means to draw together about forty-five thousand men, and threw a bridge over the *Drave*. The plague, at this time, began to rage in the *Turkish* army, thro' its communications with *Constantinople*, and, not caring to venture a general engagement, they drew off to winter quarters, in their own territories. All this time the hostilities had been carried on with the utmost fury. War had not been formally declared on either side, and the emperor complained by writing, of the manifest injuries and insults he had received, particularly in the person of his ambassador, whom the *Turks* had imprisoned; but was answered by *Sinan* only with recriminations, for his not sending the stipulated tribute; and thus hostilities went on. The *Turk-*
ish

ish garrison of *Petrina* spread great devastations through the imperial territories, where they took the town of *Martenize*, with the forts of *St. Hedwig* and *Isna*, and other places, putting the inhabitants, at the same time, to death, or which was worse, carrying them into captivity. They, however, were checked, in attempting to surprize *Nuhusel*, in *Hungary*.

Courage
of an ab-
bot,

who puts
a body of
Turks to
death.

Eighteen
thousand
of them
killed.

Hassan Pasha, of *Bosnia*, the most active general against the imperialists in this war, understanding that *Sisseg*, one of the strongest towns in *Croatia*, and built near the confluence of the rivers *Kulp*, and *Save*, and the bulwark of the imperial territories on that side, was governed by an abbot; he sent him an insolent letter, requiring him to give up the place; and, at the same time, to make sure of it, he corrupted the abbot's chief domestic to betray it. The abbot received *Hassan's* letter, at first, with great complacency, and having discovered the treachery of his domestic, he learned as much as he could from the messenger, and then ordered them to be bound together, and thrown into the *Save*. Another messenger was dispatched to know what had become of the first. He was assured, by the abbot, that he had been dismissed some days before, and, that he was very willing to give up the place, if *Hassan* would send some officers of rank, with a proper number of men, that it might justify his not holding it out. *Hassan* complied with this, and, in three days time, a large body of *Turkish* horse arrived before the castle, and, finding the gates open, five hundred of them entered it; when a port-cullis, being suddenly dropped, barred the rest from entrance, and every *Turk* who had got within the place was put to death. This resolute action greatly exasperated *Hassan*, who swore he would raze the castle, and pull the abbot's skin over his ears. He accordingly advanced with an army of thirty thousand men, and, having taken *Trenschin*, in *June*, 1593, he laid siege to *Sisseg*, which he battered so furiously, that it was in danger of being taken, had not a detachment of the imperialists, under general *Eygenberg*, about the twenty-first of *June*, seasonably advanced to its relief. The number of the *Christians* was not above four thousand men, but they were encouraged by count *Aversberg*, to attack the infidels, which they did with so much resolution, that the latter, after a long dispute, were broken, and *Aversberg*, cutting off their retreat, by a bridge they were to pass, eighteen thousand of them were put to the sword, or drowned, no quarter being given on either side. Amongst the slain, was *Hassan* himself, with almost all the chief officers. The troops whom *Hassan* had left to continue the siege, hearing what had happened, attempted to destroy their powder and provisions, and fled with the utmost precipitation, while the *Christians* made themselves masters of their tents, baggage, and artillery.

This

This glorious defeat of the *Turks* exasperated *Morad* so War with much, that he formally declared war against the emperor, *Germany*. and the beglerbeg of *Greece*; about *September*, took *Siseg*, and put the brave garrison to the sword, whilst *Sinan Pascha*, at the head of forty thousand men, took *Weisbrun*, and *Palotta*, the garrisons of which, contrary to the capitulations, were put to the sword, and made himself master of all the country adjacent, to the lake of *Balaton*. By this time, the *Christian* army in *Hungary*, amounting to about eighteen thousand men, besieged *Alba Regalis*, under count *Hardeck*, governor of *Raab*, but was obliged to raise it about the beginning of *November*, by the approach of the pasha of *Buda*, with twenty thousand men, to relieve the place. *Hardeck* had just time to draw up his army, and, under vast disadvantages, he attacked and defeated the infidels, who lost eight thousand men on the spot, with all their artillery and convoy, which was intended for the relief of the place. *Hardeck*, after this, set fire to the suburbs of *Alba Regalis*, and returned to *Raab*. Though the season was far advanced, count *Teffenbach*, another imperial general in *Upper Hungary*, with about fourteen thousand men, on the nineteenth of *November*, took by storm the fortress of *Zubatick*, which, till then, was deemed to be impregnable, and put all the garrison to the sword; it being now the common practice of the *Christians*, as well as the *Turks*, to give no quarter. He then marched against *Filek*, and understanding that the pasha of *Temeswar* was advancing to relieve it, with eighteen thousand men, *Teffenbach* left half of his army to continue the siege, and, with the other half, he totally defeated the pasha, who was killed, as were six thousand of his soldiers. The booty made by the *Christians* on this occasion, was very great, both in artillery and provisions. Upon *Teffenbach's* return to the siege, he was joined by count *Palfi*, with six thousand men, and they pressed the place so furiously, that, though it was strong and resolutely defended, they carried it by storm, and put all the garrison to the sword, excepting *The Turks* eight hundred, who, having retired with their wives and defeated. children, to an inner castle, were admitted to a capitulation.

So many repeated blows and losses, as the *Turks* had suffered this campaign, threw them into such a consternation, that they abandoned *Diistein*, *Somoske*, *Setichine*, *Blaveslein*, *Sallek*, *Ainache*, *Sollock*, *Westhe*, and many other places. *Peter the Hussar*, a *German* officer, defeated the sanjak of *Palotta*; as count *Grafwin* did a detachment of three thousand *Turks*, most of whom were either killed or drowned. In short, it was thought that a territory, equal in extent to the *Lower Austria*, was this year recovered from the infidels, when the severity of the season obliged the imperialists to go into winter quarters.

It

Supersti-
tion of
Morad.

It was no wonder if a war, so successfully and so furiously carried on by the *Christians*, exasperated the *Turks* at *Constantinople* to the last degree. *Morad* fell into a kind of a melancholy, and, being naturally superstitious, his clergy interpreted certain dreams he had been haunted with, as if his prophet had threatened him and his empire with destruction, if he did not direct the whole of his force against the *Christians*; which he vowed to do. The campaign, therefore, of the year 1594, was carried on with equal fury as the preceding, and so restless were the *Turks*, that it may be said to have lasted through all the winter; for, in the middle of *January*, *Teffenbach* put to the sword one thousand five hundred *Turks*, who were making inroads. The archduke, *Matthias*, now commanded in chief for his brother the emperor, and opened the campaign so early, that, on the eighth of *March*, he besieged and took *Novograd*, which surrendered by capitulation. This important acquisition was followed by that of *Bresenza*, *Sigest*, and *Babostche*; all of them strong places, and taken by count *Serini*. *Hatwan*, in *Upper Hungary*, was besieged by count *Teffenbach*, who defeated the pasha of *Buda* in his attempt to relieve it. In this action, the *Turks* lost two thousand five hundred men, and thirteen pieces of cannon; and, at the same time, *Jasprin*, and *Zabola*, fell into the hands of the imperialists, and *Teffenbach* resumed the siege of *Hatwan*.

The *Ras-*
cians re-
bel.

By this time, the siege of *Gran*, the ancient *Strigonium*, and once the capital of *Hungary*, was undertaken by the archduke, with forty-four thousand men; but though he made a great progress in it, the defence of the garrison was so obstinate, that he was obliged to raise it, on the twenty-eighth of *June*, as *Teffenbach*, whose army was greatly weakened by his numerous encounters, was obliged to do that of *Hatwan*. It was during this campaign, that the *Rascians*, a people who live on the banks of the *Danube*, rendered desperate, through the oppressions of the *Turks*, threw off their yoke, seized their vessels, beat the pasha of *Temeswar*, at the head of fourteen thousand men, in two battles; took *Baczkerék* and *Ottadt*, again beat the pasha of *Temeswar*, killed ten thousand of his men, and took eighteen pieces of cannon; and, at last, took *Wersetza* and *Lutz*. After that, they put themselves under the emperor's protection.

Raab be-
sieged,

Sinan Pasha was all this while assembling his army, which consisted of one hundred and fifty thousand men, and providing for the security of his master's frontiers, and, after taking several less important places, in the end of *July* he laid siege to *Raab*, the garrison of which consisted of about five thousand men, under count *Hardeck*. As this was a city of the utmost importance, for the safety of *Vienna* itself, the utmost efforts were made by the archduke to relieve it; but

but, though the *Turks* lost a prodigious number of men, they at last defeated the *Christians*, in the isle of *Schut*, and carried on the siege with such resolution, after this victory, that twelve thousand of them were killed in two attacks. Their obstinacy, however, at last prevailed, and count *Hardeck*, after obtaining a proper certificate from his officers, that the place was no longer tenable, surrendered it and taken to *Sinan*, for which he afterwards, according to the bloody by the politics of the court of *Vienna*, first lost his right hand, and *Turks*. then his head, upon a scaffold, as if he had been corrupted by the infidels. This was the greatest blow the imperialists had received since the beginning of the war, and was far from being counter-balanced, by their taking *Casirowitz*, *Petrina*, *Siseg*, and *Gara*.

After the conquest of *Raab*, *Sinan* laid siege to *Komorra*, Progress about four miles from *Raab*, situated in the island of *Schut*, of the war, both by land and water. But, being abandoned by the *Tartars*, who returned home, and in their return, did incredible mischief to the inhabitants of the places through which they passed, and being hard pressed by the archduke, *Matthias*, he was obliged to raise the siege, and put his army into winter quarters. Before the end of this campaign, a conspiracy was discovered, by which the *Tartars*, in conjunction with some *Transylvanian* lords, engaged to deprive *Segismund Batori*, of that principality, and to give it to *Balthazar Batori*: but *Sigismund* being put upon his guard, found means to trepan the conspirators, and put them all to death, in his capital of *Clausenburg*. *Sigismund*, perceiving that the *Othman* court was at the bottom of this conspiracy, immediately entered into an alliance with the emperor *Rodolph*, and persuaded the waywod of *Walachia*, and the palatine of *Moldavia*, to do the same. This defection was of infinite prejudice to the *Othman* interest. *Michael*, the waywod of *Walachia*, cut in pieces one thousand janisaries, and all the *Turks* and *Jews*, who, against his will, had been settled in his dominions, and then he laid in ashes *Dziurdzowa*, a large *Turkish* town on the *Danube*. After this, he surprized and put to death, a body of *Turks* who sought to kill, or to carry him off prisoner, and put to the sword all the *Turkish* inhabitants of *Phlokh*, a great open town on the *Danube*, lying between *Vrosczok* and *Nicopolis*. He then marched over the *Danube*, which was then frozen, and, having on the ice, unsuccessful defeated a large body of *Turks*, he surprized and rifled, the rich city of *Brailowa*. Being unable to take the castle, he repulsed the *Turks*. the *Danube*, and routed a large body of *Turks* drawn from their adjacent garrisons. After this, he took and plundered *Silistria*, a great city of *Bulgaria*, put the inhabitants to the sword, and burnt it to the ground.

According to the *Christian* writers, those disgraces and Death and losses made so great an impression on *Morad*, who was now character afflicted with the stone, and a complication of distempers, of *Morad*. parti-

particularly the falling sickness, that he died on the eighteenth of *January*, 1595, in the fifty-second year of his life, and the nineteenth of his reign. By the best accounts we have of his person, his look, and manner, were more graceful and mild, than those of his predecessors. He was temperate, just, and religious, but he was thought to be too much under the power of his female relations, and to be too avaricious. His frequent changes of ministers and generals, shews that he was neither constant, nor cruel.

The reign of Mohammed the Third.

Cruelty of
his suc-
cessor.

THIS emperor began his reign with a more than usual act of cruelty. He was the eldest son of *Morad*, and had nineteen brethren alive. *Morad's* death being concealed from them, he invited them to a feast, where he ordered them all to be strangled; and, to compleat the horror of the entertainment, he is said to have caused ten of his father's wives and concubines, to be thrown into the sea, for fear they should have been pregnant. As the accession of this emperor, was owing to the nomination of the pashas, without consent of the army, the janisaries mutinied, and it was with difficulty they were appeased. But another insurrection broke out, when *Mohammed*, as it were, to shew the public he had no rival of his own family to fear, ordered a tent to be set up, and the dead bodies of his father and his nineteen brethren, to be exposed to the view of the people. The whole city flew to arms, while the emperor, after this inhuman exhibition, was feasting with his great pashas. But the grand vizier, partly by fair words, and partly by the terror of the artillery drawn out of the arsenal, quieted the disorder.

Confederacy a-
gainst
him.

The confederacy formed between the emperor, and the *Moldavian*, *Walachian*, and other *Transylvanian* princes, at the end of the late reign, still subsisted, and in the beginning of this, they gained many advantages over the *Turks*, and took from them several places of importance. The *Walachians* in particular, intercepted *Sinan Pasha*, upon his return to *Constantinople*, and stripped him of all the plunder he had been so long amassing. *Mohammed*, looking upon those princes to be so many rebels, bestowed *Walachia* upon one *Bogdanus*, a descendant of its ancient princes, and ordered the *Tartars* to support him, but in their march they were defeated by the *Walachians*, with the loss of eight thousand men. *Aaron*, the waywod of *Moldavia*, was equally fortunate. He encountered the khan of *Tartary*, as he was advancing, by *Mohammed's* orders, to dispossess him of his dominions,

dominions, and having, in three battles, put twelve thousand of them to the sword, he retook *Bender*, *Schinitz*, *Tigna*, and *Mekhnis*, with the country of *Bobraga*; and, afterwards, encountering *Janikula*, *Bogdan's* son, he killed eight thousand of his men, and thus cleared his country of the *Tartars*.

Had the princes of this confederacy been true to one another, it is probable they would have driven the *Turks* out of it. Progress

Hungary. The famine which, at that time, reigned amongst the *Tartars*, who had entered the country, was such, that their women eat their own children; so that scarcely eight thousand, out of eighty-five thousand, were alive. The waywod of *Walachia*, took *Schimele Orosiga*, where the *Turkish* magazines were preserved, *Kilek*, *Galempe*, *St. George*, and then laid siege to *Laganok*. To support this success, *Rodolph* sent above seventy thousand men into the field, under the command of the archduke, *Matthias*. The pasha of *Buda* was defeated near *Temeswar*, and the pasha *Ferhad*, in *Walachia*, with the loss of eight thousand men, by *Nadasti*, the imperial general. During all these successes, *Sigismund*, the prince of *Transylvania*, became jealous of the waywod of *Moldavia*, as deserting the common cause, by holding intelligence with the *Turks*; and his suspicions being confirmed, by certain intercepted letters, he seized him, his wife, and sons, sent them to *Prague*, and, gave the waywodship to *Stephen Rozwan*. *Mohammed*, perceiving that *Sigismund* was the soul of the confederacy that had done him so much hurt, endeavoured to detach him from it, by offering him the waywodships of *Moldavia*, and *Walachia*, but *Sigismund* stood firm to his engagements with the emperor.

Every day added to the losses of the *Turks* in those countries, Losses of
and the discontent at *Constantinople*, for continuing the war, the *Turks*;
grew so great, that the emperor was reproached to his face, by one of the old janisaries, for his perfidy, and the mismanagement of his ministers. After this, *Gran* was besieged by count *Mansfeld*, an imperial general. The pasha of *Buda* endeavoured to relieve it, but was defeated, with the loss of fourteen thousand men, by the counts *Palfi*, and *Swertzenburg*. And that important city, after a vigorous resistance, and seeing a fresh army of the *Turks* defeated under its walls, was obliged to surrender to the imperial arms. The *Turks* next lost *Vicegrad*. The prince of *Transylvania* defeated a body of thirty thousand of them, and besieged *Fagiat*, which ten thousand *Turks* endeavouring to relieve, they were all of them, excepting five hundred, cut in pieces. *Mohammed*, exasperated beyond all temper, by those and many other losses, ordered the pasha *Ferhad* to be put to death, and restored *Sinan* to the command of the army. He accordingly passed the *Danube*, but his numerous troops were encountered and defeated by the *Transilvanians*, with vast slaughter, as was the pasha of *Bosnia*, who invaded *Cro-*
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asia, with twenty thousand men. The infidels were not more fortunate in their other attempts in this country. They were obliged to raise the siege of *Petrina*, and the *Zakulians*, a people to the north-east of *Transylvania*, throwing off the *Turkish* yoke, joined *Sigismund* with forty thousand men. Upon which, the pasha *Sinan*, who had passed the *Danube* with seventy thousand of the best *Turkish* troops, retired to *Bukharest*, and *Sigismund* stormed *Fergovista*, where he put all the garrison, but the *Turkish* governor, to the sword, as he did four thousand more *Turks*, who came to reinforce it. *Sigismund* continuing his progress, advanced against *Bukharest*, which *Sinan* abandoned, and then he took *Zorga*, with such loss to the infidels, that, in the twelve last days of *October*, twenty-six thousand of them were put to the sword, with the loss of no more than two hundred and fifty *Christians*; and then *Sigismund* returned to *Alba Julia*.

who employ the *Crim Tartars* against the *Christians*.

The policy of the *Turkish* court seems to have been, to employ the *Crim Tartars* against the *Christians*. Accordingly, in the year 1594, the khan invaded *Moldavia* with seventy thousand men, to make one *Sudriak* waywod of *Zamoski*. The great chancellor of *Poland*, out of hatred to *Sigismund*, invaded it at the same time, and, prevailing on the khan to return home, he displaced the waywod *Stephen*, and put one *Jeremy* in his room; who, though the vassal of *Poland*, agreed to pay tribute to *Mohammed*. The hatred of the *Poles* to the *Turks*, thus giving way to their enmity with *Sigismund*, the latter sent the degraded waywod, *Stephen*, with an army, to drive them out of *Moldavia*; but he was defeated and put to death, and the new waywod called the *Tartars* in to his assistance. The war now raged with more fury than ever all over *Hungary*, *Transylvania*, and *Moldavia*, but in general, greatly to the disadvantage of the *Turks*; who, if the *Poles* had joined the *Christian* confederate princes, might have been driven to the walls of *Constantinople*.

War proclaimed.

Such was the state of affairs in the beginning of the year 1596, when *Mohammed* ordered war to be proclaimed at *Constantinople*, against the emperor, and *Sigismund*. Being dissatisfied at the conduct of *Sinan*, who was now above eighty years of age, he recalled him, with intention, as was believed, to put him to death. But *Sinan*, making his peace with his money, died, as it was thought, of grief, for his bad success against the *Christians*. About the same time, the *Georgians* again took arms against the *Othmans*; and *Abbas*, the shah of *Persia*, as may be seen in the history of that reign, obtained vast advantages over them. But *Mohammed*, intent to subdue the *Christians*, declared that he would march to *Hungary* in person, at the head of the greatest army that the porte had ever sent to that country. *Lippa* was besieged by the *Turks*, but with no effect. They, however, recovered *Klissa*,

Kliffa, in *Dalmatia*, and count *Palfi* took *Sambok*, lying between *Buda* and *Alba Regalis*. *Sigismund* laid siege to *Temeswar*, which forty thousand *Turks* and *Tartars* attempted to relieve, but tho' he defeated them, and killed five thousand of them, they repeated their attacks so vigorously, that he was obliged to abandon the siege. Towards the end of *July*, *Maximilian*, of *Austria*, the head imperial general, took possession of *Vatchia*, and, in the middle of *August*, laid siege to *Hatwan*, a strong fort in *Upper Hungary*, lying between *Buda* and the *Egra*, and, having taken it, put four thousand of the *Turks* to the sword, with the loss of only three hundred of the imperialists.

Mohammed, at last, took the field, and left *Buda* at the head of two hundred thousand men, purposing, as he gave out, to carry the war to the gates of *Vienna*, which the imperialists actually began to fortify. Upon his approach with this mighty army, the garrison of *Hatwan* abandoned it; and, after detaching forty thousand men to *Temeswar*, he laid siege to *Egra*, which had often baffled the arms of his predecessors. A reader who runs over the particulars of one siege, by the *Turks*, may form an idea of them all, obstinate and incessant attacks, a dreadful carnage, and perpetual minings and batterings, made up the whole. *Mohammed*, afraid that the imperial army was advancing to relieve the place, attacked it with so much fury, that, after a brave resistance, he took it by an honourable capitulation; which was violated by the *Turks*, in revenge of some cruelties that had been committed upon the garrison of *Hatwan*. *Mohammed*, however, is said to have punished the authors of this violation, and to have set at liberty the remaining prisoners. Winter now approaching, *Mohammed* began to think of putting his army into winter quarters, In the mean while, *Petrina* being besieged by the *Turks*, they were obliged to abandon it with great loss; and *Maximilian*, having united all his troops, was now at the head of thirty-two thousand horse, and twenty-eight thousand foot, with a train of one hundred and twenty field pieces, and every thing else in proportion; while the grand army of the *Turks* was encamped near *Egra*. The *Christians* were eager to come to a general engagement, but the *Danube* parting the two armies, no action of any importance, for some days, happened. At last, he is described. *Mohammed* ordered ten thousand of his best troops to pass the river. The *Christians* not only defeated them, but pursued them over the river, and filled the camp of the infidels with such terror, that they took one hundred and ninety pieces of artillery, while *Mohammed*, with his vizier, fled with the utmost precipitation; the former, through grief and vexation, even shedding tears, which he wiped away with a piece of *Mahomet's*, the prophet's, garment, which he carried about him as a relick.

but re-
covers the
field,

without
pursuing.

A pasha
defeated.

Night now drew on ; the *Turks* were endeavouring to recover from their consternation, and *Maximilian* was about to order a retreat, when *Sigismund*, *Palfi*, and the other imperial generals, persuaded him to push his good fortune, without giving the infidels time to breathe. The imperialists, accordingly, attacked the first line of the *Turks*, and, having routed it, with vast slaughter, they attacked the main body, which was drawn up immediately before their camp, but not till after strict orders had been given, against all plundering and disorders. The charge of the imperialists was so furious, that, having routed the enemy, they broke into the *Turkish* camp ; by which, they not only lost the fruit of the great victory they had gained, but were, in their turn defeated. The *Hungarians*, and *Germans*, were not proof against the amazing riches of the *Turkish* tents ; and, breaking into *Mohammed's* own pavilion, instead of pursuing their enemies, they fell to plunder. The pasha *Sigala*, an *Italian* renegade, observing this, rallied the infidels, and, while *Maximilian*, and the other *Christian* generals, in vain, endeavoured to call their troops from the plunder, they found themselves abandoned to the fury of the infidels, who killed twenty thousand of the imperialists. This battle, called that of *Karesta*, cost *Mohammed* sixty thousand men. Luckily for the *Christians*, the consternation of the *Turks* continued to be such, that they did not pursue their victory ; and *Sigismund*, whose troops were under excellent discipline, retreated in good order, with the loss of no more than two hundred of his men. Some of the *German* historians, however, are far from agreeing with those particulars. They say, that the battle was fought on the twenty-fifth of *October*, that the loss of the *Turks* was about twelve thousand men, and that of the imperialists, about five thousand, but they agree that the imperialists were not pursued, though the infidels are said to have lost great numbers in their retreat to *Egra*, and from thence to *Belgrade*.

Mohammed was so proud of his late conquest, that he was surnamed *Egra*. The pasha of *Bosnia* besieged *Petrina*, but was defeated by *Herberstein*, the imperial general, with great loss. The consequences, however, of the battle of *Karesta*, in the year 1597, were detrimental to the *Christian* interest. The confederacy began now to languish, and *Michael*, the waywod of *Walachia*, being no longer protected by his allies, again submitted to be tributary to *Mohammed*, but without acting against the emperor. This defection from the common cause, obliged the brave *Sigismund* to resign *Transylvania* to the emperor *Rodolph*, for some other estates and pensions ; so that nothing, of any great consequence, passed in the field that year.

In the year 1598, the *Tartars* made a peace with the emperor, upon the payment of a sum of money ; and the counts

Savert-

Swertzenburg, and *Palfi*, being informed by two *Italians* who had escaped from *Raab*, of the state of that important fortress, they had the good fortune to surprize, and make themselves masters of it, after a most desperate resistance, two of the *Turkish* pashas being killed. The booty the imperialists by the made in this place, is said to have been incredibly rich. Encouraged by this success, *Palfi* attempted to take *Buda*, but was obliged to raise the siege, as the *Turks* did that of *Wara-*
din, in *Upper Hungary*, which had been undertaken by the pasha *Ibrahim*. *Michael*, the cautious waywod of *Moldavia*, this year, again threw off the *Turkish* yoke, defeated the pashas of *Silistria* and *Badoua*, took *Nissa*, in *Bulgaria*, and harraided the *Turkish* territories with his inroads.

In the year 1599, the *Heyduks* of *Walachia* defeated the pasha of *Anatolia*, intercepted a reinforcement of three thousand *Turks*, marching to *Buda*, and took prisoner the pasha of that city. After this, they surprized and defeated the pasha of *Bosnia*, at the head of ten thousand men; and *Swertzenburg's* regiment put to the sword, or drove into the *Danube*, a great number of ravaging *Tartars*. *Mohammed*, all this time, remained in *Constantinople*, where he gave himself entirely up to luxury. He took care, however, to support his troops in *Hungary*; but count *Palfi*, this year, intercepted a great convoy designed for the relief of *Buda*, and other cities belonging to the *Turks*, with a vast sum of money. Towards the end of the summer, however, the pasha *Ibrahim*, came to *Buda*, at the head of one hundred thousand *Turks*, and made some overtures for peace, which came to nothing. This year, *Sigismund*, repenting of his bargain with the emperor, resumed the government of *Transylvania*, where he was joyfully received by the states, who equally dreaded the *Austrian*, as the *Turkish*, tyranny. It is even said, that *Sigismund*, after all the great actions he had done against the infidels, chose to depend on them, rather than the emperor, and that he resigned his dominions to cardinal *Bathori*, who was to hold them of *Mohammed*, but who was defeated and killed by the waywod of *Walachia*. And thus all *Transylvania* came again under the emperor's dominion. This was a dreadful blow to *Mohammed*, who gave the pasha *Ibrahim* orders to resume the negotiations for peace; but these, like the preceeding, came to nothing; while the plague and famine continued to make prodigious havock among the *Turks* in *Hungary*.

So many calamities falling upon the *Othman* empire, on Rebellion that side, encouraged *Kusachin*, the pasha of *Caramania*, who in *Turkey* is said to have been of the blood of *Othman*, to rebel. Being an excellent officer, he defeated ten thousand of *Mohammed's* troops, took *Iconium*, and charging *Mohammed* himself with cowardice and mismanagement, and his ministers with corruption, he prepared to advance to *Constantinople*. *Mohammed*, *Sinar's* son; was sent to command against him, but

he, avoiding a battle, laid out some money so judiciously amongst *Kusachin's* infantry, that they abandoned him, and the rebel retired with his cavalry to *Arabia*. Next year he prepared to attack the pasha *Mohammed*, who had wintered at *Aleppo*, but, the latter proclaiming a pardon to all who would come over to him, *Kusachin* was abandoned, and, being taken prisoner, was put to a tormenting death at *Constantinople*.

War in
Hungary.

We are now arrived at the year 1600, which opened with a mutiny of one thousand two hundred *French* and *Walloons*, in the garrison of *Pappa*, for want of pay, and they bargained to give up the place to the *Turks*, but it was recovered by *Swertzenburg*, who lost his life in the attempt, while the *Heyduks* surprised the town of *Giula*. In the end of *August*, the pasha *Ibrahim* took the field with two hundred thousand men, and began his operations by taking *Babotska*, which lies within four miles of the *Danube*, and twenty-eight south-east of *Kanissa*, which important city, he likewise besieged. The imperial army consisting of forty thousand men, was commanded by the *French* duke, *de Mercoeur*, who attempted to raise the siege, and fought a drawn battle with the *Turks*; but provisions failing, and dissensions amongst the *Christians* arising, the place was delivered up by capitulation, which was observed; and *Ibrahim* endeavoured to serve his master, chiefly, by proceeding against the *Hungarians* gently and moderately. He died, however, soon after, having been nobly rewarded by the sultan.

Rebellion
in Asia.

Matters did not go on so well on the side of *Asia*, where *Kusachin's* rebellion was revived, by one *Skrivano*, who defeated the pasha *Mohammed*, after a bloody engagement. In *Persia*, shah *Abbas* ordered the *Turkish* ambassador to be bastinadoed, for presuming to demand one of the shah's sons as a hostage to the *Othman* court; so low was the credit of the *Turkish* government fallen in *Asia*. The pasha, *Mohammed*, however, was sent against *Skrivano* with a fresh army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, but he was defeated by the rebel, who now proclaimed himself the defender of the *Mohammethan* faith. He was, however, again attacked by the pasha *Mohammed*, and thought proper to retire to the mountains. Here he recruited his army, and, falling into the lower countries, he ravaged the possessions of all who would not join him, and prepared to advance against *Constantinople* itself; but, being prevented by death, he was succeeded by his younger brother. The pasha *Hassan* was sent to suppress the new rebel chief, but he was both defeated and killed, and the rebels laid a great part of the *Othman* dominions, in *Asia*, under contribution, by which they raised vast sums. Their general, who is said to have been a *Tartar*, was now at the head of forty thousand men, laid siege to *Ancyra*, the inhabitants of which gave him two hundred thousand ducats to raise it. The *Turkish* governor
resenting

resenting this composition, the *Ancyreans* cut his garrison in pieces, and drove him out of the city. The rebels then laid siege to *Prusa*, in *Anatolia*, which they took, and in it a vast booty, besides military stores in great abundance. After this, they were joined by the governor of *Baghdad*, and their progress became so formidable, that *Mohammed* was forced to comply with their demands, and to give the pashaship of *Bosnia* to their leader, who is called *Zel Ali*. The insolence of the rebels, who now appeared triumphantly at court, adorned with marks of imperial favour, exasperated the army at *Constantinople* so much, that their officers entered into a conspiracy with one of the sultana's, to place her son upon the throne; *Mohammed*, according to them, being now unfit for government, equally through incapacity and cruelty. This conspiracy being discovered by an intercepted letter, the sultana, her son, fifty of the conspirators, and the astrologers, who had promised them success, were put to death. But we are now to attend the affairs of *Hungary*.

In the year 1601, the duke *de Merceur*, began the campaign with the siege of *Alba Regalis*, and by fording a part of the lake, which the *Turks* did not think fordable, he sieged and took the city by storm; though the defence the infidels made was so obstinate, that most of it was ruined. *Hassan*, who had succeeded *Ibrahim* in the command of the *Turkish* army in *Hungary*, sought to surprise this important conquest, before the place could be repaired, but he was defeated by the duke *de Merceur*, with far inferior numbers. The *Turks* and the pasha of *Buda*, six sanjacks, many general officers, and six thousand common soldiers were killed. The duke then besieged *Kanissa*, and would have taken it, had not the inclemency of the season obliged him to raise the siege. This year, the plague raged through almost all the parts of the *Othman* empire, and the janizaries had the insolence to demand the heads of certain courtiers, who had offended them. Having deputed their aga for that purpose, *Mohammed* put him to death, but the janizaries, in revenge, would have pulled him out of his palace, had they not, as usual, been appeased by money.

To counterballance those and a great many other misfortunes and disgraces, which the infidels suffered, during the course of this war, in the year 1602, the pasha *Hassan*, taken having an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, besieged and took *Alba Regalis*, upon a capitulation of safety to the persons and goods of the garrison. But the imperial soldiers beginning to plunder the citizens, whose riches were otherwise to fall into the hands of the *Turks*, the *Tartars*, who served in the infidel army, broke in, and slaughtered both. *Nelan* the governor, who had made a most admirable defence, was with the chief officers, carried prisoner to *Constantinople*; and soon after, followed by the *Turkish* general and his army.

The imperialists, this year, took the *Lower Buda*, and the city of *Pest*, partly by storm, and partly by stratagem. The pasha *Hassan*, endeavoured, but in vain, to retake *Pest*, while count *Nadaſti* reduced the towns of *Adom* and *Veldwar*. The *Upper* city of *Buda*, being still unreduced, the imperialists besieged it with great vigour, but were obliged to raise the siege with loss, and likewise to abandon the town of *Adom*.

Cam- The campaign of the year 1603 began upon the *Danube*,
pa- which was that year frozen over. Six thousand *Turks*, who
on the served as a convoy of two hundred waggons of provisions,
Da- to *Alba Regalis*, were put to the sword by the imperialists,
nube. who had no sooner possessed themselves of the waggons, than they were retaken by part of the garrison of *Buda*, who, in their return, lost them to an ambuscade, formed by the garrison of *Pest*. In *Walachia*, the war was carried on against the *Turks*, by the new waywod, *Radul. Colonitz*, the imperial general, cut in pieces six hundred *Turks*, in one party, but failed in his attempts upon a great convoy, as well as upon *Babotz*, and he retreated to *Komorra*. After this, though the *Tartars* entered *Hungary* through *Walachia*, in such numbers, that the vast slaughter of them did not sensibly diminish them, *Colonitz* took *Loqua* and *Boulouvenér*, while *Basta*, the imperial general in *Transylvania*, took *Solomose*; and the *Walachians* defeating *Zakel Moses*, a *Turkish* or *Tartar*, general, the tranquillity of that country was restored. In the mean while, the *Turks*, to the number of one hundred thousand, assembled, with a shew to besiege *Pest*; but the garrisons of *Raab* and *Gran*, under the direction of a *Turkish* officer, who had deserted, plundered, and set fire to the suburbs of *Alba Regalis*.

Mutiny at The services which the pasha *Hassan* had done this cam-
Constanti- paign, were thought to have been so considerable, as to
nople. merit the sultan's sister in marriage, and he repaired to *Constantinople*, for that purpose; but was confounded, when he arrived there, to hear the janisaries, and other soldiers, in a body, demand of the sultan, that he should be delivered up to them. As the mutineers were very numerous, *Hassan* appeared before them, and understood, that the charge against him was, for employing the chief strength of the army in *Hungary*, while the *Asian* rebels were within three days march of *Constantinople*. *Hassan* threw the blame upon the sultan's mother, and the kapigi aga, and continued so steady in his charge against them, that the mutineers with the most bitter reproaches to the emperor, demanded their heads with such obstinacy, that those of the kapigi aga and some other officers, were struck off, and the sultan agreed and a re- that his mother should be confined. After this, the rebels
bellion in of *Asia*, renewing their insults, *Mohammed* entered into a se-
Asia. cret negotiation for peace with the imperialists, but the treaty soon came to nothing. *Buda*, at that time, was in
great

great distress for provisions ; and the pasha *Morad*, on the twenty-second of *August*, endeavouring to relieve it, he was defeated by *Rushworm*, the imperial general, in many repeated encounters, with the loss of above eight thousand men, besides a vast number of prisoners, waggons and horses. A great many skirmishes, with various fortune to each party, happened after this in the isle of *Vicegrad*, near *Buda* ; but count *Trantmestorf* beat the infidels in *Stiria* ; and *Basta*, the imperial general, took the important town of *Lugaze*, in *Transylvania*. The imperialists however, in the end, could not prevent a great supply being thrown into *Buda* ; and then the *Turks* drew their army from *Hungary*. Upon this, the imperialists besieged, and with great difficulty took *Hatwan*, on the twenty-ninth of *November*. Five thousand *Turks*, under the pasha *Beged*, were either cut in pieces, or taken prisoners by *Basta*. But the infidels found a useful ally in *Bethlem Gabor*, the head of the revolted *Transylvanians*.

This year, *Zel Ali* the *Asian* rebel, whom we have mentioned to have been reconciled to *Mohammed's* government, did, in *Hungary* at the head of twelve thousand of his men, such great service in *Hungary* against the imperialists, that the sultan promised him the government of *Bosnia*. But the pasha *Jaffer*, who commanded in that province, either unwilling to resign his government, or encouraged by the sultan, not only refused him entrance into *Baghnaluck*, the chief town of the province, but prepared to cut him off. *Zel Ali*, feigning a retreat, abandoned his camp, but while *Jaffer's* soldiers were plundering it, he attacked them so unexpectedly that he killed six thousand of them, and having in his turn, plundered their camp, the whole province submitted to him, and he made a triumphant entry into *Baghnaluck*. After this he gave out that he would join the imperialists if he discovered any more practices against him, and avoided all the traps laid for him by *Mohammed*.

Such was the untoward situation of the *Turkish* government, when the negotiations for a peace were renewed, under the respite of a truce for twelve days, in the beginning of *Mo-* of the year 1604. But, before the truce was out, the emperor *Mohammed* died, in the forty-fourth year of his age, and after a reign of nine years, and two months. He appears, upon the whole, to have been a cruel, worthless, sensual man, and to have held his empire only by the compliances he made with those who disturbed his government. He put to death, as we have related, his eldest son upon an idle surmise, but afterwards finding him innocent, his body was buried in the imperial sepulchre, and the pasha who accused him was strangled. His second son died young, the fourth was confined in the palace, and the third succeeded him.

The Reign of Ahmed the First.

Succeeded
by *Ahmed*.

AHMED was no more than fifteen years of age when he mounted the *Othman* throne, a circumstance that had never happened before to that government. His first care was, to give orders that the negotiation begun by his father with the imperialists should be continued; and then he turned his thoughts to suppress the *Asiatic* rebels, who continued in arms under *Kallenden Ogli*, and *Tavil*. His prime vizier *Koja Morad*, undertook this war, and after defeating the rebels, drove them into *Persia*. *Ahmed* demanded that the two generals should be delivered up, which shah *Abbas* refusing to do, the vizier invaded *Persia*, but too late to do any thing effectual for that campaign. *Ahmed*, young as he was, next applied himself to domestic regulations, and removed his grandmother, who had been so much complained of in the late reign, from all her power in the government. The negotiations for the peace in *Hungary* still went on, but were interrupted by the imperialists discovering a plot of the *Turks* to surprise *Pest*, during the time of a grand entertainment there, given to their chief officers by the imperialists. After this, hostilities were renewed with great rigour on both sides. The pasha *Jaffer* entered his government of *Bosnia*, from whence he drove his competitor *Zel Ali*, who however, was made governor of *Temeswar*, but he failed in an attempt he made to surprise *Lippa*. Another design, formed by the *Turkish* prisoners, to surprise or destroy *Kassova*, miscarried about the same time, but the important fortress of *Kanissa* was accidentally blown up by gunpowder.

Continu-
ance of
the war
with the
Christians

It appears, as if neither the *Turks* nor the imperialists in *Hungary*, were in earnest for a peace. The pasha of *Buda*, disowned the design upon *Pest*, and profest himself willing to resume the negotiations, but at the same time he took and burnt down the castle of *Sommin*. Matters thus beginning to wear a more favourable aspect for the *Turks* in *Hungary*, the pasha *Hassan*, who was reckoned the best officer in their dominions, was sent thither, with one hundred thousand men, while the *Tartars* continued their usual ravages in *Walachia*. This obliged the waywod *Rodolf*, to put his country under the protection of the emperor, who, this year, received one hundred and fifty thousand crowns from the pope, for the defence of *Hungary*. The terror of *Hassan*, who was now made great vizier, was such, that the governor of *Pest* blew up that fortress, and retired to *Gran*, which was soon after besieged by *Hassan*. *Tambier*, the governor of *Lipta*, marching to its relief, was intercepted by *Bethlem Gabor*, at the head of the *Transylvanian* rebels, and four thousand *Turks*, who were all of them routed, and the de-
fence

fence made by count *Schultz* the governor of *Gran*, was so good, that *Hassan*, on the tenth of *October*, raised the siege, and was harraied in his retreat by *Basta*, the imperial general. *Potskay*, a *Calvinist* nobleman of *Poland*, now ruled in *Transylvania*, under the *Turk*, and calling himself the defender of the reformed religion, he established *Protestantism* at *Kassova*, which he took, after defeating *Beligiosa* the imperial general under *Basta*. The truth is, the persecutions of popery were now become as ruinous to *Hungary* and *Transylvania*, as the arms of the infidels had been. The imperialists under *Basta* at last defeated *Potskay*, but turned their arms against the *Protestants* of those countries, who uniting under *Potskay*, he again recovered his power. This reduced *Basta*, whose army was very mutinous, to apply to *Potskay* for peace, but the latter, among other things, insisting upon each subject having the free exercise of his own religion, the war went on. The *Heyduks* and *Tartars*, surprised *Gokaza*, near *Gran*, but it was recovered by the imperialists, who likewise took *Palantwar*. The *Turks* however, by the means of the *Heyduks*, most of whom were in *Potskay's* interest, took *Vachia*, but were repulsed in an attempt they made upon *Gran*; though the *Heyduks* betrayed to them the town of *Vicegrad*, the citadel of which soon after capitulated.

Such were the chief military transactions of the year *Bigotry* 1605. Though the *Christian* cause then appeared to be on of the point of ruin, yet, such was the bigotry of the house of emperor. *Austria*, that the emperor considered the *Protestants* to be equally his enemies as the infidels. The *Protestants*, on the other hand, the *Heyduks* especially, felt the *Turkish* more light than the *Austrian* yoke, and though *Basta* offered an indemnity to all deserters who would return to the imperial standard; his offer was so far from producing any effect, that he saw himself in danger of being abandoned by his own army. The *Heyduks*, in the beginning of *February* 1606, took the castle of *Sakmar*, and were prevented only by the accident of the ice failing under them, from taking *Takay* likewise. They next attacked *New Hansel*, and made themselves masters of the town, but were dispossessed of it by the garrison of the castle. They had better fortune before the important town of *Filk*, which was surrendered to them for want of water, and their success was such, that they at last forced the states of *Transylvania* to recognize the authority of *Potskay*, on whose side were likewise most part of the native *Hungarians*.

Notwithstanding the defeat and flight of the two *Turkish* The re- rebels into *Persia*, the rebellion soon broke out again in *Asia*, bellion where the pasha *Sigala* was defeated by the rebels in a bloody breaks out battle. Putting himself at the head of a fresh army, he again in obliged them to apply for assistance to the court of *Persia*, *Asia*. and that shah sending his son to their aid, defeated *Sigala*, and

and killed thirty thousand of his soldiers, and afterwards reduced all the country of *Shirwan*, excepting a few inconsiderable places. *Abmed* upon this, was inclined to have abandoned the *Hungarian* war, and to have sent the pasha *Hassan* against the *Persians*, and the rebels; but changing his mind, he continued *Sigala* in his command. That general, notwithstanding his great abilities, was again defeated by the *Persians*, who afterwards took *Baghdad*. In *Anatolia*, the rebellion still continued to rage, and the pashas of *Damascus*, and *Aleppo*, were at war with one another. And to compleat the misfortunes of the *Turkish* government, on that side, the janisaries mutinied, and a dreadful fire broke out at *Constantinople*. *Sigala* informed *Abmed* of all his misfortunes, and, obtaining the command of another army, he was again defeated, and with difficulty he escaped with only three hundred soldiers to *Adena*, a city near *Tarsus*. The pasha of *Trebizend* advancing to his relief, *Sigala*, with no more than ten soldiers, got secretly over the walls and joined him. The two pashas were again defeated, and *Sigala* was obliged to save himself in a little boat. So many repeated overthrows, with the loss of *Adena*, tired out *Abmed's* patience. He ordered all *Sigala's* house and riches at *Constantinople* to be seized, and that a fresh army should be raised against the *Persians*. The janisaries however, absolutely refused to march, and *Abmed* was obliged to appease the mutiny by putting to death his high treasurer.

War in
Syria.

In *Syria*, the war continued between the pashas of *Damascus*, and *Aleppo*. The former at first had the advantage, and obliged his rival to submit to his terms: but the agreement was not of long standing, and the pasha of *Damascus*, with the pashas of *Tripoli*, and *Gazera*, advancing against *Aleppo* with sixty thousand men, they were defeated by that pasha with half the number, and he, at the same time, took *Tripoli*; and affecting to act independently of the sultan, he imposed a tribute on the *Turks*, and reduced all *Syria*, making several regulations in trade, to *Persia* and the *Indies*, to enrich his new subjects. The beglerbeg of *Anatolia's* lieutenant, was totally defeated, in endeavouring to reduce him, and he had the good fortune to possess himself of a whole year's tribute of *Egypt*, by the ship which carried it being thrown on his coasts.

Affairs of
Germany.

Such complicated misfortunes on the side of *Asia*, seemed to determine *Abmed* to have peace on any terms, but the *German* emperor was equally embarrassed. *Potskay* refused to treat with him, without establishing such preliminaries as amounted to his renouncing *Hungary*. *Basta's* army again mutinied, and the *Hcyduks* not only took *New Hansel*, but ravaged *Moravia*. *Basta*, however, having somewhat appeased his mutinous troops, obtained some advantages over the *Turks*, and *Tartars*, near the *Danube*; and the imperial garrison of *Komorra* surprised and killed the pasha *Begedes*, and inter-

cepted

cepted a rich convoy of money that was going to *Potskay*. That nobleman, however, proceeded with such amazing success, that not only all *Transylvania*, and the greatest part of the *Austrian Hungary*, submitted to him, but he carried his arms into *Austria*, and *Stiria* itself. In short, even the counts *Serini*, *Nadaſti*, and *Budiani*, who had done wonders against the *Turks*, seeing the emperor in a manner abandon all care of them, submitted to *Potskay* likewise. But the *Heyduks* were forced to raise the siege of *Odenburg*, with great loss. *Potskay* likewise lost four waggon loads of money, which was intercepted by the *Germans*; it having been sent him by the *Turks*, as the price of his having given up *Kassova*. To compensate him for this loss, *Dotis* surrendered to his party; and on the seventeenth of *October* *New Hausel* was, after a long and obstinate siege, delivered to the *Hungarians* in his interest.

Potskay, all this while, proceeded upon the most plausible pretexts. He insisted, that *Hungary* should be governed by *Hungarians* only, that *Transylvania* should be independent, and both countries free, with the full liberty to exercise the *Protestant* religion. The *German* emperor at last agreed, that he should enjoy, during his life, the principality of *Transylvania*, and that his subjects should profess *Protestantism*; but by the persuasion of *Ahmed*, who promised to give all *Hungary* to *Potskay*, he rejected those terms, and the *Turks* besieged and took *Gran*, the governor, *Dampier*, being obliged to surrender the same by a mutiny of the garrison, who were put to death for their cowardice, and treachery, at *Kemorra*, to which place they were conducted in terms of their capitulation. So many repeated misfortunes determined the emperor *Rodolph* to listen to fresh proposals for peace made to him by *Ahmed*; but they stuck at the toleration of the *Protestant* religion, which was still insisted upon by *Potskay*. And on the other hand, *Shah Abbas* sent an ambassador to *Vienna*, to dissuade that court from coming to any accommodations with the porte. While matters were in this state of suspense, between peace and war, the *Turks* miscarried in an attempt they made upon *Raab*, while the *Hungarians* of *Potskay*'s party reduced *Tokay*, and blocked up *Espierres*. The *Turks*, about the same time, attempted to take *Lippa*, but, after entering the town they were defeated with great loss by the garrison of the castle. Negotiations for peace, however, were resumed, and the treaty was concluded between the emperor, the states of *Hungary*, and prince *Potskay*, on these terms: That the *Catholics*, *Lutherans*, and *Calvinists*, should all have free liberty to exercise their respective religions in *Hungary*; that *Potskay* should remain, during life, prince of *Transylvania*; and that they should endeavour to conclude a peace with the *Turks*; that the states of *Hungary*, in the emperor's absence, might take the archduke *Matthias* for their palatine or governor; that all

other

other offices should be exercised by the natives of the country ; and that the jesuits should not be allowed to enjoy any property in that kingdom, unless *Rodolph* should please to make them any presents. A treaty then succeeded between *Ahmed* and *Rodolph*, which, on the ninth of *November* 1660, was concluded on the following conditions :

Its terms. That the sultan should stile the emperor, father ; and the emperor the sultan, son, in all their letters and negotiations ; that the king of *Spain*, if he pleased, should be comprehended in the peace ; that the *Tartars* should also be included, on the *Turks* giving assurance, that they should make no incursions upon the *Christians* ; that this truce, or suspension of arms, should last twenty years, to begin from the first day of *January* 1608 ; that the two parties should reciprocally send presents every three years to each other ; that the emperor should begin immediately, by sending two hundred thousand florins, which should be instantly returned by the sultan, in a present of the same value ; that each party should retain what they were possessed of ; that they should not lay any additional taxes on the cities and villages taken in the late wars, besides what they then paid ; that they should not attack any place belonging to each other, on any pretence whatever ; that on both sides they might repair their respective fortresses ; and that the agreement made with *Potskay*, prince of *Transylvania*, should remain in full force. *Vachia* was to be restored to the emperor, and the sultan was to keep possession of *Gran*. During those negotiations, *Potskay* was so much indisposed that he could attend at none of the conferences, and at the end of this year he died, with the character of being one of the greatest patriots of his time ; only he was under the misfortune of his being obliged to assert the liberties of his country, and of mankind, by the assistance of infidels, who were enemies to all liberty both civil and religious.

Peace
with Ger-
many.

War with
the Per-
sians.

Ahmed having thus concluded peace with the *Germanic* body, employed all his thoughts towards recovering those beautiful provinces that had been rent from his empire by the *Persians*. Previous to that, he was obliged to endeavour to reduce, either by arms or by treaty, the pasha of *Aleppo*. Negotiations failing, the grand vizier was sent against him with an army of one hundred and thirty thousand men, and had the good fortune, after various conflicts, to force the rebel to retire to *Persia* ; but recruiting himself there, he, at last obtained his pardon from the sultan, who now spent two or three years in pleasure and inactivity. The negotiations, however, with the *Persians* still went on, through the agency of the khan of *Tartary* ; but *Ahmed's* demands being too high, hostilities were renewed. The *Persians* invaded the *Arabian Irak*, and *Ahmed* sent against them the pasha *Nasub*, who was defeated with the loss of twenty thousand men. He was succeeded in his command by the pasha

pascha of *Aleppo*, who probably having his reasons for not acting vigorously against the *Persians*, was put to death by the sultan's order.

By this time, viz. in 1610, the archduke *Matthias* had been elected king of *Hungary*, upon the terms of toleration for religion, and ratified the late treaty with *Ahmed*. He was opposed by *Gabriel Bathori*, who had assumed the principality of *Transylvania*, and had put himself under the protection of *Ahmed*, who supported him against *Constantine*, the waywod of *Moldavia*. This summer, *Ahmed* had a fleet at sea, but it was unfortunate in all its operations against the galleys of *Malta*, and the other *Italian* powers. The *Tuscans*, in particular, made a vast booty by sea, to the value it is said of one million five hundred thousand crowns, while the galleys of *Malta*, and *Naples*, ravaged the *Turkish* islands in the *Archipelago*. The *Persians*, in the mean while, were still gaining ground upon the *Othmans*, but *Shah Abbas*, about the beginning of the year 1611, would willingly have made peace upon terms that were disagreeable to the sultan, who successively employed *Morad*, *Serder*, and the pascha *Nassuf*, against the *Persians*. A peace, however, was at last concluded, on condition of the shah's paying to *Ahmed* two hundred camel loads of silk, and making some other immaterial concessions. This year, a detachment from the *Maltese* galleys surprised and plundered *Corinth* in the *Morea*, without any loss of men.

The pascha *Nassuf* was now, both for his great abilities in peace and war, the reigning favourite of the *Othman* court. In the year 1612, he carried with him to *Constantinople* a *Persian* ambassador, for ratifying the late treaty; but the janisaries being now idle, begun again to mutiny. They refused longer to accept of bread and rice for their subsistence, and when a great conflagration happened at *Constantinople*, instead of assisting to quench it, they broke open and plundered the houses of the inhabitants. *Nassuf*, who was now first vizier, and was the only subject of the empire who had the liberty of breaking in upon the sultan's pleasures, was so far from giving way to the mutineers, that he ordered sixteen hundred of them to be sent to *Asia*, and he threatened the extinction of their order. Those vigorous measures were the more easily executed, as the sultan had no wars upon his hands. *Matthias* king of *Hungary*, had succeeded to the empire of *Germany*, and demanded the principality of *Transylvania*, which was denied him. This year, *Ahmed* concluded an advantageous peace with the *Dutch*, who were then a considerable maritime power, and he gave them freedom to trade in his ports, and to send an ambassador, or resident to *Constantinople*. About *Midsummer*, *Ahmed's* sister was married to *Mehemed Pascha*, son to *Segala Pascha*, the unfortunate commander against the *Persians*, and his daughter,

Cruelty of daughter, to *Mahammed* the high admiral. The mother of *Abmed*. this lady, however, a few days after the weddings were over, felt the sultan's fury. He, it seems, was in love with a female slave belonging to his sister, whom the sultana poisoned, and *Abmed* in revenge stabbed her in the face with a dagger, and trampled her underfoot on the ground, besides beating her most severely. Soon after this, the sultan retreating from the plague at *Constantinople*, to one of his country seats, a dervise, or religious person, threw a stone at him, with an intention to murder him, but the assassin, missing his aim, was next day put to death.

The troubles, which still continued in *Moldavia*, and *Transylvania*, were now come to so great a height, that *Bathori* was killed by his own soldiers.

Losses of the Turks In the year 1613, the *Florentines* took fort *Agliman*, which lies to the north-west of cape *Begas*, in *Cilicia*, as the *Portuguese*, and *Spaniards* did *Aden*, lying on the *Red Sea*, towards the south of *Arabia*. Those, and a great many other losses sustained by *Abmed*, from the *Italian* and other powers, obliged him to have recourse to his *Christian* subjects for repairing his marine. He obliged the *Armenians* of his empire to build nine galleys, and the *Greeks* twenty; all at their own expences. His arms prospered little better by land, though after the death of *Bathori*, his rival *Bethlem Gabor*, was, by the pasha *Serder*, declared prince of *Transylvania*, yet, that was of very little service to the sultan, who raised a vast armament, and set out, as was thought, to conquer *Transylvania* for himself, but was deterred by *Bethlem's* great power. Returning towards *Constantinople*, he received intelligence that the plague raged in that capital, and when it was somewhat abated, to prevent its breaking out again, he ordered all the dogs in *Constantinople* to be carried to a desert island, where, contrary to the doctrines of *Mahomedism*, he suffered them all to perish for want of sustenance.

Intrigues at Constantinople During those public calamities *Abmed's* court was filled with intrigues. *Sigala*, now pasha of *Buda*, notwithstanding the unfortunate campaigns he had made against the *Persians*, was still suffered to enjoy his life and government; and his wife being sister to the sultan the pasha *Nasuf*, the prime vizier, being extremely jealous of his credit at court, denied him access to the sultan, and did him all the ill offices in his power. *Sigala*, being a man of intrigue, gave a letter to his wife, addressed to the sultan, but not being able, through the vizier's jealousy to put it into his own hands, she disposed of it in his room so as that he found it. The contents of this letter, which was said to have accused the vizier of a conspiracy against the sultan's life, determined *Abmed* to send for his head; the pasha *Bostanji* was appointed to be the messenger. It was suspected that the vizier intended to fly over to *Asia*, for which reason, the pasha was obliged to use a stratagem, by

by dressing himself in the sultan's robes, and having thus secured him, the vizier, after delivering up the seal, quietly submitted to be strangled. Perhaps, his greatest crime was his treasure, for about four hundred thousand pounds sterling, in ready money, was found in his house after his death. This sum enabled *Abmed* to finish some magnificent works he had laid out at *Constantinople*; and *Bethlem*, his tributary prince of *Transylvania*, by the assistance of the pasha *Sauder*, retook several towns in *Germany*, and received the submissions of others, but upon the express condition of their not falling under the power of the *Turks*.

About the year 1615, a real or pretended brother to the An im- sultan, who called himself prince *Jakaya*, is said to have postor. attempted to murder him. The story of this person is extremely romantic, and seems to have been the invention of the jesuits, who were at this time very busy in making proselytes of *Abmed's* subjects. He pretended to be the elder brother of *Abmed*, and that his mother, who was a *Christian*, by giving out he died of the small-pox, had saved his life, and secretly educated him in her own religion. His pretensions gained credit so far, that the *Asiatic* rebels received him for their head, but being defeated and wounded, he had recourse to the methods of assassination. Being recovered of his wounds, he came in disguise to *Constantinople*, where he is said to have entered into a conspiracy with a dervise, called by *Christian* writers the vizier dervise, to murder the sultan. The dervise dying unexpectedly, *Jakaya* was obliged to fly, and wandering on foot through *Walachia*, and *Moldavia*, he there escaped many dangers, but at last came to *Prague*. There he met with nothing but great honours, and fair promises. *Cosmo*, grand duke of *Tuscany*, next invited him into his dominions, and treated him with all the honours due to his real or pretended birth, as did the courts of *Madrid*, and *Rome*. His behaviour was so plausible, and his story had been so well cooked up, that the *Roman Catholic* powers, for some time, had thoughts, by *Cosmo's* advice, of putting him at the head of a force to dispute the *Othman* throne, as it was more than probable, he would be supported by a vast party in that empire. But the dissensions amongst the *Christian* powers themselves, prevented anything of that kind from taking effect. We are told by those who were personally acquainted with him, that he was a plausible, well accomplished person, and that at last he went to *France*, where he was supported by the duke de *Nervers*, where it is likely he ended his days.

Stephen, the tributary waywod of *Moldavia*, under the Affairs of *Turks*, behaved with so much cruelty, that his nobility set *Hungary*. up against him *Alexander*, the son of *Jeremy*, their former waywod, and obliged *Stephen* to fly to *Brabilow*. *Alexander* had no objection to his continuing to pay the usual tribute. But the pasha of *Buda* seized on his ambassadors in
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their way to *Constantinople*, and sent them to *Stephen*, who put them to death. The war was then renewed with greater fury than ever, but all the events of it were favourable to *Alexander*, who, in the year 1616, defeated the joint forces of *Stephen*, and the pasha *Skinder*, in a general engagement, in which the latter lost twelve thousand men on the spot, besides wounded and prisoners. After this, the boyars, or great lords of *Walachia*, offered him their principality, which he declined to accept of; and upon the disgrace of the vizier who was *Stephen's* patron, the latter was sent prisoner to *Constantinople*, where he saved his life by turning *Mohometan*. *Mikbna*, the *Turkish* waywod of *Walachia*, was, upon this, by the *Turks*, proclaimed prince of *Moldavia*, and invaded that principality at the head of twenty thousand *Walachians*, and *Turks*. *Alexander* could have made head against all this force, had he not been deserted by the *Poles*, and *kofaks*, who served in his army, and by his own general *Bicho*. Those desertions so weakened him, that he and his son *Bogdan*, after being totally defeated, were taken prisoners and sent to *Constantinople*, where they were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, but evaded that punishment by embracing *Mohametism*.

Conduct
of the
jesuits.

The house of *Austria*, and the *Germanic* empire, were too much interested in those disputes to remain strictly neutral in terms of the treaty of 1606. But though many hostilities were committed between them and the *Turks*, no formal declaration of war having been made, that treaty was now renewed and explained, and several commercial articles, to advantage of both parties, were added to it. The intercourse which this negotiation occasioned, gave vast umbrage to the people of *Constantinople*. *Ahmed* had given the *French* jesuits leave to settle at *Pera*, which is considered as part of the suburbs of *Constantinople*, though on the opposite shore. It was not long before they began to practice their intrigues in making converts; and the *Turks*, who of all people in the world are the most attached to their religion, understanding, that they taught, and practised, the doctrine of king killing, represented them to *Ahmed* and his ministry, as so many spies sent by the *Christian* powers, to raise an insurrection in his dominions. Many concurring circumstances brought *Ahmed* over to this belief, and in his first transports, he ordered all the *Christians* in, and about *Constantinople*, to be put to the sword. This barbarous command would have been executed, had it not been for the representations of the grand vizier and musti against it. But upon its being countermanded, it was with difficulty, that the people of *Constantinople* were restrained from putting it into execution themselves; and from even putting *Christian* ambassadors to death. The *French* ambassador however, had so much credit with the sultan and his ministry, that they interposed in favour of the *Christians*, and, after much difficulty,

difficulty, the jesuits, who had been imprisoned, and were every day expecting death, were pardoned and resettled at *Pera*.

It is thought, with some reason, that the baron de *Sancy*, Great the *French* minister, could not have had so much influence projects at the *Othman* court, had it not been for the mighty designs against that were on foot against christendom, at the porte, which christen-rendered it extremely inconvenient for that ministry to dom. make the *French* king, *Henry* the fourth, their enemy. For we are told, that the *Poles* having declared in favour of the son of *Simon*, the late waywod of *Walachia*, *Ahmed* raised a great army to subdue all *Poland*. He likewise had now at sea two fleets, one to act against the *Russians*, and kosaks, in the *Euxine*, commonly called the *Black Sea*, and the other in the *Propontis*, or the *White Sea*, against the gallies of *Malta*, and the other *Italian* states. But, before any effect followed those preparations *Ahmed* died, on the sixteenth of *Death* *November* 1617, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign, leaving behind him three sons, *Othman*, commonly called, *Osman*, *Murad*, or *Morad*, and *Ibrahim*.

We know little or nothing of the intellectual character and character of this prince, farther than he was liberal and magnificent, rather of and for a proof of the latter, we are referred to the jami, or *Ahmed*, mosque, which he built, and ornamented at an incredible expence, in the *Hippodrome*, at *Constantinople*. In his person, he is said to have been handsome, but what we are told of his pleasures, and diversions exceeds belief; for his historians say, that he had in his seraglio thirty thousand women, all of them the daughters of *Christians*; and that he had such a passion for hawking, and hunting, that he maintained forty thousand falconers, and almost as many huntsmen, and that he had greater bodily strength, than any man about his court. The *Turks* have an excellent custom, in requiring that even their sultans should profess some manual art, to encourage industry amongst the common people. That of *Ahmed*, was to make horn rings for drawing the bow, as that of his father was to make arrows. And the one perhaps, finished a ring, and the other an arrow, in the space of twelve months.

The Reign of Mustapha.

THIS prince was brother to the preceeding emperor, who is upon whose accession he was preserved from the bow-succeeded string, on account of *Ahmed*'s youth, and his having no by his children; that in case of his demise issueless, he might brother, have an indisputable successor in the empire. *Ahmed*, after having

having children, several times was resolved to dispatch *Mustapha*; but was always prevented by remorse, apprehension, or accident. During this short reign, prince *Kareski*, the brave friend of *Alexander*, late waywod of *Moldavia*, having been in the preceeding reign taken prisoner by the *Turks*, and refusing to turn *Mahometan*, was imprisoned in the tower of the *Black Sea*, but found means to escape by the assistance of *Martin*, secretary to the *French* ambassador. As the prince was a most formidable, and determined enemy to the *Othmans*, all the *French* ambassador's servants were tortured to discover where he was, and the ambassador himself put under confinement, and got his liberty only by a large sum of money, which at the porte is next to omnipotence itself.

who is
taken
from a
cell, to
which he
is re-
manded.

Mustapha having been sequestered in a cell during the preceeding part of his life, held his sovereignty only that he might gratify his lusts. Thus the design of advancing him to the throne on account of the nonage of his brother's children, not answering, he was by the grand vizier, and the other great officers of his court, remanded back to his confinement, after he had sat upon the throne about four months, and given sufficient indications that he was fit to be the scourge, but not the sovereign, of a people.

The Reign of Othman, or Osman the Second.

Succeed-
ed by
Osman.

THE great men of the court being thus disappointed in *Mustapha*, placed upon the *Othman* throne *Osman*, the eldest son of sultan *Ahmed* the first. The hatred which the *French* ambassador and nation bore to his predecessor, has made them exaggerate the virtues of this prince, who, according to some, was but eight, but, according to others, twelve or thirteen years of age, (the last is the most probable account), when he mounted the throne. A romance of his life, has been published in two fizeable volumes, and intermingled with many plausible, if not true, anecdotes. But, though the *French* thus exaggerate on the one hand, other writers, the *Turks* particularly, seem not to have done justice to his virtues, and resolution, which far exceeded what could be expected from his age and education, and above all, the situation of his person and government.

General
state of
affairs

The favourite measures with the porte at the accession of the young sultan, was a war with *Poland*, on account of the support which that republic, and the *kosaks*, had afforded to the *Moldavian*, *Transylvanian*, and *Walachian* princes, who had been set up in opposition to the tributaries of the porte. *Jehan Beg Ghieray*, khan of *Khrim Tartary*, was the ally, or rather tributary of the *Othmans*, and he perpetually infected the

the *Polish* territories, who, in conjunction with the *kosaks*, made reprisals. This state of warfare, while no war was declared, produced mutual recriminations. The porte refused to check the *Tartars*, who, they said, were an independent people, but had tributary claims upon *Poland*. The *Poles*, on the other hand, for much the same reasons, declined curbing the *kosaks* in their incursions upon the *Turkish* territories. Such was the state of affairs with *Poland*.

In *Germany*, the inhuman bigotry of the house of *Austria*, in *Europe*, raised such cruel persecutions against the *Protestants*, especially those of *Bohemia*, that the latter applied to *Bethlem Gabor*, now the undoubted prince of *Transylvania*, under the porte, for assistance. *Gabor*, for good reasons, applied to *Osman* for leave, aid, and support. All which the sultan readily granted in the most ample terms, and under a most solemn oath. In the mean while, *Gabor* made a most rapid progress against the *Austrians* in *Hungary*, which ended in his being chosen and proclaimed sovereign of that kingdom, by the consent and approbation of the court of *Constantinople*.

On the side of *Asia*, the pasha *Ali*, the grand vizier, penetrated at the head of the *Othman* army to *Tauris*, which he made himself master of, and his progress was so rapid, that the shah was obliged to sue for peace upon the vizier's terms. Upon this *Ali* returned to *Ergerum*, from whence he wrote an account of his expedition, of which I have given the substance, to Sir *Paul Pindar*, the *British* minister at *Constantinople*.

Nothing now remained in the way of negociation, but to secure the chief neutral powers of *Europe*, from taking part against the porte. These were *James* the first, king of *Great Britain*, and the *French* king. The latter thought himself highly injured by the treatment his ambassador had received at the porte; and *Uri Chaush*, was sent to *France* with a letter from the young sultan, apologizing for what had past, and promising that, for the future, the ambassador of *France*, should be treated at the *Othman Porte* with distinguished honour. Those submissions being received, the chaush repaired with the same character to the court of *Great Britain*, where he made a speech, and presented a letter to *James* the first, in terms that, though lofty, are by no means extravagant, and some part of his letter which contains the highest encomiums on hereditary right of succession to empire, is so well adapted to that prince's known character, that one is tempted to think his ambassador had a hand in composing it, and it had a corresponding effect.

I have premised the above incidents, which took up above Expedition two years, that the reader may have the more perfect idea of the motives that determined the *Othman* court upon the gainst the famous expedition made by *Osman* against the *Poles*. I have only to add, that, by the peace made with *Persia*, the *Asiatic* rebellion

rebellion was extinguished, and the *Othman* ministry trusted to the power of *Bethlem Gabor*, which now alarmed *Vienna* itself, for giving a diversion to the imperialists.

In the beginning of the year 1621, *Osman*, though not yet, according to the best accounts, above fifteen years of age, gave a proof of his superior genius, by despising the superstitious apprehensions of his subjects, on account of a very hard frost at *Constantinople*, by marching with his army, which consisted of three hundred thousand fighting men, against the *Poles*; while his fleet, and that of *Algiers* took *Manfredonia*, and *Tvica*, in the *Mediterranean*, to give a diversion to the king of *Spain*, and the *Italian* powers. The sultan's intripidity against the prepossessions of a people so excessively superstitious as the *Turks* are, proved fatal to his affairs and person. *Ali*, his first vizier, who appears have been a brave general, and an honest statesman, was the only minister at the porte who approved of the sultan's expedition. The other ministers, had been in hopes of having the empire, as happens in minorities, and weak reigns, relinquished to them as their prey, and the common soldiers were little better than dragged into a war, which their religion seemed to disapprove of; and where they had nothing to hope for, but fatigue, blows, and death. So devoted, however, are the *Turks* to the will of their sovereign, that, severe as the season was, they took the field about the end of *April* 1621, and laid siege to *Kochin*, in *Moldavia*. The situation of the place being strong, they abandoned that attempt, and passed the *Boristhenes*, in hopes of defeating the chancellor of *Poland*, who was intrenched near *Kamnitz*, with forty-eight thousand men, of whom eight thousand were imperialists. The incredible efforts of *Osman*, for thirty-four days successively, to break into the *Polish* camp, are proofs at once of his resolution, and of his enemies valour, for the *Turks* were repulled in every attack; so difficult it is for a commander to conquer, when spirit and inclination is wanting in his soldiers. The *Tartars*, however, in the *Othman* army, having no such scruples, committed most miserable ravages in the very heart of *Poland*. At last, the *Turks*, by the best accounts, having lost eighty thousand men, and about one hundred thousand hories, (baggage horses we suppose to be included); gave ear to the mediation of *Radula*, then waywod of *Walachia*, and a peace was concluded. The terms on both sides were, that the *Tartars* should desist from invading *Poland*, and the *Poles* and *kofaks* from invading *Tartary*. That the *Poles* should trade freely in the sultan's dominions, upon their merchants paying one hundred thousand chekins; and that they should have a resident at the porte. They were likewise to pay forty thousand florins, as a gratuity to the khan of the *Tartars*.

A treaty.

When

When all circumstances are considered, this treaty was rather detrimental than disgraceful to *Osman*; the remains of whose army were saved by it, from unavoidable destruction, though the *Poles*, at the same time, lost twenty thousand men. As to *Osman* himself, however he might resent his disappointment, we know of no violent measures he pursued upon it, only he seemed inclinable to declare war against the emperor, for the assistance he had given to the *Poles*; but the latter declaring, that they would look upon such a step as an infringement of the late treaty, he desisted. *Osman* next, to palliate those mortifications, published his intention to march in person against the amir of *Sidon*, who had rebelled. This expedition was opposed by all his ministry, as being unsafe, idle, expensive, dangerous, and derogatory to his sublime dignity. *Osman* was then forced to give out, that he intended to fit out a vast naval armament, to be employed against the kosacks in the *Black Sea*, and against prince *Philibert* of *Savoy*, the vice-roy of *Sicily*, who was suspected of intending to favour the revolt of the amir of *Sidon*. But by this time, a deep scheme was laid for his destruction, not really on account of his mismanagement, but his virtues.

The aversion of the great men to his government, had Disorders occasioned prodigious abuses in *Constantinople*, and *Osman*, of *Os-* not thinking himself safe to trust to the reports of others, *man's go-* had sometimes privately gone through the streets, that he vernment. might be the better assured of the facts. This laudable curiosity, was represented as meanness; and at a time of universal licentiousness, was construed as such by the soldiery, the principal authors of the prevailing disorders. *Osman*, thinking he could not be safe, without finding employment for his mutinous armies, at a distance from *Constantinople*, had formed a scheme of frugality, and was laying up money for the support of his wars; which conduct, his discontented subjects termed sordid avarice, the worst vice an *Othman* emperor can be guilty of in the eyes of his janisaries. Certain engagements of love and honour, had induced him privately to marry a *Turkish* lady, his subject. And when the marriage was declared, it was objected to, as being inconsistent with the late practice of the *Othman* emperors. Matters, with regard to *Osman*, were in this untoward situation, when Sir *Thomas Roe*, so famous for his negotiations in almost every part of the globe, and for the accounts he has left of them; arrived at the porte, as ambassador from king *James* the first. He was instructed; First, to demand redress of some injuries done by the officers of the *Turkish* revenue, to the *English* merchants at *Aleppo*, *Smyrna*, and other places. Secondly, to offer his mediation for terminating the differences between the sultan and the republic of *Poland*; which were now reviving. Thirdly, to intercede for the release of some *Polish* noblemen, and *Scotch* gentlemen, who were prisoners.

prisoners. Fourthly, to demand security against the depredations of the pirates of *Tunis*, and *Algiers*, upon the *British* trade; and fifthly, restitution of a large sum of money, that had been taken by *Osman's* subjects, from *Arthur Garraway*, an *English* merchant, and which had been often in vain solicited before, and promised by the *Othman* ministers.

The answers returned by *Osman* to all these requests were manly, friendly, and rational. With regard to the first, he said the ambassador might make his own terms. As to the second, he said that the *Poles* had deceived him, and as matters stood between him and them, they could not, consistently with his honour, admit of any mediation. That, as soon as the peace was renewed, all the *Polish* prisoners, in compliment to his *Britannic* majesty, prince *Koreski* excepted, should be released. By this it appears that prince had been retaken. As to the fourth article, the ambassador was offered any satisfaction he could desire; but, with regard to the fifth, the affair in question, was of so old a date, and had been canvassed by so many viziers, who had not thought proper to give any satisfaction, that his sublime highness desired to be excused, for letting it rest where it did. But in the letter written by *Osman*, to *James*, the former positively promises, that strict justice shall be done to *Garraway*.

Death and
character
of *Osman*. *Osman* had been discontented ever since his disgrace in *Poland*, and daily received new mortifications from his soldiers. He obstinately resolved to go upon a pilgrimage to *Mecca*. He was stopped in setting out upon his journey, by the janisaries, and spahis, who demanded the head of his vizier, with so much obstinacy, that *Osman* endeavouring to fortify himself in his seraglio, found himself abandoned, even by his domestics, and the janisaries cut the vizier in pieces. *Osman's* spirit was now brought down, he would gladly have escaped over into *Asia*, but he could not. He then endeavoured to sooth the janisaries, and might have succeeded, had it not been for the roughness of the aga, whom they put to death, as they did several other courtiers, and dragging *Mustapha* out of his cell, they again proclaimed him emperor, while they imprisoned *Osman* in the seven towers, where he was strangled, after a very brave resistance, by the pasha *David*, the new prime vizier. The manner of his death however, is omitted by prince *Cantemir*, who only mentions, that he was a prince of great hopes, and murdered by the soldiery.

Mustapha

Mustapha restored.

THE new vizier *David*, was so ignorant of every cir- Short
cumstance of the late vizier, that he knew nothing of reign of
the treaty between the *Poles* and *Osman*, when their am- *Mustapha*.
bassador came to ratify it; which was done under the me-
diation, and at the earnest request, of Sir *Thomas Roe*, the
British ambassador. *David* hating the new aga of the jani-
saries, he ordered him to be strangled, under pretence that
he had been accessory to the death of the brave prince *Ko-
reski*, who had been strangled in prison by order of the vizier
himself. The aga's death again threw the janisaries into a
ferment, and finding that their re-invested emperor was
little better than a vicious idiot, things came to extremity,
and the whole empire was full of commotions; at *Baghdad*
particularly, the captain of the janisaries slew the pasha,
burnt the musti, and all his family, and set up for an inde-
pendent sovereign. The houses of the *Christians* were plun-
dered, and at last, the janisaries, spahi, and populace, reflect-
ing on the sufferings, the death, and the good qualities of
their late emperor, strangled the vizier *David*, in the very
room, and upon the very spot, where but a few days before he
had strangled *Osman*. For some time, the janisaries supported
Mustapha, against the spahis, and the populace; but a re-
bellion breaking out in *Asia*, on account of *Osman*'s death,
they agreed that he should be deposed. This sentence was
intimated to him by the new vizier the pasha *Husseyu*, and
he received it with all the stupid indifference imaginable.

Reign of Morad the Fourth, surnamed Ghazi.

THIS emperor was no more than fourteen years of age Who is
when he was inaugurated, and by his mother's in- succeeded
structions, he behaved so artfully, that the soldiers did not by *Morad*,
insist upon their usual largesses on the creation of a new the fourth.
emperor, because of the lowness of the treasury. His first
measure of government was to put the pasha *Husseyu* to
death, and to substitute in his room the pasha *Halil*. To
recruit the imperial finances, a tax was laid upon all
military officers, and the court most scandalously demanded
from the *Christian* ambassadors a loan of thirty thousand
chekins. The insolence of the janisaries, began now so
much to disgust the military officers, and in general all the
great men in the empire, that they had thoughts of joining
Abaza, the pasha of *Erzerum*, and the pasha of *Baghdad*,
who were still in arms, to revenge the death of *Osman*, while
a large

a large body of *Othmans* were cut off by the *Crim Tartars*, at the *kofacks*, who rebelled likewise, and entering the *Bosphorus*, in gallies and large boats, they burnt a great number of houses and villages, in the neighbourhood of *Constantinople* itself; nor was their fortune better in *Hungary*, where many of them were cut off by *Esterhazy*, the imperial general.

Peace with Poland and Germany. The vizier *Halil*, to gain some respite, amidst so many calamities, offered to conclude a new peace with the *Poles* and the *Germans*. This did not prevent *Abaza*, though he was the enemy of the janisaries, from ravaging *Anatolia* and becoming master of the city, and province of *Baghdad* and then forming his army into four divisions, he took the title of shah, and marched at the head of the first into *Mesopotamia*. He sent the second into *Syria*, the third toward the *Black Sea*, and the fourth to *Mecca*; and all the four divisions were victorious against the *Turks*. *Morad*, though young, gave many specimens both of prudence and activity. The prime vizier was sent with a great army to besiege *Baghdad*, and he defeated *Abaza*, in a bloody battle, near *Kayfariya*. The siege of *Baghdad* was then reassumed, but *Morad's* general was obliged to raise it with great loss. About the year 1626, the famous *Bethlem Gabor*, the friend of the *Turks*, and the enemy of the *Austrians*, made peace with the latter, to whom he promised restitution of all the places, and liberty to all the prisoners taken by the *Turks* in the late war. This treaty was approved of by *Morad*, who next year concluded a treaty with the *German* emperor, at *Komorra*. The *Turks* gaining thereby some respite on the side of *Europe*, the *Persians*, to whom *Abaza* had resigned *Baghdad*, offered to enter into a treaty with *Morad*; but the vizier *Halil* insisting that the rendition of *Baghdad* should be a preliminary, the proposal came to nothing, and the vizier once more marched to *Baghdad*, but without success, as it was defended by *Abaza*, who after almost destroying the *Turkish* army, forced the vizier to a shameful retreat. *Morad* about the same time lost *Kasim*, which was taken by the *Crim Tartars*; but they soon restored it, on promise of pardon for all that had passed, and of retaining their khan whom they had chosen.

The vizier displaced; The pasha *Halil*, upon his late defeat was displaced from the viziership by *Morad*, who appointed the pasha *Khosrau* to succeed him, both in his civil and military capacity. The new general set out with an immense army, and a most formidable train of artillery, against *Abaza*, whom he besieged in *Erzerum*, and obliged him to capitulate; but it is doubtful upon what terms. All we know is, that *Abaza* came to *Constantinople*, where, notwithstanding all his former rebellions, he was taken into great favour by *Morad*, and made beglerbeg of *Bosnia*. The suppression of *Abaza's* rebellion left the vizier at liberty to pursue his operations against the *Persians*, and he again formed the siege of *Baghdad*; but was obliged

obliged again to raise it with great loss, after battering the city for forty-one days. Next year he defeated the *Persians* in the plains of *Hamadan*, and once more formed the siege of *Baghdad*, but he was obliged once more to raise it, with greater loss than before. Notwithstanding those repeated losses, the vizier had the address to retain his power and credit with the emperor; whose dissolute manner of living, was the main spring of all the misfortunes that befel his empire. The *kosaks* renewed their depredations. The new governor of *Erzerum* rebelled, but was subdued and beheaded, and *Prusa* and *Magnesia*, were seized upon by two other rebels, one of whom, *Elias*, made terms with the beglerbeg of *Anatolia*, but, when he came to *Constantinople* he was strangled. In the mean while, the vizier, who had again taken the field against the *Persians*, was so ill supported that the *Turks* met with vast losses, so that *Morad* was obliged to send a *Persian* nobleman, who was his prisoner, to solicit peace from the Shah of *Persia*.

One of *Morad's* brothers-in-law, was now prime vizier; his successor but having disobliged the janisaries, he was forced to send them his head, and those of the aga of the spahis, and the defterdar, to appease them, and to accept, from them, of a new vizier. The sultan was sensible, that nothing could so effectually curb the licentiousness of the soldiers, as his finding them employment, and appearing in person among them. He accordingly ordered them to be daily disciplined, and he himself assisted in their exercises. By this behaviour he became so popular, that he ventured, without incurring any danger, to strangle the prime vizier, and to cut off the heads of the late mutiny. His army being thus well disciplined, the beglerbeg of *Rumeli* forced the *Persians* to raise the siege of *Wan*, and defeated them in a general engagement. This brought on proposals from *Persia*, which were accepted of. About the year 1633, peace was renewed with the *Hungarians* and *Germans*. *Morad* then turned his arms against *Amir Fakroddin*, one of the princes of the *Drazeis*, who had now become formidable, having got possession of *Sidon*. A large fleet was equipped and sent against the rebel, under *Kapudan*, the pasha of *Tripoli*. The pasha on his voyage encountered two *English* ships, laden with corn, which was a prohibited commodity; and the *Englishmen*, rather than surrender, fought the whole *Turkish* fleet for several hours, killed their admiral, with great numbers of his men, and then blew up their own ships. A great army of *Turks* being now assembled against *Fakroddin*, who was at the head of twenty-five thousand men, he divided his army into two parts, and put one division under the command of his eldest son *Ali*, who at first defeated the *Turks*, but being overpowered by numbers, he was taken prisoner and strangled, upon which *Fakroddin*, and all his dominions fell into the hands of *Morad*. It is said, that the prisoner

prisoner behaved with so much address, that *Morad* was not only inclined to save him, but took him into such a degree of favour, as excited the jealousy of his great men, who representing him as an apostate from their faith, (for *Fakroddin* had turned *Christian*), *Morad* thought proper to pronounce sentence of death upon him, and the unhappy *Fakroddin* was strangled before his face, in the seventieth year of his age.

**War with
Poland.**

Morad then turned his arms against *Poland*, but after his generals had passed the *Danube*, the *Poles* cut in pieces a body of the *Tartar Turks*, and received a considerable check from the *Polish* *kofaks*. Notwithstanding this, *Abaza*, the *Turkish* general, boasted to his master of the great exploits he had performed, and he was the more readily credited, as the *Poles* had sent an ambassador to the porte to negotiate a peace. *Morad* at first treated this ambassador with infinite contempt, but being soon convinced of the mistake he was under, he put *Abaza* to death, and sued in his turn to *Uladislaus* king of *Poland*, who was with great difficulty prevailed upon to grant it. By this peace, the *Turks* renounced all demands of tribute from *Poland*, and the sultan was to confirm such waywods of *Moldavia*, and *Walachia*, as should be presented and recommended to them by the *Poles*.

**Expedi-
tion of
*Morad***

Morad had received a shock by lightning falling in his room, which is said to have made some impression upon his understanding; but at the same time to have altered his way of living. He gave large sums to such of his subjects as had suffered by a great fire, which had burnt down twenty-five thousand houses at *Constantinople*; and he allowed the *Mahometans* to drink wine, upon their paying him a duty. Perceiving that his empire was exposed to continual danger, by the great city of *Baghdad* being in the possession of the *Persians*, he resolved to go in person against that city; and accordingly, in 1634, he marched over into *Asia*. In his march he reduced *Revan*, but returned to *Constantinople* without attacking *Baghdad*, leaving his vizier to continue the war against the *Persians*. *Morad*, upon his return, perceiving the bad effects which wine drinking had upon his subjects, by their caballing and murmuring at the losses of the public, he not only discontinued his licence for selling it, but shut up all the coffee houses, and prohibited all places of public resort from entertaining any company. The affairs of *Transylvania* were at this time in great disorder, and *Ragotzki* prevailed so as to establish himself in the government of that country, against his rival *Stephen Bethlem*, whose interest had been espoused by *Morad*. He was then upon a new expedition against the *Persians*, and during his march he lived as laboriously and plainly, as the meanest soldier of his army, making use of no other pillow but his saddle. His army amounted to near three hundred thousand men, and sitting down before *Revan*, it was betrayed to *Morad* by the governor,

governor, for which great rejoicings were were made at *Constantinople*, where, by *Morad's* orders, two of his brothers, *Bajazet* and *Orchan*, had been strangled, during his expedition.

Morad then penetrated into *Persia*, where he committed into *Persia* great ravages; but the *Persian* cavalry cut off vast numbers of his men, and he lost still more by the country people, who defended the strong passes of the mountains through which he was to march. At last he was obliged to put his army into winter quarters, and to return himself to *Constantinople*. Upon his departure, the *Persians* rushing from their fortresses besieged and took *Wan*, and put all the *Othman* garrison to the sword. Two thousand janisaries revolted to the enemy, and a general spirit of mutiny spread itself all over *Morad's* army. The *Tartars* caught the infection, and part of them disowned the sultan's authority, while the *Russians* made themselves masters of *Asoph*, the most important city on the *Black Sea*. To retrieve so many disgraces, *Morad* was not wanting in punishing the viziers, pashas, and great officers, to whose misconduct the people imputed them; and in the year 1637, he in person again laid siege to *Baghdad*, and carried it on so obstinately, that he drove on his troops with his drawn scimiter in his hand, and even killed his vizier, whom he imagined to be somewhat backward in his approaches. In short, during thirty days, an incessant storm of bullets was poured upon the city from the *Turkish* artillery, which was at last obliged to yield to *Morad's* unremitting fury. Above thirty thousand *Persians* who had submitted to *Morad*, were by his orders cut in pieces before his face; a musician, who captivated the sultan's ears with his art, and who was in the number of those who were doomed to die, at last prevailed with him to put a stop to the slaughter; and all who were not massacred were saved. A *Turkish* officer who served in this expedition, wrote an account of it, which was published, and which differs in some particulars from that of the *Christians*, and particularly as to the death of the vizier, who he says was killed by a musket ball, from the walls of the city. The vizier's successor was *Mustapha*, who was the first *Othman* that planted the *Turkish* standard on the walls of *Baghdad*; and *Morad* left him to complete his conquests, while he himself set out for *Constantinople*, where he arrived on the tenth of *June* 1639. He was followed by a *Persian* ambassador with proposals of peace, which were rejected at first, but soon after a treaty was concluded with the vizier, by which *Baghdad* was to remain in possession of the *Othmans*.

Morad then turned his thoughts to a war with the *Vene-* War with
tians, for taking sixteen *Algerine* pirate ships, in the port of the *Vene-*
Valona. *Morad* at first gave orders for the *Venetian* ambassa- *tians*,
 dor at his court, and all his attendants to be cut in pieces,

Death

in revenge of this insult; but he was persuaded by his ministers to change his sentence into that of imprisoning the ambassador in his own house; and the *Venetians* submitting to pay him a sum of money by way of indemnification, the difference was made up. Soon after *Morad* died, in consequence of a debauch he made with his favourites, which he survived about eleven days. It is said, he intended to have made his favourite *Mustapha* his successor in the empire, and that he gave orders on his death bed, for putting to death his brother *Ibrahim*, and the princes of his blood, together with all the great officers of the empire, whom he suspected of being enemies to *Mustapha*, in whose arms he expired, on the eighth of *February* 1640. The authority which his mother retained during his desperate illness, saved *Ibrahim* from the bow-string, and the intrigues of *Morad's* sister, who was in love with *Mustapha*, a handsome youth of about twenty-five years, saved his life likewise; and upon his resigning the post of kapudan pasha, or lord high admiral, he was made pasha of *Temeswar*, and it is said, that he was so much affected by his master's death, that he attempted to destroy himself.

and character of *Morad*.

When we consider *Morad*, not only as a free liver but a free thinker, with regard to superstition, which is pretty much the same in all religions, we need not be surprised that his memory has been branded with the charge of impiety, and disregard to all religion; and that he has been represented as being an habitual drunkard, which led him to be guilty of the most horrid cruelties, and the most ridiculous extravagancies; in which the *Mohametan* and *Papish* writers agree. That those charges have been greatly exaggerated, appears to be more than probable, from the other parts of his character, in which writers are equally agreed. In all the exercises of arms, he was the ablest performer in his dominions; in the conduct of great affairs, he discovered wonderful steadiness and prudence, and he was a great and successful general, often, by his own presence and personal conduct, retrieving the miscarriages of his generals. He amassed a most amazing treasure, which he left behind him; and he raised his prerogative to a pitch higher than ever it had been known, under the greatest of his predecessors; and all this before he attained to the thirty-second year of his age. All those circumstances being laid together, prove that this emperor could not have been the furious, frantic sot, that some historians have represented him to have been; either perpetually drunk with liquor, or raging after blood. The weakness of the imperial authority when he was called to the throne, and the ruined state of the public finances, require the greatest abilities to retrieve, both which he certainly effected.

The Reign of Sultan Ibrahim

SOME circumstances attending the history of the late Who is
 reign, instruct us, that an *Othman* emperor is not so succeed-
 arbitrary as he is represented, and, that certain forms must ed by
 be gone through before his will can be executed in great *Ibrahim*.
 matters. As a proof of this, we are to observe, that though
Morad had ordered his brother *Ibrahim* to be put to death,
 the musti was obliged to sign the sentence, or *fofta*, before
 it could be carried into execution ; and it was prevented by
 the mother getting it into her possession. It is equally
 certain, that though *Morad*, perhaps, in the delirium of his
 illness, wanted to transfer the succession from the blood of
Othman, to another family, (it is doubtful whether to
Mustapha, or the khan of the *Tartars*;) no regard after his
 death was paid to his will. *Ibrahim*, the only surviving
 prince of the *Othman* line, was at the time of his brother
Morad's death, immured in a little dark prison, which he
 barricaded in the inside, when they came to take him out of
 it, in order for his inauguration. His mother's authority and
 address, had prevailed with the great officers of the empire
 and army, to acknowledge him for the heir of the govern-
 ment; and being convinced that they came to recognise,
 and not to murder him, he gave them admittance. He had
 been a prisoner for four years ; at this time, he was not
 twenty-three years of age ; and when he came abroad,
 through the habit of a continual sedentary life, he appeared
 infirm and awkward.

The ceremonies of his inauguration being over, he en- His dispo-
 tered the seraglio, where he soon discovered that he intended, sition.
 by giving a loose to his natural disposition, to make himself
 amends for his long imprisonment. He had, notwithstand-
 ing his confinement, been allowed to indulge himself in the
 use of women to an excess, which had impaired his consti-
 tution, but desire still subsisting, his mother, and his minister
 the first vizier, took care to supply him with every allure-
 ment of beauty that could divert him from business. His
 inclination was turned towards the favourite sultana of his
 brother *Morad*, but that lady being equally formed for am-
 bition as for love, it did not suit the views of the sultana
 mother, that she should gain any ascendancy over *Ibrahim*,
 and she chose to sequester herself in the apartments in the
 seraglio, destined for the wives of the deceased sultans, which
 even the reigning emperor could not, without the highest
 breach of decency, invade.

The first attention of *Ibrahim*, or rather his ministry, Expedi-
 after matters were settled at home, was turned towards the tion a-
Black Sea, where *Ajoph* was in the hands of the kosaks, who gainst
 had got together so great a number of small vessels, which *Ajoph*.
 they

they employed in acts of piracy, that they interrupted the navigation to *Constantinople*, and other parts of the *Othman* dominions. The *kofaks* defended the place so bravely, that they baffled and ruined a numerous army sent against it by *Ibrahim*; but a second, headed by the vizier himself, advancing against it, they applied for protection to the czar of *Russia*, who had just made peace with the *Turks*, and whose domestic affairs would not permit him to embroil himself in the quarrel; so that the *kofaks* were forced to abandon the city, after ruining its fortifications and houses, and bringing off their valuable effects. The *Othman* ministry next renewed the peace with *Persia*, but they failed in a treacherous attempt to surprise the strong fortress of *Raab*, in *Hungary*. *Mustapha*, the same, possibly, who had been the favourite of the late reign, was the first vizier, and acted with such a spirit, that he cut off the heads of sedition, particularly the pashas of *Halep*, and *Kaffa*; so that the emperor securely enjoyed his pleasures. It soon appeared, that *Mustapha* himself was only the agent of the sultana mother; for when he and the pasha of *Kapudan* began to assume some airs of independency, they were immediately cut off. The khan of the *Tartars* himself, who had been so powerful in the late reign, did not escape feeling her resentment, for he was deposed, after making an unsuccessful campaign against the *Poles*.

Alterations in the ministry.

The name of the new vizier was *Mohammed*, who had been governor of *Damascus* and *Beker*. The pasha of *Rhodes*, succeeded to the high post of pasha of *Kapudan*. However indolent the emperor might have been at this time in person, his ministers seem to have been enterprising and vigilant. Having cleared the *Black Sea* from pirates, a resolution was formed for chastising the *Maltese*, the *Venetians*, and the other *Mediterranean* maritime states, who had of late made prizes of great numbers of rich ships belonging to *Othman* subjects, and killed some of the great officers who defended them; particularly the *kissar aga*, in his voyage to *Egypt*, whither he was bound, in order to avoid becoming the sacrifice of court intrigues. As there was peace at this time between the porte and the *Venetians*, the *Othman* ministry highly resented the shelter and assistance which the *Maltese* ships, who had made all the prizes met with in their ports; particularly in those of *Candia*, or *Crete*, and a resolution was taken in the divan, to employ the whole force of the empire in taking that island from the *Venetians*. This resolution was forwarded with great firmness, and the most impenetrable secrecy, while the emperor's seraglio appeared with such a face of gaiety, that had it not been for the well-timed resolution of *Bendish*, the *English* resident, the merchants of his nation trading to *Constantinople* must have been considerable sufferers. That minister, understanding that many of their goods had been forced from them with-

out

out payment, ordered lamps of fire to be affixed to the masts of thirteen *English* ships, and that they should anchor under the walls of the seraglio. This was done in consequence of an established custom at the *Othman* court, by which every man, who, with fire upon his head demands an audience of the emperor, must be admitted to it; and the vizier understanding the meaning of the application, chose to satisfy the *English*, by paying them their demands, without carrying their complaints farther.

The *Venetians* were no strangers to the vast warlike preparations carried on by the porte, and though they were pretended to be designed against *Malta*, yet their baillo, for so their resident at the *Othman* court was called, soon saw by the manner in which he was denied an audience of the vizier, that the storm was to fall upon his republic. On the last of *April* 1645, the *Othman* fleet set sail. It consisted of seventy-three galleys, with eight more from *Barbary*, one great galleon, two galliasses, and twenty two pressed ships; besides a vast number of lesser ships, which served as transports, and the whole took on board fifty thousand timmariots, common soldiers of different nations, fourteen thousand spahis, seven thousand janisaries, and three thousand pioneers. Upon their sailing, war was declared against the republic of *Venice*, and their ambassador was seized and imprisoned. Though the *Venetians* had then a good fleet at sea, yet it was unable to withstand so powerful an armament. They applied for assistance to the pope, and other *Christian* princes, who at last sent them reinforcements, but too late to be of effectual service against so formidable an enemy, and to compleat their misfortunes, a very bad understanding subsisted among their commanding officers. The *Turks* landed about the middle of *June* in *Candia*, defeated several bodies of the *Venetians* who opposed them, and stormed with a great slaughter of the besieged, the town of *Kanea*, which was reckoned to be the second place of strength and importance in the island. Next year, the *Venetian* general was killed in defending *Retino*, which was likewise taken by the *Turks*; while the dissentions amongst the *Christian* officers arose to such heights, that instead of fighting the *Turks*, they appeared prepared to fight one another; so that the infidels met with very little resistance in becoming masters of all the island, the capital, which was likewise called *Candia*, excepted. *Morosini* was then admiral of the *Venetians*, and a brave, experienced officer. Arriving off *Candia* with a fleet of twenty-two capital ships, and finding that the infidels could not be drawn out of their harbours to fight him, he directed his course to the *Dardanel*s, thinking that the danger of *Constantinople* might bring on a general engagement. Finding this expedient unsuccessful, he returned to *Candia*; and while he was debating with the *Venetian* providitor *Grimani*, about intercepting the *Turkish* fleet, it landed forty thousand

men upon the island. All that the *Venetians* could then do, was to endeavour to intercept the infidel fleet in its return, but in this attempt likewise, they were unsuccessful, and the brave *Morosini* lost his life. To counterballance those misfortunes, the *Venetians* were successful in *Dalmatia*, where they defeated the *Turks*, and took several towns, but lost great part of their fleet by storms.

Revolu-
tion at
*Constanti-
nople.*

In the mean while, a great and unexpected revolution happened at *Constantinople*. The minister there, with the sultana mother, called generally the sultana *Valide*, at their head, found their account in keeping the emperor, totally immersed in the pleasures of the seraglio, which he carried to the most extravagant lengths; and at last, a procuress, whom he employed in his amours, gave him hopes of enjoying the daughter of the musti, of whom he was passionately fond, and who was esteemed to be the greatest beauty of the empire. *Ibrahim* proposed to her father to make her his wife; but the old man knew that as the empire was already heired by his other wives, that honour signified nothing, especially as he was no stranger to the levity and inconstancy of the emperor. The musti returned him an evasive but respectful answer; and, by his private order, the young lady rejected the proposition of marriage, and proved herself to be superior to all the infamous arts made use of by the sultan's agents to seduce her virtue. *Ibrahim*, determined to enjoy her, employed force, and, having gratified his brutal inclinations, he sent her home to her father with disgrace. The musti, who was a man of sense and resolution, was at no loss how to proceed in being revenged. He opened himself to the pasha *Mohammed*, and to the aga of the janisaries, whom he convinced, that *Ibrahim*, being as vicious as he was weak, they could have no safety but by deposing him. The sultana *Valide*, was no stranger to the subject of their consultations, and frankly owned that her son was incapable of governing, and that she would readily agree to his being deposed, provided he might be permitted to enjoy his life in a private station. As the vizier *Abmed* had been the chief instrument employed in the unworthy actions of the emperor, particularly in the rape of the musti's daughter, he was strangled, and the janisaries obliged *Ibrahim* to give the standish (for so the office of vizier is called) to the pasha *Mahommed*.

where
Ibrahim
is depos-
ed.

The circumstances of the deposition of *Ibrahim*, were very formal, and proved what we have hinted at, that there is a law in the *Othman* empire, superior to the will of the sultan. This seems to arise from the constitution of the old califat, in which the temporal was subordinate to the religious authority in the same sovereign, not without a mixture of popular interposition upon great occasions. The janisaries having carried their point in a vizier, demanded in general terms, whether a fool and a tyrant might not be deposed
from

from the government. The musti, after real or affected deliberation, answered in the affirmative; upon which the assembly required him as the judge and interpreter of the law of their prophet, to summon the emperor to appear next day in person, at the divan, that it might be known whether he was capable of administering justice to his people. A *sefta*, by way of summons, was accordingly made out, and carried to the emperor, who tore it to pieces, as it implied, that he was by his religion, under an obligation of obeying it. He was proceeding to extremities, when the musti hearing what had happened, sent him another and a higher *sefta*, declaring that every person, even the sultan himself, who did not obey the law of God, ceased to be a true believer, and, by becoming a *kafre* or infidel, he had forfeited his dignity, *ipso facto*, and was no longer fit to govern.

Ibrahim knew so little of the measures that had been taken His death; for his deposition, that, turning to his vizier, he ordered him to bring him the musti's head, and, by not being instantly obeyed, he was given to understand, that he was no longer in a condition to command; upon which, all his spirits forsook him, and he fled to his mother for protection and advice. Her intrepidity did not abandon her upon this trying occasion. She boldly faced the janisaries, and the other insurgents, who had by this time broken tumultuously into the palace, and prevailed with them to offer no violence to the person of their sovereign, but to suffer him to return, under a guard, to his former place of confinement; where, growing impatient and furious, he was, a few days after, strangled, by order of the new government, as is most probable, on the seventeenth of *August*, 1648. His character was that of a stupid, capricious, voluptuous prince, without having, so far as we know, a single good quality to counterbalance his bad ones.

The Reign of Mohammed IV.

THE late emperor, *Ibrahim*, left nine sons; of whom *Mohammed*, whose mother was the daughter of a Greek priest, *Solcyman* and *Achmet*, were successively emperors. *Mohammed* at the time of his succession, was no more than seven years of age; and, by the arrangements of the government, it sufficiently appears that the conspirators had perfectly well studied the nature of the catastrophe they had acted, as well as the future distribution of imperial power. This seems to have been owing to the great talents of *Mehmed*, surnamed *Kioprili*, the founder of a celebrated family of the same name; all of them men of extraordinary genius for government, and afterwards, long filling the highest places

places in that of the *Othmans*. He had on account of his poverty, which his countrymen attributed to his integrity, been overlooked in the storms that fell upon the pashas in the late reign; and though he had been preferred by the faction which dethroned *Ibrahim*, yet he was so far from approving of their conduct or principles, that he resolved to lose no opportunity of cutting them off. A regency of twelve persons, at the head of which was the sultana *Valide*, had been, appointed to manage the government before the death of *Ibrahim*, till the young emperor should come of age. *Kioprili's* first care was to replenish the treasury, and the sultana *Valide*, well knowing that a foreign, especially a *Christian*, war, was the only means that could work off the bad humours, and insolence of the soldiery, who made the streets of *Constantinople* run with blood, it was resolved to continue that with the *Venetians*. Its theatre was very extended, for it lay not only in *Candia*, but in *Dalmatia*, *Bosnia*, *Albania*, and the *Morea*, and in short all over the *Asiatic* possessions of that republic. Hitherto it had been carried on in general to the disadvantage of the *Turks*, but the distractions of the empire far from obliging the new regency, as the *Venetians* hoped for, to restore peace, determined them to continue the war with more vigour than ever. The same spirit pushed them on to send secret orders to their pashas to begin hostilities in *Hungary*, where they were beat by the imperialists with dishonour, and the pasha of *Buda* made prisoner.

Progress
of the
Candian
war.

The new regency made the *Candian* war their chief object. The command of it had been committed to the pasha *Husseyu*, who gained several important advantages, but lost them all, upon the arrival of six hundred men, and sixty knights from *Malta*, and *Husseyu's* army begun to be reduced to distress for provisions. This was occasioned by the *Venetian* fleet having blocked up that of the *Othman* in the *Dardanelles*; but winter obliging the former to withdraw, the army in *Candia* soon received supplies of provisions. In the beginning of the year 1651, no fewer than eleven hundred sail, of all kinds, loaded with men, ammunition, and provisions sailed for the use of the *Othmans* in *Candia*, where they landed with a trifling loss, though pursued by the *Venetian* fleet. This armament, joined to that already in *Candia*, encouraged the *Turks* to provoke the *Venetians* to two sea engagements, in which the infidels were beaten, and lost the greatest part of their fleet. Those disasters occasioned a mutiny among the *Othman* land troops, and it scarcely was suppressed, when an account came of two rebellions breaking out, one in *Damascus*, and the other at *Grand Cairo*. This embarrassed the *Turks* so much that the *Venetians* had leisure to send such reinforcements to their troops in *Candia*, as changed the operations there, from a siege

siège to a campaign. The *Othmans* were equally industrious on their part to repair their losses, and in the year 1624, in a sea engagement with the *Venetians* off the *Dardanelles*, the *Turks* lost six thousand men, and seven ships of war, notwithstanding which their kapudan pasha forced his way to *Candia*, where he landed twelve thousand fresh troops. Next year, the *Venetians* gave a new defeat to the *Othman* fleet, which increased the public discontent so much, that viziers, pashas, admirals, governors and generals, were every day strangled or displaced, throughout all parts of the empire.

The regency, notwithstanding all those disgraces, continued firm, and perhaps were secretly not displeased, at seeing so many turbulent spirits removed. Far from being humbled, when the *Venetians* offered to treat of peace, they rejected all terms in which the entire surrender of *Candia* was not made a preliminary. All hopes of peace thus vanishing, the merchants and tradesmen of *Constantinople* rose tumultuously, forced the regency to renew the negociation, and put the grand vizier to death for opposing them. It appears, as if the mutineer factions had persuaded the sultan, though he could not then be above twelve years of age, to take the reins of government into his own hands. The negotiation for peace being renewed, the *Othmans* demanded an immoderate sum to defray the expences of the war, which broke off the treaty anew. To add to the public misfortunes of the state, the janisaries, and spahis, though in every other respect opposite to one another, united in their remonstrances against a maritime war, in which so many of their countrymen had already miserably perished; so that when the new grand vizier, who had been pasha of *Aleppo*, and had been indefatigable in recruiting the *Turkish* marine, ordered them to embark, they refused to obey him, and haughty as he was, he was obliged to purchase their compliance by advancing them four months pay. Their fellows at *Constantinople* were not so tractable. Perceiving the maritime war still to be continued, they in a manner took the government into their own hands, deposed the vizier, drove the mufti out of *Jerusalem*, and new modelled the state, and threatened even to dethrone the sultan if they were opposed. *Mohammed*, young as he was, found means to quell this sedition; and being sensible of the necessity of having a man of abilities and authority to be his first minister, he named to that post *Kioprili*, who was then pasha of *Damascus*; the pasha of *Silistria*, was made high admiral, and *Husseyn* was continued in his command in *Candia*. All this while, the most incredible efforts were making for the fitting out from all the ports of the empire, a greater naval armament than ever. It consisted of sixty gallies, twenty-eight ships, and nine galleasses; by which we are to understand ships of war built after different constructions.

State of
affairs at
Constantinople.

War with
the *Venetians*.

Though the *Venetian* fleet was far inferior in force to this, yet their men were incomparably better sailors, and they lay at the mouth of the *Dardanelles*, waiting for the *Turks*, whom they attacked, and destroyed all their large armament, excepting eighteen galleons. After this, the *Venetians* easily became masters of *Tenedos*, and *Lemnos*, and gave many other severe blows to the *Turkish* marine.

Mutiny at
Constantinople.

It appeared on this occasion, that the spirit of the *Othman* government was as unsubmitting as its resources were inexhaustible; for when the *Venetians* again signified their willingness to come to an accommodation, notwithstanding the great advantages they had obtained, *Mohammed* demanded, that all *Candia* should be delivered up to him, with three millions of crowns for the expences of the war. This obstinacy was far from being agreeable to the common people, who now felt the price of bread raised by the interruption which the *Venetians* shipping gave to their transportations by sea. *Mohammed* and his new grand vizier, finding that there was no end of concessions, acted now with a becoming intrepidity; the emperor himself mounted his horse, and being attended by his vizier, and such of his guards as continued firm in their allegiance, no sooner did he appear in public than he won the hearts of the populace. He proceeded to the most mutinous parts of the city, where in his own presence, the boldest of the insurgents were dragged to justice, and executed. In the mean while, orders were issued for retaking *Tenedos*, and *Lemnos*, which was effected with great loss, by the *Turks*, and entirely quelled, for a short time, the spirit of mutiny at *Constantinople*. *Mohammed*, encouraged by those successes and dispositions, ordered fresh levies to be made, and that his army should rendezvous at *Adrianople*, from whence he proposed to march at their head into *Dalmatia*, to drive the *Venetians* out of that province.

Rebellion
of the
pasha of
Aleppo.

It appears as if, at this time, the pasha of *Aleppo*, who was remarkably ambitious and turbulent, had formed a design to be at the head of the government, and perhaps to dethrone the emperor. *Kioprili* suspecting those designs, no sooner arrived at *Adrianople*, than he put the pasha's brother to death, on pretence of his not being punctual at the time of the rendezvous. The pasha was then at the head of forty thousand men, with whom he immediately marched towards *Scutari*, burning and destroying the country wherever he came; and his army being now increased to seventy thousand men, he alarmed *Constantinople* itself; demanding at the same time, that the heads of *Kioprili*, and four other counsellors should be sent him. To give some colour of justice to his proceedings, he proclaimed a young man, whom he carried along with him, emperor of the *Othmans*, pretending him to be the lawful son of the late sultan *Morad*. This increased his army to a more formidable number than ever,

ever, and the grand vizier marching in person against him, was defeated, with the loss of all his artillery and baggage; but not being pursued, he rallied the broken remains of his army, and in a few days was joined by the sultan himself. Various expedients were then proposed for an accommodation, the imperial army being now as strong as the rebels. The pasha agreed to treat, *Mortaza* the pasha was nominated by the emperor to be his plenipotentiary on the occasion. *Mortaza* had the address, under pretence of respect for the imperial authority, not only to withdraw his army during the negotiation, but to treat in a retired place, where he had some men ambushed, who suddenly fell upon the pasha, and strangled him, and seventeen of his friends, whom he had brought along with him to be witnesses of the accommodation. The pasha's army hearing of the fate of their general, in whom all their hopes were centered, immediately lost all courage, and quietly dispersed themselves.

Kioprili discovered, or pretended to discover, that other Great great men of the empire had abetted the pasha in his rebellion, which gave him a pretext to take off their heads, and among others, that of *Husseju*, the pasha of *Candia*. His suspicions seem not to have been without grounds, for the nephew of the pasha of *Aleppo* appeared at the head of another great army to revenge his uncle's death; but *Kioprili* acted with so much address, and knew so well how to place his money, that this insurrection came to nothing likewise. This year, by the advice of *Kioprili*, the forts at the mouth of the *Dardanelles*, called the *Queen Mother's* castle, were built, by which the important communication between the *Propontis* and the *Black Sea* were secured.

Kioprili, by the above, and many other bloody severities, which he exercised upon the great men of the empire, struck terror into all his opponents, while his own active disposition, though he was now far advanced in years, and the abilities of his son, which were superior to his own, secured to him the affections of his master. By this time, the flames of war had spread to *Germany*, and the grand vizier marched in person to *Belgrade*, where falling sick, he was carried back to *Adrianople*, but gave such directions to the general of the *Turks* in *Hungary*, and *Transylvania*, that he took *Waradin*, and made several other important conquests in those countries, and would have taken *Clausenburg* likewise, had it not been relieved by general *Schmeidau*. All this while the war seemed to languish in *Candia*, on the side of the *Turks*. Four thousand *French* auxiliaries had been sent after the peace of the *Pyreneese*, into that island, where they reduced some places; but were repulsed before *Kanea*, and indeed, the situation of the empire did not at this time suffer the *Othman* government to make the reduction of *Candia* its chief object. This year, viz. 1661, old *Kioprili* sunk under age and fatigue, and not only obtained permission

from the grand signior, that his son should be associated with him in the viziership, but that he should succeed him in the same, which he did on the very day his father died. His first care, was to remove from his master's court and councils, all whom he suspected to be dissatisfied with his administration, among whom was the mufti, whom he banished to *Gallipoli*. Those precautions could not be taken without relaxing the war against the *Venetians*, who thereby obtained some advantages over the *Othmans*.

Arrival of
an *English*
ambas-
sador at
Constanti-
nople.

Rebellion
of *Mer-*
taza.

In the year 1662, the earl of *Winchelsea* arrived as his *Britannic* majesty's ambassador at the porte, where he met with a most magnificent, and indeed cordial, reception; and obtained several favours from the emperor and his ministers, in behalf of the *English* nation, whose ships had been complained of by the *Algerines*.

All the cares of *Kioprili* at this time, were employed in securing to his master his pleasures, particularly that of hunting, in which he was so extravagant, that he often employed above thirty thousand men to find him game. So intent was he upon this diversion, that he left the affairs of government entirely to his vizier, who proceeded with great severity against all, whom he either knew, or suspected to be, his enemies. Having reasons for being dissatisfied with *Mortaza*, the pasha of *Baghdad*, he obliged him to take refuge with one of the heads of the *Kurds*, who was his father-in-law; but, before the vizier could reduce him, a revolution happened in *Georgia*. After *Azerum* had been subdued by the emperor *Solcyman*, the government of *Georgia* was parcelled out under seven princes, of whom three were to be tributary to the *Othmans*, and three to the *Persians*; but the whole to be immediately subject to *Achick Pass*, who was to possess the seventh division, without being subject to either power. This prince dying, his wife took a second husband, whom in prejudice of her son, she raised to the throne; but his authority was disowned by the three *Persian* provinces, who chose another head, as did the three *Othman* likewise; but both parties at last fixed upon the choice of another prince, and those troubles subsided. *Kioprili* being thus at liberty to pursue his revenge upon *Mortaza*, he gave orders for besieging him in *Zizri*, a fortress belonging to the *Zidi Kurds*, who at first defeated the *Turks*, but being afterwards overpowered, they struck off *Mortaza's* head, to save themselves from being put to the sword.

War with
the *Chris-*
tians.

The vizier then had leisure to turn his master's arms against the *Christians*, but before he took the field he punished some of them, for having, against his orders, repaired, or rebuilt some of their churches, that had been burnt down at *Constantinople*, and reformed several abuses that had been introduced in the coin by the *Jews*, and *Armenians*. War was still going on with the *Venetians*, who this year did considerable damage to the *Turkish* navigation, by taking, or destroying

destroying a very rich fleet, bound for *Alexandria*. As the emperor of *Germany* knew that great preparations were making by the porte against his dominions; he endeavoured to enter into a negotiation with the pasha of *Buda*, but in 1663, all the conferences, which had advanced very far, broke up, and the sultan in person, attended by his vizier, took the field, and ordered the *Tartars*, who were at this time at war with the *cosaks*, to furnish them with a hundred thousand men. The grand army arriving at the *Danube*, its van was attacked in passing that river, by *Forgatz*, the governor of *New Heuscl*, but his party were surrounded and cut in pieces; and the *Turks* then invested *New Heuscl*. This place then made a very gallant defence, and the *Turks* are said to have lost fifteen thousand of their best troops, in the several desperate, but unsuccessful, assaults they gave it for forty-three days. At last, in the month of *September*, one of the powder magazines blew up, which obliged the besieged to surrender the place, after making an honourable capitulation.

The brave count *Serini*, one of the *Hungarian* generals, endeavoured to stop the progress of the *Turks*, who were now of count ravaging *Stiria*, and *Croatia*; but his force being very incon- *Serini* siderable, he could not prevent their becoming masters of against the *Levantz*, and *Novogorode*, and then taking up their winter *Turks* quarters at *Belgrade*. In the spring of the year 1664, *Serini*, who, inconsiderable as his force was, had given the *Turks* several checks, was at the head of twenty-five thousand men, took *Berzenkhe*, and *Bakokza*, and defeated a large body of the infidels; besides obtaining over them many other important advantages. He took a *Palanka*, and *Quinque Ecclesiæ*, or *Five Churches*, where he put the garrison to the sword, and laid siege to *Sigeth* itself, but was obliged to raise it, upon the approach of a large body of the infidels. This encouraged the vizier to besiege *Serinswar*, but his party was intercepted by the count *de Serini*, who killed two hundred of them, and took a great number of prisoners. It appears, as if a very bad understanding at this time, subsisted between *Serini*, and the other imperial generals, particularly *Montecuculi*, for when the former had laid siege to *Kanjsia*, *Montecuculi* refused to support him, so that he was obliged to retreat with loss to *Serinswar*, a fortress belonging to himself, which was immediately invested, taken, and razed to the ground by the *Turks*, while *Serini*, in resentment of the injuries done him by the imperialists, separated himself from their army.

On the other side, *Nitra*, and *Leventz*, were recovered by in *Hun-* count *Suse*, another imperial general, who defeated two *gary*. armies of *Turks*, each consisting of fourteen thousand men. The infidels endeavoured to retake *Leventz*, but they were defeated with great slaughter by count *Suse*, and besides six thousand men, lost all their artillery, baggage, and provisions,

visions, to a vast amount. In this battle, the imperialists gave no quarter to any but seven hundred *Moldavians*, and *Walachians*, who having enlisted in the *Turkish* army were punished as traytors and deserters, by being hanged with their muskets slung round their shoulders. Count *Suse* after this, reduced *Barkan*; but all those were only detached actions, for the two grand armies under the vizier, and *Montecuculi*, had spent the summer in observing one another's motions. At last, on the first of *August*, the vizier sent half his army over to *Raab*, with an intention to bring over the other half in person. *Montecuculi* before this could be effected, attacked the division that had passed with great fury, and the waters abating during the battle, the rest of the infidel army were passing over, when *Montecuculi*, summoning all his strength, attacked the janisaries, and spahis, with so much fury, that they were entirely routed, with the loss of sixteen thousand men killed, or drowned in their flight. Sixteen pieces of cannon, the grand vizier's standard, and one hundred and twenty-six colours, five thousand scimitars, and a great number of horses were taken. In short, this was looked upon as being the most complete defeat that the *Turks* had ever received in *Hungary*. The loss of the *Christians* amounted to about three thousand men.

The loss of this battle disposed the *Turks* as much as the imperialists had been before, towards a peace. The disappointment, which their mighty expectations had received from their disgrace, as well as defeat, produced a mutiny in their camp, which might have proved fatal to *Kioprili*, had he not convinced the troops that his passing the *Raab*, which the *Turks* looked upon as being ominous, was owing to the emperor's express commands, and that he had always disapproved of it. A treaty was then set on foot, and concluded in the following terms. "That *Transylvania* remain with its ancient limits and privileges, under the command of prince *Michael Apafi*. That the emperor of *Germany* have liberty to fortify both *Gutta*, and *Nitra*. That the *Turks* shall not alter, or innovate any thing on the confines of *Hungary*, or any other part bordering on the emperor's dominions. That *Apafi* pay six hundred thousand dollars to the *Othman Porte*, for expences of the war. That the two provinces of *Zatmar*, and *Zaboli*, granted to *Ragotzki*, by his imperial majesty during life, return again to the emperor, to which neither the prince of *Transylvania*, much less the *Othman Porte*, shall ever pretend. That the strong castle of *Zechelhyd*, which revolted from the emperor, be demolished, in regard, neither party will relinquish his right thereunto. That *Varadin*, and *New Hensel*, remain to the *Turks*, having conquered them by force of their own arms. That for confirmation of this peace, ambassadors be concluded interchangeably sent with presents of equal value."

This

This peace gave equal satisfaction to both parties. The *German* emperor had many reasons arising from his own family and affairs in *Europe*, and the vizier *Kioprili*, or *Abmed*, as he is called, besides the violent passion which his army expressed to be led back to their own country, knew that he had many powerful enemies about his master's person, who were endeavouring to ruin him. Vast rejoicings were made on both sides, and it was resolved that the interchanging of ambassadors should take place the following *May*. It seems evident, that by concluding this peace, *Kioprili* shewed himself a greater politician, than either his enemies at his master's court, or the ministers of the *European* courts; because, had the imperialists pursued their blow, they might not only have recovered all *Hungary*, but have preserved *Candia* to the *Venetians*, which was of the utmost consequence at that time, to the common cause of christendom. But above all, he shewed wonderful abilities in managing his master *Mohammed*, who being disgusted at the frequent tumults that had happened at *Constantinople*, had retired to *Adrianople*. *Kioprili*, had the address to persuade him, that his late defeat and disgust was owing to the spirit of mutiny, which had possessed his troops, who were impatient to return to *Asia*, and had been justly chastised for their disobedience, and that the conquests he had made of *New Heusel*, and *Novigrad*, and which were entirely owing to his valour, more than overballanced all his losses. But his chief argument for the peace, was the expediency and necessity the porte was under, of turning the whole force of its arms against *Candia*; the reduction of which, was of infinite more consequence to the glory of the *Othman* empire, than that of all *Hungary* could be. These reasons appeared so plausible to *Mohammed*, that he received *Kioprili* into a greater degree of favour than ever.

By this time, *Mohammed* had a son by his favourite wife, Conduct which put him upon the execrable expedient of dispatch- of *Kioprili* ing his brother. It appears however, as if this fratricide, if committed, must have been warranted by the festa of the musti, who refused to grant it on account of the weakness of the *Othman* line. *Kioprili*, was then at *Belgrade*, to which place he sent for his mother, on pretence of testifying his filial piety, but in reality to obtain information concerning the state of affairs at court, which she perfectly understood, being one of the most artful women in the empire, and a most useful agent for her son about the person of the emperor; with whom she was a great favourite. *Kioprili* remained at *Belgrade* till the arrival of *Mohammed Bey*, pasha of *Rumelia*, who had been nominated by the sultan for his ambassador to the court of *Vienna*, and upon the arrival of count *Lesley*, who was nominated ambassador on the part of the emperor, at *Belgrade*, he set out with that nobleman for *Adrianople*, where he was received in a manner more honourable,

nourable, and affectionate, than ever had been known to be expressed by an *Othman* emperor to a subject. *Kioprili*, by this time, had ordered great bodies of troops to defile towards *Dalmatia*, and acted with such exquisite policy, that, least his having laid the blame of his defeat at the *Raab*, should come to his master's ears, he persuaded him to pardon all the mutineers, and to forgive all that passed, while they on the other hand were silent, as to the transaction, being sensible to what motive they owed their lives. About the same time, the *Genoese* renewed their treaty of commerce with the porte, notwithstanding all the opposition it met with from the *French* ambassador.

Candian
war re-
newed.

Kioprili employed the short respite he now obtained from war, in making most amazing preparations for the reduction of *Candia*, where the *Othmans* still preserved their footing, but without being able to master the capital, which was reckoned one of the strongest cities in the world. *Kioprili* charged himself with the execution of this expedition; but that they might proceed with some shew of moderation, he sent for *Balarino*, the *Venetian* minister at the porte, and demanded from him, the surrender of *Candia*, letting him know at the same time, that should his masters refuse to comply, he was resolved to employ all the force of the empire against it. All the answer *Balarino* could return was, that he should communicate the demand to his masters. *Kioprili*, in the mean while, omitted nothing that could secure the peace of the empire, during his absence on the *Candian* expedition. He composed some disturbances that had arisen in *Egypt*; he persuaded his master to return to *Constantinople*, where he was received with great joy, and every thing that had passed was forgiven. It is remarkable, that the hearts of *Mohammed*, and his vizier were so much set on the reduction of *Candia*, that, sensible of their own inferiority by sea to the *Venetians*, they applied to the earl of *Winchelsea*, to take into their pay fifteen *English* ships of war; but his excellency soon convinced them, that his master being then at war with the *Dutch*, could not then comply with their request, and his apology was accepted of.

History of
Sabatai
Sevi, the
impostor,

Every thing being now ready, *Kioprili* leaving proper persons about his master, embarked for *Candia*, where he landed, and put his men into winter quarters. This gives us an opportunity of mentioning one the boldest impostures, that ever employed the pen of history. A young Jew, one *Sabatai Sevi*, the son of a broker, at *Smyrna*, having been banished that city for a tumult, had wandered through many parts of *Asia*, and at *Jerusalem* he met one *Nathan*, when it was agreed upon between them, that *Sevi* should act the part of the messiah of the Jews, and *Nathan*, that of his prophet. It would have been impossible for them to have succeeded in this frantic design, without being themselves possessed of a certain degree of enthusiasm. At *Gaza*, both impostors

impostors began their operations, and *Nathan* announced the mission of the sham messiah. It happened on account of some cabalistical jargon about numbers, that great expectations had been raised among the *Jews* in general, concerning the mighty events that were to happen in favour of the *Jews*, during 1666; and those ridiculous notions had gathered strength by time. *Sevi*, who, during the course of his wanderings, had been guilty of some amorous extravagances, was perfectly well qualified for the part he was to act, being possessed of a graceful person, a fluent tongue, and a winning deportment. *Nathan* performed his part so well, that he soon brought the *Jews* of *Gaza* to believe in his messiah; and moving from thence to *Jerusalem*, he converted all his countrymen there, into the belief that their kingdom was to be restored by *Sevi*, and all the *Syrian Jews* followed their example. The impostors were even so daring, as to pretend that they would pluck the crown from *Mohammed's* head, before the end of the year, and their followers left off all kind of business, but that of repeating portions of scripture, predicting the approaching reign of their messiah.

Nathan chose twelve of their followers at *Damascus*, to preside over the twelve tribes of *Israel*, while *Sevi* visited *Smyrna*, where he had interest enough to procure those who did not credit his mission to be turned out of the synagogue; and the wealth of his nation, which was excessive, was laid at his feet for his acceptance. This was perhaps, the true reason why the reign of this impostor lasted so long, it being in *Sevi's* power to gratify the *Turkish* governors with bribes, which they are seldom proof against. Being carried before the cadi, or criminal judge of *Smyrna*, he was dismissed without hurt, which was attributed to his divinity; and many of his followers swore to miracles that he had performed, and had recourse to the most improbable fictions in his favour. Even some of his most violent adversaries were converted, and *Sevi* issued his mandates with all the majesty of a priest and a prince. To perform his promise, he set out for *Constantinople*, and arrived there with great numbers of his followers, just at the time that *Kioprili* was about to embark on his *Candian* expedition; and this seems to have saved his life, for all that the vizier had time to do, was to order him to be clapped up in prison. His sufferings redoubled the zeal of his adherents, who were suffered for money to throw themselves at his feet, while he was in chains. This gainful traffic was too enticing for his jailors to discontinue it, and so infatuated were the *Jews* at *Constantinople*, that they refused to pay their just debts without his order; which at the request of the *English* merchants he granted them. It was now dangerous for the government to continue him longer at *Constantinople*, but for the reasons we have hinted at, instead of being put to death he was

was only removed to the castle of the *Dardanelles*, where he was resorted to more than ever ; for all the *European Jews* came now to pay their respects to their messiah. All this could not be done without raising the curiosity of the emperor himself, who sent for *Sevi*, and demanded if he was the messiah. The impostor answering in the affirmative, the sultan ordered him to be stripped naked, and to be shot at by his jacoylans, or archers, and if his body was proof against their arrows, he promised to own him for the true messiah. The trial was too severe for *Sevi* to undergo it, and falling on his knees he acknowledged his imposture. Upon being offered the alternative to be impaled alive, or turn *Mahometan*, he readily chose the latter. But such was the infatuation of his followers, that they gave out, that the *Sevi* they saw in a *Turkish* dress, was only a phantom, and that the real *Sevi* had been received up into heaven, there to remain till the time should arrive for the completion of his prophecies.

Just as *Kioprili*, who had returned to *Constantinople*, was about to set out a second time for *Candia*, a war broke out between the *Tartars*, and the *Poles*, which was terminated by an appeal to the porte, to the satisfaction of both parties, and about the same time the rebellious pasha of *Balsora*, or *Basran*, was quelled. Though *Kioprili* had the glory of recommencing the siege of *Candia*, yet it never had been intirely discontinued for almost ten years before ; for the *Turks* during all that time, in a manner blocked it up by land ; but the sea being open to the *Venetians*, the operations of their enemies gave them little trouble. The chief strength of the city of *Kanea* consisted of seven bastions, *Sabionera*, *Vettari*, *Jesus*, *Martinengo*, *Bethlem*, *Panigra*, and *Saint Andrea*, all of them regularly fortified with ravelins, and broad deep ditches. *Kioprili*, when he landed on the island, found *Kanea* besieged by the *Christians* ; but he soon obliged them to abandon their enterprize. He then mustered the whole of his army, which amounted to seventy thousand men, and by reconnoitering the city, he soon found that the preceeding *Turkish* generals had made wrong dispositions for attacking it, and he formed others with better success in the end. Though *Kioprili* was one of the greatest generals, as well as ministers of the age he lived in ; yet, so great was his opinion of his mother's understanding, that he carried her, as well as his wife, along with him in this momentous expedition. The *Venetians* had not been wanting to themselves in preparing to defend the city, and had employed the ablest generals in *Europe* for that purpose. They had expended immense sums in keeping up their marine, which was commanded by *Andrea Cornaro*, and every where beat the *Turkish* fleets, and in providing a strong land force, which was committed to *Francesco Morosini*, the marquis of *Villa*, and a *French* officer, one *St. Andre Mombrun*.

On

On the fourteenth of *May* 1667, the *Turks* took up their encampment before the city, along the valley of *Gioffiro*, and carried on their works to the sea side. Three batteries were raised, which thundered upon the town, as is said, with artillery, which discharged bullets from sixty to one hundred and twenty pounds weight; but the dispositions of the besieged were equally masterly and resolute, for their mines did vast execution upon the *Turks*, who made their chief attacks upon the bastion of *Panigra*. *Kioprili*, by this time, began to be sensible of the difficulty of his undertaking, and above all, of the disadvantage he was under for want of engineers equal to those of the besieged; who were supplied with the best that *Europe* could afford. Difficulties seemed to encrease his resolution, but he could not perform impossibilities; for though he made a large breach in the *Panigra* bastion, and had even made a lodgement there, yet the dreadful mines sprung, and the frequent sallies made by the *Christians*, rendered fruitless the most desperate efforts of the infidels. In the mean while, the enemies of *Kioprili* were not idle, and so incessantly plied the emperor with suspicions of his conduct, that he was at last staggered into distrust, and sent him messengers with a very severe letter, with some oblique charges against his courage and fidelity: *Kioprili* candidly acknowledged that appearances were against him, that the siege had already cost much more blood and treasure than he had thought of at first; but that they should see that he was neither destitute of courage, nor of zeal for his master's service. He soon convinced them of what he said, by leading his men next morning to a fresh breach, that had been made in the walls, and which he was the first man to mount; but all his followers being killed, he returned almost alone to the camp. The messengers, who had been sent in the nature of spies over *Kioprili*, did justice to his courage, and made so favourable a report to the emperor, that it wiped all suspicions from his mind; and he sent him a most magnificent present. It exceeds the bounds of this undertaking to describe all the particulars of this siege, which was one of the longest, and most extraordinary ever carried on. It is sufficient to say, that by the assistance of the pope, the *Maltese*, and other *Christian* powers, the *Venetians* were enabled to make a most amazing defence, and destroyed so many of their enemies, that nothing less than the spirit and perseverance of *Kioprili* could have continued it.

The winter of the year 1667, somewhat relaxed the fury of the *Turks*, whose camp was now depopulated by diseases, as it had been before by the *Venetians*; but all hopes of an accommodation, which had been faintly mentioned, soon vanished, and before the winter was over, hostilities recommenced with more fury than ever. But *Kioprili* employed a new kind of artillery against the besieged, for he ordered
great

great numbers of papers to be shot into the city on points of arrows, offering very flattering conditions to the garrison provided they would surrender; and containing the most dreadful threatenings if they did not. These stratagems however, had little or no effect upon their fidelity; and the vizier then applied himself to the senate of *Venice*; but to as little purpose. *Kioprili* having thus lost all prospect of peace, redoubled his assiduity in bringing supplies of men, and provisions from the continents both of *Asia*; and *Europe*; so that never was there any war better supported than that of *Candia*. The marquis of *Villa*, a nobleman of *Savoy*, being at this time recalled by his master, *Mombrun* became second in command, and discharged his duty with the same address, and intrepidity. Notwithstanding the gallant defence made by the garrison, soldiers of the greatest penetration foresaw, that the place must be taken, if the infidels obstinately continued the siege. Volunteers of the best blood in *Europe*, daily poured in from all parts to the assistance of the besieged; and several states, who in other respects were far from being in a good understanding with the *Venetians*, furnished their quotas. By those assistances, the besieged were enabled to hold out during all the year 1668, and volumes have been written, upon the great actions performed by those illustrious volunteers during every period of this siege.

Progress
of the
siege of
Candia.

In the beginning of the year 1669, it became apparent, that the methods taken by the besieged to defend themselves, if continued, must force them to surrender. The frequent mines that had been sprung, had shaken the walls of the place, and the ground was become so porous, that the besieged had in many places no shelter against the enemy's fire, all the ground lying open, excepting where it was covered by the ruins. It is said upon good authority, that *Kioprili* lost thirty thousand men in two assaults, which he made upon the bastions of Saint *Andrea*, and *Sabionera*; upon which he at last made a lodgement, but to no purpose in the end, not being able to penetrate farther. While matters were in this situation, the dukes of *Beaufort*, and *Noiailles* landed at *Candia*, at the head of seven thousand of the *French* king's best troops, who were sent to the defence of the place, besides many *French* volunteers, who had greatly distinguished themselves in the siege. Upon reconnoitring the condition of the place, it was agreed upon all hands, that nothing but some extraordinary effort could save it. It was therefore resolved in a council of war, that the enemy should be attacked in their works by a brisk sally, to be favoured by the *French* fleet. This resolution was executed with an intrepidity that bordered upon romance. The *Christians* at first bore all before them, but a large magazine of powder, unluckily taking fire, destroyed some of them, and among the rest the brave duke of *Beaufort*. It is said however, that

that the explosion of the magazine was not so ruinous as it was represented to be, and that the *French* being thrown into disorder, the duke was killed in endeavouring to rally them. The *French* ships shared in the disaster of their land troops, for the wind suddenly chopping about, drove them from the shore with considerable damage, and one of the largest of them was blown up.

Even this disaster, great as it was, was retrievable, as the loss the *French* sustained in number, did not amount to above three hundred men. The best authorities among the *French* themselves, are puzzled to account for the behaviour of their countrymen on this occasion; for the duke de Noailles, a few days after, declared his intention to carry the *French* shipping and troops back to *France*. It is probable, that he had received from his master a discretionary power, authorising him to take this step, which he endeavoured to justify by the desperate condition of the place, and by the disagreement of the *French* and *Italian* officers, each throwing upon the other the blame of the late miscarriage, which had given the infidels an opportunity of making lodgments on the very bastions of the city. Be this as it will, it is certain that the duke could not be diverted from his resolution, and he re embarked his troops at the very time when the besieged had the greatest occasion for their service. His retreat gave fresh spirits to the *Turks*, who attacked the new thrown up intrenchments within the city, but were again beaten back with vast loss by the springing of a fresh mine.

The senate of *Venice* was sensible of the impracticability of saving the place, and gave a commission to *Molino*, one of their nobles, to treat of peace. At this time the emperor late *Mohammed* had left *Adrianople*, and repaired to *Larissa*, that he might be near at hand to superintend the embarkations for the siege and, to correspond with *Kioprili*. Upon the approach of *Molino*, a chaimachan was sent to inform him, that he could be admitted to no treaty unless he had brought with him the keys of *Candia*, and that he was not to presume to approach nearer the court than the place where he was. It was with great difficulty, that *Molino* at last was referred to treat with *Kioprili* in *Candia*, whom he found by no means so inexorable as his master, owing, perhaps, to fresh reinforcements which he understood had arrived, or were about to arrive. About the time of *Molino's* arrival in *Candia*, *Morisini*, and the other *Venetian* generals met in a council of war, to deliberate upon the conduct they were to hold. Some were for blowing up the place, but from the complexion of history, *Morisini* seems to have been secretly determined to give it up; though, according to the *Turkish* historians, who, in this case, are not much to be depended upon, some parts of the city were still tenable. After various debates, it was found most advisable to treat; and two gentlemen were appointed to repair to the vizier's tent,

tent, one of them an *Englishman*, called *Thomas Amand*, and the other *Stefano Cordeli*, a young man of parts; and they secretly set out by water for the vizier's camp, to which they were admitted by means of a flag of truce, which they carried along with them. Upon proposing a conference, (*Molina* having by this time left *Candia*) they were given in resolute terms to understand, that the vizier was resolved to treat upon no conditions, but those of a surrender, which the *Christian* plenipotentiaries agreed to, and the place of conference was named. The plenipotentiaries for the *Turks* were *Ibrahim*, the pasha of *Halep*, *Ahmed Aga*, the kahiyabeg of the janifaries, the spahiler agasi, and *Paniaotti*, the vizier's interpreter.

and sur-
renders
by a
stratagem.

The last named plenipotentiary, was a most extraordinary personage. He was a *Greek Christian*, and the vizier's first counsellor, a distinction which he merited by a most faithful attachment to his person, an incredible sagacity, which made the *Turks* look upon him as possessing supernatural powers. According to some well attested memoirs, he privately informed *Morofini*, that the *French* fleet, which was every day expected, was sent by that monarch to carry off the *Venetians* who remained in the city, and to deliver it up to the sultan, in consequence of the secret treaty between him and *France*. Next day, it is said, that twelve *Turkish* ships, which had in the night time been sent out for that purpose, appeared in sight under *French* colours, and being met by twelve more under *Turkish*, they saluted and joined, and amicably sailed into port together. *Morofini*, who had no great reason to think well of the *French*, was deceived by this appearance, and persuaded the garrison into a surrender. This story probably was invented by *Morofini*'s friends, as a colour for surrendering the place; for it is certain, that *Morofini* had been long tired of the siege, and was willing to lay hold of the first honourable opportunity to capitulate. Such an opportunity presented itself at those conferences. For though the *Turks* would not hear of allowing the *Venetians* any equivalent for *Candia*, which they looked upon to be as good as reduced, yet *Kioprili* consented that the inhabitants should have leave to embark with all their arms, provision, and baggage, and likewise with their cannon; *Kioprili* even offered them *Othman* ships, if those of *Venice* were too few to carry off the garrison. No more than two thousand five hundred soldiers were left, and those sickly, and otherwise in a most miserable condition. None of the inhabitants remained in the place, but two *Greek* priests, and about thirty-three decrepid *Jews*, and *Greeks*.

Kioprili observed this capitulation with the most scrupulous exactness. He presented the inhabitant who brought him the keys of the place with a sable vest, and five hundred sequins, besides giving two hundred more to his retinue; and the *Turks* and *Christians* lived together in a most amicable manner

manner till the time of embarkation. This siege had continued for twenty-five years, though sometimes it went languidly on. The operations of the last two years and four months, were vigorous and incessant. According to *Ricaud*, who was in *Turkey* at the time, in those twenty-eight months the *Venetians* lost, in killed or wounded, thirty thousand, nine hundred and eighty-five men; and the *Turks* one hundred and eighteen thousand, seven hundred and fifty-four men. The reader, by this account, may judge of the obstinacy on both sides. The batteries, says *Ricaud*, which the *Turks* raised against *Sabionera*, and *Saint Andrea*, consisted of fifty-nine pieces of cannon, carrying from fifty to one hundred and twenty pound weight of bullet. The storms which the *Turks* made upon the town were fifty-six. The combats under-ground forty-five. The sallies made by the *Venetians* ninety-six. The mines and fornelli, sprung by the *Venetians* eleven hundred and seventy-three, and by the *Turks* four hundred and seventy-two. The *Venetians* spent barrels of powder fifty thousand, three hundred and seventeen. Bombs of all sorts by the *Venetians*, of fifty to five hundred weight, were forty-eight thousand, one hundred and nineteen. Granadoes, of brass and iron, one hundred thousand; nine hundred and sixty: Granadoes of glass, eighty-four thousand, eight hundred and seventy-four. Cannon shot of all sorts, two hundred and seventy-six thousand, seven hundred and forty-three pounds. Pounds of lead, eighteen million, forty-four thousand, nine hundred and fifty-seven. Of match, pounds, thirteen millions, twelve thousand, and five hundred.

Vast loss
of both
parties.

During the siege of *Candia*, so great was the oppressions of the house of *Austria* upon the *Hungarians*, that *Serini*, *Nadasli*, and *Frangapani*, three of their principal noblemen, who, after the example of their ancestors, had signalized themselves against the *Turks*, joined in a confederacy, and chose to throw themselves upon the protection of the *Othman* emperor, rather than longer suffer the tyranny of the *Austrians*. This being intimated to *Kioprili*, he offered them his master's assistance, provided *Hungary* was rendered tributary to the porte. Those generous noblemen rejected the condition, and offered to return to their allegiance, provided they could be secured in their privileges; but the emperor knowing the *Turks* to be then engaged not only in a war with the *Venetians*, but likewise with the *Persians*, instead of giving them satisfaction, poured his troops into *Hungary*, and having come to the knowledge of all that had passed between those noblemen and the vizier, they, together with count *Tattembach*, another head of the confederacy, were arrested, tried, and executed.

Affairs of
Hungary.

Kioprili, probably must have fallen a sacrifice to the intrigues of his enemies, had he not been successful before *Candia*; and perhaps, the danger he knew he was in, con-

Tumults
at Con-
stantinople
quelled.

tributed to determine him to grant the capitulation. After he had signed it, he had an opportunity of conversing with the *Christian* officers, and their company is said to have given a new turn to his manners. He heaped favours upon *Morosini*, and the other generals, and was even persuaded, for the sake of his health, which suffered by the opiates so much in use among the *Turks*, to drink wine pretty liberally. On his entering *Candia* he forbade all rejoicings for the reduction of a place, which had cost the *Othmans* such seas of blood; and he immediately dispatched expresses to his master with the joyful news of the event, promising to attend him at *Constantinople* at the head of fifty thousand victorious veterans, to quell the rebellious spirit that had lately appeared in that capital. The grand signior was then at *Salonica*, giving audience to Sir *Daniel Harvey*, the *English* ambassador, and indulging himself in all manner of pleasures, especially those of hunting, to which he was generally accompanied by his favourite sultana. He was so much overjoyed upon receiving *Kioprili's* letters, that his mind instantly lost all impressions to that minister's disadvantage. He declared him to be the greatest and most successful general, that had ever commanded the *Othman* arms. He sent him the most costly presents, and even shewed an impatience for the arrival of *Molina*, the *Venetian* ambassador, that he might ratify all that had been concluded upon by his vizier. He at the same time sent commissaries into *Dalmatia*, to settle boundaries with the *Venetians*, and to remove all difficulties that could in the least obstruct the conclusion of a firm and lasting peace. *Kioprili* pursued the same plan, and even impaled some of his soldiers, for violating his proclamation against doing any injury to the *Christians*. He did not, however, set out from *Candia* without repairing the fortifications all over the island, that he might render his conquest as permanent as it was important.

The
drinking
of wine
prohibit-
ed.

The emperor's mother was at this time at *Constantinople*, where she had full power from her son to transact all affairs of government. But, though she was a woman of great spirit and address, yet she found infinite difficulty in managing the janisaries, and other soldiers. But the approach of the sultan, at the head of his victorious army, soon quelled them. As their irregularities were judged to be owing partly to their inactivity, but chiefly to their drinking of wine, both cases were provided for; eight thousand of them were sent into *Moldavia*, and other detachments to other frontiers of the empire, and a strict general prohibition was issued all over the empire against drinking of wine, and all games of chance. This prohibition was so strictly executed, there being no exception in favour of *Franks*, or *Europeans*, that the *English* ambassador had the utmost difficulty to procure a drop of wine for himself and his family; and what they made use of, was of their own making from the grapes.

Though

Though not only death, but the severest tortures were pronounced against all who should disobey this order; yet, in about twelve months, the use of wine became as frequent as ever in the *Othman* dominions.

Another difficulty at this time perplexed *Mohammed's* internal government. That emperor, before his leaving *Constantinople*, had given orders that his brothers should be put to death, which coming to the ears of the janisaries, they rescued those princes, and put them under the care of the sultana mother, and made her answerable for their safety; but upon the return of *Kioprili*, and quelling the tumults at *Constantinople*, sultan *Orchan*, the eldest of those brothers, was poisoned, or as some say strangled, by the emperor's orders, without the latter being any ways apprehensive of the consequences. *Kioprili* was at this time in the height of reputation, not only among the *Othmans*, but the *Christian* powers. He had, with great difficulty, put an end to all terrestrial, commercial, and other differences with the *Venetians*. He disregarded the *Genoese*, and the other *Italian* states; he was upon a good footing with the court of *Vienna*, he had little or nothing to apprehend from the *Russians*, and his only object now was a war with *Poland*, where a very powerful nation of the *kosaks*, inhabiting between the *Boristhenes*, and the *Neister*, had put themselves under the protection of the porte. It was of the utmost consequence, on account of the situation of the country of those *kosaks*, to prevent this defection; and the king of *Poland* sent a large army to reduce them. *Kioprili*, the *Turks* being religious observers of forms, sent a chaush, with a dehortatory letter, containing some menaces if he proceeded; but that having no effect, the vizier in the beginning of the year 1672, passed the *Danube*, on a bridge which he threw over it at *Sacki*, at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand men; and after a long painful march through *Moldavia*, he encamped near *Kochin*. From thence he sent over the *Tyras* a party, that took *Zwanidez*, by which he effected his junction with the *Tartars*, who were headed by their famous khan *Selim Gyera*. While he was building a bridge over the *Tyras*, for transporting his artillery, it was discovered that *Duka*, the prince of *Moldavia*, secretly favoured the *Poles*, and was doing all he could to retard the work; upon which he was deposed, and one *Peter* set up in his room. *Kioprili* at last surmounting all difficulties, appeared before *Kaminieck*, the strongest town in *Podolia*, and opened his batteries against it. The *Poles* were so confident of the strength of this place, and trusted so entirely to it for stopping the progress of the infidels, that they at this time and *Kaminieck* had no army in the field; but it was so furiously battered that it surrendered in ten days, to the amazement, not only taken, of the *Poles*, but of all *Europe*.

The conquest of *Kaminieck*, was one of the most important the *Othmans* had ever made on the side of *Poland*; and according to prince *Cantenmir*, their power has been upon the decline ever since. It opened all *Podolia*, and *Volhinia*, to their incursions, and nothing lay now between them and *Upper Poland*, but *Lemberg*. *Mohammed* was so proud of this expedition, that he set out at the head of an army to support it, and arriving at *Kaminieck*, he affected a conduct full of mildness, humanity and justice. He prohibited plundering, he protected the inhabitants who submitted to his authority in their properties, without suffering any thing to be exacted from them; and gave a general invitation to the *Poles* to enter into his allegiance. All those acts of clemency had so powerful an effect upon the natives, that they tried the experiment, and for some time found the *Turkish* yoke far more tolerable than that of their own lords. It is certain, that *Mohammed*, by this moderation, risked a mutiny in his own army, which in all other expeditions had been enriched by the spoils of the conquered, but, in this, they met with nothing but impoverishment, and famine, though masters of the finest countries in *Europe*. *Mohammed's* moderation was the more remarkable, as the *Poles*, in the beginning of the war, had behaved with great intemperance, and offered some insults to the porte. *Mohammed's* head quarters at this time was at *Busbach*, which lay on the frontiers of the palatinate of *Lemberg*; and the *Poles* named ambassadors to wait upon the *Tartar* khan with proposals of peace, offering to deliver up forty eight towns and villages, in the province of *Kaminieck*, to pay annually twenty thousand rix-dollars, by way of tribute; and to suffer the *kosaks* to remain under the command of their hetman *Dorosbenko*, who had put himself under the protection of the porte. The great khan did not choose to return any answer of himself to those propositions, but sent them to *Mohammed*, who accepted of them; disbanded his army, and returned to *Constantinople*. *Ricaut*, however, differs in his account of this transaction; for according to him, the king of *Poland* was to give up all the *Ukrain*, *Podolia*, and *Rusland*, and the city and district of *Lemberg* were to pay annually a tribute of seventy thousand crowns.

Peace
concluded

The war
renewed.

By this peace, *Dorosbenko* was left governor of *Verania*, and *Podolia*, under the *Turks*, whose progress, by this time, had alarmed all *Europe*; so that the sultan repented his having disbanded his army. The *Moscovites* were the first who began to arm. The imperialists were threatening to take the field, and the *Poles* themselves refused to ratify the late treaty, which refusal was signified in a letter from the grand chancellor to the porte. *Dorosbenko*, was the first who gave the porte notice of this untowardly situation of its affairs in *Poland*. The account was so unexpected, that the grand signior was preparing to set out for a favourite residence, where he was to spend his time during the heats of the

the summer; and it was with difficulty that he was dissuaded by *Kioprili* from his design, that he might attend the affairs of empire. New levies were already made, but no army being at hand to afford *Doroshenko* immediate support, he revolted, and ravaged the borders of the empire; and accounts came that the *Poles* had already taken the field. *Kioprili*, sensible how much depended upon maintaining the dignity of an empire, once more advised his master to abandon all other concerns, even that of succouring the malcontents in *Hungary*, that he might be revenged on the *Poles*. It was, however, the end of *July*, before it was resolved that the emperor should march against them in person; but though the utmost exertions of his imperial authority had been made use of, for the speedy raising an army, yet the backwardness of the soldiers from entering into another expedition against *Poland* was such, that he was obliged to set out at the head of no more than fifteen thousand men; taking along with him *Kioprili* himself, who led his van.

Previous to *Mohammed's* march, he had dispatched a threatening letter to the *Poles*, containing the most dreadful menaces, if they did not submit. This letter had no other effect, than that of rendering the *Poles* more alert in their preparations. All their internal differences, of which the infidels had availed themselves during the last campaign, were now composed, and the famous *John Sobieski* had taken the field, and was in the neighbourhood of *Lemberg*, at the head of fifty thousand men, before the sultan could come up. *Mohammed*, at last, having joined his vizier, they found all the passes upon the *Tyras* possessed by the *Poles*. The pasha *Husseyu*, at that time, commanded for the *Turks* in *Podolia*. Upon the approach of *Sobieski's* army, he had summoned *Petrezeicus*, then the tributary prince of *Moldavia*, to join him with his contingent troops; but the number falling short, the pasha struck the waywod with his pole-axe, and loaded him with the most abusive language. His subjects resented the affront, which he dissembled, and so great was the contempt of the pasha for the *Moldavian*, that he appointed him to command his guard that night. The *Moldavians* took this opportunity of carrying off their prince to the *Polish* camp, from whence he escaped with some difficulty and danger, and returning to *Mohammed's* camp, this seeming act of fidelity, (which indeed was the effect of the most profound dissimulation,) gained him the full confidence of the sultan and his vizier, which he made use of to give secret intelligence to *Sobieski*, of all the dispositions of the *Turks*.

By this time, *Mohammed's* army had been so greatly reinforced, that he resumed his threatenings to subdue all *Poland*, defeated and considered the *Polish* army, which was encamped between the *Tyras*, and the *Danube*, as his prey. *Sobieski*, by slaughter means

means of the intelligence he had gained, broke into the weakest part of the *Turkish* entrenchments with irresistible fury, and not only *Petrezicus*, but *Gregory*, son of the tributary prince of *Walachia*, turned their arms against the *Turks*, who immediately perceived that they had been betrayed. Notwithstanding this, the *Turkish* general, and the vizier, acted with so much intrepidity and resolution, that they are said to have maintained the battle for fourteen hours. But *Sobieski's* fortune prevailed; the left wing of the *Turks* fell into confusion, and the right was forced to retreat, which turned at last into a downright flight; and the rout of the infidels soon became total. In this great battle, eight thousand janisaries, who were the flower of the *Turkish* infantry, were cut in pieces, as were twelve thousand of their other soldiers; and not only the whole of their baggage was taken; but their military chest, consisting of two thousand purses, fell into the hands of the *Poles*, with all their waggons of ammunition and provisions, to the incredible number of twenty-five thousand. This victory, one of the greatest ever obtained by the *Christians* against the infidels, opened to the *Poles* a way for the recovery of all they had lost. They accordingly retook *Khochin*, and several other important posts upon the *Neister*; but the death of their king *Michael*, diverted their arms, and their generals were obliged to attend the election of a new king, which fell upon *John Sobieski*, then grand marshal of the kingdom. *Mohammed*, on the other hand, who had escaped out of the late battle, not without some danger to his person, appeared to be more exasperated against the *Poles* than ever, and gave out, that he either would reduce them, or lose his life. He was favoured by the ridiculous jealousies and confidence of the *Poles*. *Sobieski* had detached great part of his army to besiege and recover the important city of *Kaminieck*; and he was extremely urgent with the *Poles*, to bring the war to a decisive issue by taking the field with all their force. But, after the defeat the infidels had lately received, the *Poles* ignorantly imagined, that they could not be, for some years, in a condition to take the field; and in secret they were afraid, lest *Sobieski* should gain so great a power as to be able to render their crown hereditary in his family. In vain did *Sobieski* endeavour to assemble the whole force of *Poland* to recover this important fortress, for all he could do was to straiten the garrison, so that in a few weeks it must have surrendered for want of provisions; but during that time, *Mohammed* had assembled such a force, that the *Poles*, to their amazement were obliged to raise the siege; and the *Turks* not only re victualled and reinforced the garrison, but took several places in the neighbourhood. At this time, *Doroshenko*, who seems always to have followed the prevailing party, again offered his service to *Mohammed* against the *Poles*, but meeting with a repulse, he was highly exasperated.

Kaminieck
relieved.

But

But the luxury and indolence of *Mohammed*, at this time, *Mohammed* was extremely prejudicial to his affairs, and even shook his throne. His love of pleasure made him resolve upon a wise measure. That he might not be interrupted in his favourite diversions, he sought to secure to himself the quiet possession of all he held in *Podolia*, and for that purpose he ordered all *Christian* inhabitants to be removed out of *Kaminieck* to other parts of his dominions. After that, he returned to *Adrianople*, and there gave himself up to the uninterrupted pursuit of pleasure; and to render it the more secure, he amassed an incredible treasure, by the marriage of his daughter to a favourite, one *Kul Oglı*, pasha of *Magnesia*, at which ceremony, all the grandees of his empire were obliged, by custom, to make him large presents. About the same time, he circumcised his two sons *Mustapha*, and *Ahmed*. Nothing of importance happened on the side of *Europe*, during this interval, thus dedicated to luxury, till the *Poles* being rendered sensible, that they owed to the emperor's indolence the cause of their tranquility, in 1676 attacked the *Othmans* in *Moldavia*. The pasha *Ibrahim*, surnamed *Shayton*, or the Devil, from his cunning, was sent against them; and he had the address to amuse the *Poles*, whose numbers were not above fifteen thousand men, with *Sobieski* at their head, so that he surrounded them with one hundred thousand men, who must have been destroyed, had not a mutiny broken out in the *Turkish* camp. The janisaries complained of their being exposed to the fatigues of war, and the rigour of the seasons, while the emperor was shamefully sunk in his luxuries; and the khan of the *Tartars* complaining, that he had nothing to expect by the war, insisted upon returning home with his army.

Such was the situation of the *Poles*, when *Sobieski* sent some agents into the *Turkish* camp to treat of peace. *Ibrahim* saw the necessity he was under to conclude a negociation of some kind or other; and not only received the ambassadors, but relaxing, or being obliged to relax, in his discipline, *Sobieski* and his army had an opportunity of breaking through their toils, and attacked the *Tartar* camp. *Ibrahim* reproached the *Polish* ambassadors, who were in his tent when he received this account, with their sovereign's breach of good faith, and immediately detached his cavalry to support the *Tartars*. A bloody battle ensued, in which neither side could claim the advantage; and about seventeen days past in hourly skirmishes. This was far from allaying the spirit of mutiny in *Ibrahim's* camp, and at last he was obliged, notwithstanding all the opposition made by the court of *Vienna*, to consent to a peace, which was approved of by the states of *Poland*, and an ambassador was nominated to go to *Constantinople* to confirm it.

This ambassador was so full of his national pride, that when he arrived at *Constantinople*, he insisted upon the grand vizier

Death of
Kioprili.

vizier meeting him at the city gate. This demand amazed the *Turks*, and might have destroyed all the prospect of a peace, had not the vizier been meditating a mighty expedition, which was to carry the *Turkish* arms to the gates of *Vienna* itself. About the same time died, of a complication of distempers, which was heightened by the immoderate use of wine, and strong liquors, the vizier *Kioprili*, one of the greatest, and best men, the *Othman* empire ever produced. Naturally gentle, and moderate, he preserved the tranquility of government, without having recourse to those sanguinary measures, that were practised by his father, and his predecessors. He was free from avarice, the common vice of his nation; and having been educated to the knowledge of the civil laws of his country, he was a most punctual administrator of justice, with, perhaps, a too scrupulous adherence to forms. No minister, of his time, was more tenacious, than he was, of national honour, or more attentive to the fulfilling all the engagements he concluded in his master's name; and he died regretted by the *Christian* powers, particularly that of *England*, for which he always expressed an uncommon deference. He was no more than forty-seven years of age when he died of the dropsy, and jaundice. Some time before his death he ratified the peace with the *Poles*, notwithstanding the offence given him by their ambassador. By the articles of this peace, the *Poles* entirely renounced their claim to *Kaminieck*, and likewise to all authority over the *kofaks* of *Podolia*, and the *Lithuanian Tartars*, who were *Mahometans*, were permitted to depart to their own country.

Unsuccessful
war against the
kofaks.

Upon the conclusion of this peace, the infidels turned their eyes towards *Hungary*, where count *Strazoldo*, the imperial general, had taken from the malecontents *Debrezin*, a town which paid tribute to the porte, who could not avoid considering such a proceeding as an infraction of treaties. *Kara Mustapha* had succeeded *Kioprili* as first minister, and he gave the *Turkish* pashas in general, on the frontiers of *Poland*, leave to favour the malecontents, who were soon joined by *Apaffi*, a *Transylvanian* prince. Count *Weselini* was then at the head of the malecontents, and defeated the imperial general. They next applied to the porte for some more effectual assistance, but the new vizier being by this time engaged in a war with *Russia*; all he could do was to give them partial assistances. The states of *Hungary* endeavoured to interpose, but the violence and bigotry of the court of *Vienna* frustrated the effects of all negotiations. Thus the war between the imperialists on the one hand, and the *Turks* and malecontent *Hungarians* on the other, every day increased; but would have been more bloody, had it not been for that between the porte and *Russia*. In the mean while, died *Weselini*, and the command of the malecontents fell upon young *Tekeli*, who afterwards
made

made so great a figure. *Doroshenko*, the kofak hetman we have already mentioned, resenting the indignities that had been done him by the porte, as well as to his country, offered to submit to the czar of *Russia*, in which he was seconded by his officers, as the only means of delivering themselves from the *Polish*, as well as the *Turkish*, tyranny. The czar readily accepted of this vast acquisition to his dominions, which were thereby extended beyond the *Boristhenes*, and the *Ukrain* was secured, besides a number of brave soldiers being added to his army. *George Kiemielski*, son of the famous *Bogdan*, who had been likewise hetman of the kofaks, was then a prisoner at the porte, but released by *Mohammed*, and sent at the head of an army to dispossess *Doroshenko* of the hetmanship, all other means proving ineffectual. The *Turkish* general the pasha *Shaytan Ibrahim*, had orders, at the same time, to make himself master of *Chebrin*, the capital of the country. This was an expedition to which the *Turks* in general had a mortal antipathy, and was undertaken only through necessity.

Ibrahim ordered the *Tartars* to attend him, and he himself and the *Russians* passed the *Danube* on the sixth of June 1678, and marched through *Podolia*, and *Moldavia*, towards *Chebrin*, near which, he found sixty thousand kofaks, in possession of a strong post. While he halted to be joined by the *Tartars*, who were but three days march behind him, the *Russians* sent a strong detachment from their main army, which surprised and killed ten thousand of the *Tartars*, among whom were the khan's son, and eight mirzas. The *Turks* hearing of this defeat, threw down their arms, and made a most precipitate retreat towards the river *Bog*, which they repassed, but with great loss. The sultan, ashamed to ask for peace, employed a minister, who went in the name of the khan of *Tartary*, to persuade the czar to abandon the kofaks, and restore *Chebrin* to the *Turks*. The czar saw through the artifice, and knew the motives of the embassy. He sent an ambassador to *Constantinople* with letters demanding, in a very peremptory manner, that the *Kofak Ukrain*, to which he had an undoubted right by *Doroshenko's* submission, should be left in quiet, otherwise he threatened to conquer the rest of that country, and carry his arms as far as *Asof*. The *Turkish* ministers were startled on reading this letter, and most of them were for accepting the czar's proposal; but the vizier *Kara Mustafa* opposed it, for the very reasons which they gave for accepting it. None durst contradict him, when he declared that the *Othman* arms must be employed in revenging the loss and indignity they had suffered from the *Russians*, and immediately he put himself at the head of eighty thousand *Turks*, thirty thousand *Tartars*, and forty thousand kofaks, who had joined *George Kiemielski*, and passing the *Bog*, he came in sight of *Chebrin*. The *Russians* and kofaks were at that time building a new fort, near

near *Chehrin*; and being surprised by the approach of the *Turkish* arms, they retired to the body of the place. The vizier took advantage of their consternation, and ordered his kyehaya, or high deputy, to attack the town; but the latter, after a dispute of four hours, was obliged to retreat with the loss of two thousand men. Various were the desperate methods made use of by *Kara Mustapha*, to repair this loss, but all of them proved unsuccessful; and at last, he understood that the *Russian* general *Romadanowski*, had passed the *Boristhenes*.

The
Turks de-
feated.

Upon this, he ordered the pasha *Kara Mehemed* to fight him; but understanding that the *Russians* declined an engagement, before they had relieved *Chehrin*, the pasha *Koplan*, one of the best officers in the *Othman* service, was ordered to intercept them in their march. *Koplan* having taken up his ground for that purpose, was so furiously attacked by the *Russians*, that all his army must have been defeated, had he not broken down all the bridges in his rear, to secure his retreat. The winter of 1679 was now approaching, and the vizier, who had continued his operations against the place, at last sprung so many mines, and made so many breaches in the walls, that he became master of it; but the garrison, after springing a mine, which destroyed great numbers of the *Turks*, retired towards the *Boristhenes*. When the vizier entered *Chehrin*, he found it so much ruined by the late siege, that he razed it to the ground, but could not bring *Romadanowski* to a battle; the latter well knowing, that as the *Turks* could not subsist in the country, they must be destroyed in their retreat, which accordingly happened. For when the vizier entered *Adrianople*, his army was so thin, and in so bad a condition, that he appeared as if his troops had escaped from a total rout; no fewer than thirty thousand having been cut off, or dying in their retreat; besides losing all their heavy artillery. *Kara Mustapha* would then gladly have embraced the peace, which he had before so haughtily rejected; but the kofaks laid waste all the countries on the *Euxine Sea*, and rejected all terms of accommodation. Upon this the vizier resolved to build a town at the mouth of the *Boristhenes*, or *Nieper*, not far from *Oczakow*, to prevent the communication between the kofak shipping, and the *Euxine Sea*. The pasha *Koplan*, and six regiments of janisaries were ordered to cover the workmen; but both they and their guards, when they had proceeded but a very little way in their building, were cut to pieces by the kofaks, who, among others, flew *George Kiemielniski*, the hetman, who had been appointed by the porte. The impracticability of making any conquests upon the *Russians*, upon that side, appeared now so plain to the *Turkish* ministry, that they gladly treated of peace, which was at last concluded, to the great satisfaction of both parties.

A peace
conclud-
ed.

The

The *Turks*, from the uncultivated wilds of *Tartary*, now War in turned their arms towards the rich provinces of *Hungary*. *Hungary*, The cruelty and injustice of the *Austrians*, had encreased the number of malecontents there; *Tekeli's* army, by the assistance he received from the porte, was in excellent condition; but after various adventures, which have no relation to this part of our history, he was obliged to apply to *Mohammed* for further succours. This was occasioned by a peace, which the *Austrians* had just concluded with the *French*, and which had left the former at liberty to pursue the *Hungarian* war. *Tekeli*, to induce the porte to grant the succour he required, offered *Mohammed* a tribute of forty, some say eighty thousand dollars a year, and, what was of far greater importance, to assist him, if required, with a body of thirty thousand *Hungarians*. The manner of complying with *Tekeli's* proposals, occasioned great debates in the *Turkish* divan; only the sultan and his first minister, were for granting assistance openly; as the emperor of *Germany*, however he might have behaved to the *Hungarians*, had done nothing to break the long peace he had concluded with the *Turks*. But the sultan and his minister stood firm in their opinion, and at last, the sultana *Valide*, allured by the hopes given her by the vizier, that her appointments would be encreased, declared herself for *Tekeli*, and brought others, amongst whom was the musti himself, over to the same opinion. Notwithstanding those great authorities, the bulk of the people appeared to be so averse from a *German* war, and discovered so many and such dangerous indications of their sentiments, that the government found it necessary to publish the reason of their conduct, which they did, in a manner well suited to the pride and genius of the people.

Tekeli, and his adherents, were declared to be under the protection of the porte; and letters were formally sent to the court of *Vienna*, charging that emperor, as was the truth, with his having violated the terms he had agreed to with the malecontents, and requiring him not only to recall his troops, but to restore all he had taken from them; and that under pain of the porte's displeasure. Though this was a language, to which that court was not used, yet *Leopold* had so many reasons for wishing the porte to stand neuter between him and the *Hungarians*, that he sent count *Albert Caprara*, as his ambassador to *Constantinople*, to employ all methods, by money, intrigues, or otherwise, to divert the storm. The vizier, who was determined on the measures he was to pursue, and was apprehensive of the consequences of this embassy, before the arrival of the count, sent *Ibrahim*, the beglergeg of *Buda*, with six thousand men to *Tekeli's* assistance; and ordered *Apassi*, the tributary prince of *Transylvania* to join him likewise. *Tekeli*, thus assisted, bore down all opposition, and drove the *Austrians* out of *Zatmar*, *Kossovica*, *Esperies*, *Loutschet*, *Levent*, *Lipschet*, and *Tillick*,

where
Tekeli is
declared
king.

Tillek, with several other places of importance ; part of which were garrisoned by the *Turks*, and part by the *Hungarians*. Those successes encouraged the *Othmans* so much, that *Tekeli* was, by order of the porte, invested with the sovereignty of *Hungary*, by the pasha of *Buda*. This being done, the vizier thought it needless to keep any farther terms with the imperialists, and signified it to count *Caprara*, that his master would agree to a peace only on condition of restoring *Hungary* to its independency upon the court of *Vienna* ; pay an annual tribute of five hundred thousand florins ; demolish *Leopoldopolis*, and *Gutta* ; resign certain forts and territories to *Tekeli* ; and grant an amnesty to all the *Hungarians*. Those propositions, as the vizier had foreseen, being rejected, war was immediately proclaimed against the *Austrians*, and the sultan himself, attended by all his great ministers of state, set out towards *Adrianople*, to take upon him the command of the army. While they were on their march, they were attacked by most dreadful storms, which threatened the ruin of the expedition, and made a great impression upon the superstitious *Turks*.

The *Turks*
invade the
empire.

Deliberations
about be-
sieging
Vienna,

It was the winter of the year 1683, before the army was in a condition to set out for *Belgrade*, and *Mohammed* having reviewed it, invested his vizier with *Mohamet's* standard, by which he made him his generalissimo ; and then he returned to *Constantinople*. Though the vizier had now the full command of the army, yet, as this expedition was one of the most important that had ever been undertaken by the *Othmans*, he was resolved to proceed with caution, that in case of ill success, he might throw the blame upon others. Having met *Tekeli* at *Essek*, at the head of three hundred *Hungarian* noblemen, he affected to treat him with the highest respect ; and calling a council of war of his chief officers, he first demanded *Tekeli's* opinion, whether the siege of *Vienna* should be undertaken that year, or delayed to the next. Nothing could be more distant than this question was from *Tekeli's* thoughts, which were entirely confined to *Hungary*. Though some ill informed *Christian* writers have reported, that *Tekeli* gave his opinion for besieging *Vienna* that year ; yet, it is certain, from the testimony of the *Turkish* officers themselves, that in the council of war, he remonstrated strongly against the danger and folly of besieging *Vienna* that year, as such a step, besides the immense difficulties attending it, would unite all christendom against the *Othmans*. He added, that they might easily reduce *Hungary*, through the dissensions that prevailed there ; and, the imperial army not being able to withstand the *Othmans* in the field, proper magazines might be soon established in that fruitful country, which could not fail to facilitate the entire conquest of the *German* empire. The vizier dissembled his disapprobation of *Tekeli's* opinion, but proceeded to take those of the other generals, who were too

well

well acquainted with his secret sentiments, to give their real sense of the question; but submitted themselves to his better judgment. The vizier perceived, from their behaviour, that he was, in fact, single in his opinion; and sending off to *Buda* the imperial ambassador, whom he had hitherto amused with hopes of peace, he ordered his army to march towards *Raab*, or, as the *Turks* call it, *Yavarin*, and on the way he was joined by the khan of the *Tartars*, with all his troops, by which his army became so formidable, that the *Germans* abandoned the passage of the river, or, as some say, it was betrayed to the *Turks*, who immediately passed the same, and encamped under the walls of *Raab*.

While he was making vigorous preparations for besieging that important fortress, his spies brought him intelligence of *Vienna* itself being in so untenable a condition, that the emperor and his court had removed to *Lintz*. Nothing could be more agreeable, than this account was (which in general was true) to the vizier's views. After treating with the aga of the janisaries, from whom he had the most to apprehend, he again called a council of the chief pashas, to take their opinion, which was now unanimous against undertaking the siege of *Vienna*, before they had reduced the places that lay between them and the city; and *Tekeli* repeated his former sentiments. The vizier, upon this, pro- which is duced the sultan's khati sharif, or sign manual, empowering agreed him to act as he pleased; and this struck the pashas with upon. such respect, that they instantly declared their readiness to execute his commands, whatever they might be. The vizier upon this ordered his camp to be razed, and leaving a detachment to block up *Raab*, he set out for *Vienna*, before which place he appeared, to the terror of all christendom; after surprising and cutting off several parties of the imperialists in his march, besides taking all the baggage of some of their chief officers. This happened on the thirteenth of July 1683. As we shall, in other parts of this work, have occasion more than once to mention this celebrated siege, we shall here confine ourselves chiefly to the part which the *Othmans* bore there.

It is to this day uncertain, whether the vizier had a real Views of correspondence with any of the *German* generals, by which the vizier. he had a fair prospect of success, or whether he was not actuated merely by ambition. The first seems to be probable, without detracting from the influence of the other, which undoubtedly was very powerful in his breast. Many writers, and those of note, are of opinion, that he had secretly formed the scheme of an independent empire, in the west, for himself; every thing concurred to flatter him in his project. He was at the head of one of the finest armies the *Othmans* had ever raised, consisting of above one hundred and forty thousand regular, well disciplined, troops, besides the *Crim Tartars*, and the attendants of his camp; the whole

whole amounting to above three hundred thousand men. He was possessed of immense treasures, and all the *European* pashas, except *Ibrahim*, the beglerbeg of *Buda*, was in his interest; so that in fact, he had nothing to fear even from *Mohammed* himself. On the other hand, the *Christian* powers were divided, and it was well known, that *Poland*, from whence the emperor chiefly expected relief, was upon bad terms with the house of *Austria*. He had cut off all communication between the duke of *Lorrain*, the imperial general, and *Vienna*; the fortifications of which were in a bad condition; and the garrison consisted of no more than eight thousand regular troops, while the flight of the emperor had struck the inhabitants with the utmost consternation, and dejection. To bring over to his views the beglerbeg of *Buda*, from whom he had the most to apprehend, he is said, but upon no certain grounds, to have proposed to give him the kingdom of *Hungary*, while he reserved to himself all the empire of *Germany*, *Transylvania*, *Walachia*, and *Moldavia*.

Siege of *Vienna*.

The trenches being opened, the *Othman* artillery played with such fury, that breaches were made in the walls, the outer works were taken, and it was thought, that, had the vizier proceeded with the same vigour as he begun, he must soon have become master of the place. The true reason why he did not, was most probably owing to his avarice. He had formed high ideas of the treasures concealed in *Vienna*; and as he knew the rapaciousness of the *Turkish* soldiery, if the place was taken by storm, he slackened the fury of the siege, and threw letters into the place, containing the most magnificent promises, and at the same time the most dreadful threatenings, to induce the garrison to surrender. It is thought by many, that, besides the motives of ambition and avarice, we have mentioned, the immense course of luxury, in which he was plunged, contributed not a little to his relaxing the operations; but this agrees ill with his general character. He found his greatest resistance from count *Staremberg*, whom the emperor, upon his retiring to *Lintz*, had appointed to be governor of *Vienna*; and who made most excellent dispositions for the defence of the place. He armed the citizens, and the students, who regularly mounted guard, under the command of a physician. The vizier ordered only small parties to the attacks of the bastions, who were easily repelled, or cut off; and he unwarily divulged the great expectations he had from the *German* treasures. Those expectations were confirmed by a series of mismanagements. He ordered proclamation to be made in his camp, that if his troops should force the walls of the city, they should immediately intrench themselves, without presuming to advance without his orders; and, all of a sudden, he retrenched the allowance of his soldiers for provisions, which became excessively dear in the

the camp, notwithstanding the immense magazines he had brought along with him. *Kara Mustapha* pretended at first, that he had retrenched the provisions, only that he might have sufficient to spare to the *Othmans*, who were to be left to garrison *Vienna* after it was taken ; but it soon appeared, that the *Austrian* garrisons had cut off all their supplies, which was the consequence, as *Tekeli* had foreseen, of his precipitate march for *Vienna*.

The janisaries coming to the knowledge of all this misconduct, would have mutinied, had not their aga and the paschas been in the vizier's interest. They could not however conceal their indignation, but called out to the *Germans*, "Come on infidels, the very sight of your hats will put us to flight." The scarcity becoming more intollerable every day, the vizier, to prevent a sedition, sent off a detachment of eight thousand men, with orders to join *Tekeli* and his *Hungarians*, who were at *Ternau*, with orders to besiege *Presburg* ; where the inhabitants seemed disposed to receive a garrison of discontented *Hungarians*. The duke of *Lorrain* had intelligence of this design, and sent off a reinforcement to the garrison of *Presburg*, the preserving of which was of the utmost consequence to the *Germans* : as it cut off the communication between the vizier's army and *Buda*, from whence he could have drawn vast plenty of provisions. But the duke received an account, that the reinforcement he sent to the garrison of the city had been beat, that the inhabitants had received a garrison of *Hungarian* malecontents ; and that *Tekeli* having joined the *Turks*, was preparing to besiege the castle of *Presburg*. Upon this, he detached prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, with a strong party, which coming up with *Tekeli*, defeated him with a considerable slaughter, and cut in pieces the *Turks* who were guarding a convoy of a thousand waggons laden with provisions for the use of the vizier's army ; all which fell into the hands of the imperialists.

The news of this defeat reaching the *Turkish* camp before *Vienna*, increased the spirit of mutiny there to such a degree, that the vizier found himself under the necessity of giving orders for a general assault, which, though very furious, proved ineffectual, through the superior knowledge of the *Germans* in springing mines. For some days, however, the assaults were renewed by the *Turks* with the greatest obstinacy, and though they were generally worsted, yet it was easily to be perceived, that, if the besieged were not relieved, the city must be taken. The besieged sent off an officer disguised like a *Turk*, to inform the duke of *Lorrain* of their situation. By a most masterly address he passed the *Turkish* camp, and reached that of the imperialists, where he gave his dispatches to the duke, who immediately returned the messenger, with assurances of speedy relief ; the receipt of which the besieged immediately signified by playing off sky rockets, a signal that was understood

flood by the *Austrian* army. Though we have no intimations from *Christian* writers, of the manner in which the *Turkish* army was all this time supplied with provisions; yet it seems certain, that *Tekeli* had found means to convey them by the *Danube*; for the siege, at this period, was carried on with greater fury than ever. The vizier had abandoned his dilatory mistaken precautions, and had actually made so many lodgments upon the works of the city, that, had it not been for some signals of approaching relief, which were given from the mountains of *Calemberg*, where the *Austrian* army lay, the besieged must have lost their spirits; but so much were they re-animated by those signals, that they drove the *Turks* from all their posts with incredible slaughter.

Which is
raised by
the king
of *Poland*
and the
Germans.

The infidels, by means of deserters, found out at last the meaning of those rockets to be, that relief was at hand; and therefore they prepared for a decisive battle. With this view, the vizier ordered *Tekeli* to join him with his *Hungarians*, which he declined to do; but upon muster, the *Turks* found that, during the siege, they had lost above forty thousand men. They then made another desperate, and their last, effort upon the city, but were repulsed as before, with prodigious loss; upon which they prepared for a general engagement. The fires upon the heights of *Calemberg* announcing the approach of the *Christian* army, just at a time when the besieged were so much exhausted, that they could hold out no longer; the vizier, who amidst the consternation of his officers and foldiers, retained his presence of mind, and intrepidity, summoned a council of war, to take the opinion of his chief officers, in what manner he should proceed. The pasha *Ibrahim*, the beglerbeg of *Buda*, declared himself for raising the siege, and marching against the *Christians*, but to keep upon the defensive, by the infantry making a rampart of trees cut from the neighbouring woods, and fortifying it with cannon, while the cavalry should attack the *Christians* on their flanks. This advice, though backed by most of the pashas, was rejected by the vizier. He alleged, that, by drawing off from siege, the garrison would level all their works, and repair the walls, and that the *Christian* force was so inconsiderable, that they durst not venture to attack him, if his army was fortified in the manner *Ibrahim* proposed; but that in their present situation, they must attack him or see the city taken before their eyes. He added, that the janisaries, if the siege was raised, could not be brought to re-enter the trenches, where so many of their fellow soldiers had perished; and that the autumnal rains, if set in, must oblige him to raise the siege, as they had formerly done *Soleyman* the Great. In this reasoning, *Ibrahim*, who was the only general in the army who was not daunted by the vizier's authority, answered, that, by leaving a few regiments to defend the works of the camp, which were in fact stronger than those of the city, they might be secure; but to this expedient, the vizier gave no other answer

answer than again producing his absolute powers under the sultan's hand. Upon the breaking up of the council, the vizier massacred all his *Christian* prisoners, who are said to have amounted to thirty thousand men.

On the eighth of *September* the king of *Poland*, who had now surmounted all the prejudices he had entertained against the emperor, having joined the auxiliary troops of the circles, arrived with his army at the heights of *Calemberg*; after passing the *Danube* without any resistance from the *Turks*. In his march he was joined by the imperialists, and other *Germans*, and the whole of the *Christian* army amounted to about sixty-five thousand fighting men; the imperialists being commanded by prince *Charles* of *Lorrain*. It has been generally allowed, that the vizier behaved in an unsoldier-like manner, in not disputing the passage of the *Danube*; and in contenting himself with sending ten thousand men to observe the motions of the *Christians*; but this omission, probably, was occasioned by the assurance he had of a victory, which he was in hopes would for ever exterminate the imperial power in *Germany*. On the eleventh of *September*, the day before that destined for the relief of *Vienna*, the order of battle was settled in a council of war, held among the *Christians*. The *Polanders* formed the right wing, the imperialists under the duke of *Lorrain*, the left, and in the center were placed the troops of the empire, under their respective princes. There the king of *Poland* in person took post; and in this order the whole *Christian* army descended from the heights of *Calemberg*. Had not *Kara Mustapha* been intoxicated by self opinion, he might have rendered this descent difficult, if not impracticable, by taking possession of the forest of *Vienna*, where he might have raised a battery that would have flanked the *Christian* army, which had made dispositions upon that supposition. Instead of that, the vizier extended his army from the *Danube* to the bottom of the mountain, and sent a party to attack count *Lessey*, who had raised a battery to secure a pass leading to *Vienna*; but they were repulsed by the duke *de Croy*, and this drew on the general engagement.

The vizier leaving a sufficient force to continue the siege, drew up his army likewise in three divisions. The pasha of *Buda* had the command of the left wing, the pasha of *Diyarbeker* of the right, and he himself commanded the center, where the janisaries were posted. Upon the first charge, the vizier had reason to repent that he had not followed the advice of the pasha of *Buda*. The *Turks* were every where driven from their open posts, which they had seized too late, and had neglected to fortify. This first advantage was pursued by the king of *Poland*, with irresistible fury. The *Turks* were attacked on all sides, and the *Christians*, from their manner of fighting, soon perceived that the day would be their own, which gave them incredible spirits. The vizier in person, at the head of thirty thousand

choice troops, attacked the division led by the king of *Poland*, who being seasonably supported by some battalions of the *Germans*, drove the infidels back to their camp, which was filled with confusion and dismay. The soldiers upon the wings of their army, seeing their center defeated, retired precipitately to their camp, without regarding the orders of their generals, and the janisaries who had been left to continue the siege, under pretence of defending their camp, left the lines, till at last the whole *Turkish* army joined, as it were by consent, in a total flight, which prevented the entire destruction of their troops, who suffered but inconsiderably in the battle. The truth is, though this victory was glorious for the *Christians*, and for the king of *Poland* in particular, yet, it was greatly owing to the dislike which the janisaries had to the vizier, and it is said, that of the *Christians* not above two hundred were killed, and of the *Turks* a thousand.

Booty
found in
their
camp.

When the vizier saw the division which he commanded broken, and unsupported by his two wings, he retired to his tent, which he found deserted, and securing the standard of *Mohammed*, he fled after the rest of his army. The *Christian* generals, amazed at the little resistance that had been made by the *Turks*, thought that an ambuscade had been laid for them, and this rendered them cautious of entering the *Turkish* camp along with the fugitives. But about seven in the evening their apprehensions were removed, by receiving undoubted intelligence, that the *Turks* had entirely abandoned their camp, and were flying with incredible speed to join their countrymen, who were still blockading *Raas*. The king and prince *Waldeck*, a *German* general, then entered their camp, and were amazed at the immense booty which it contained, of which we have the following general estimate. There were six thousand five hundred tents, four thousand five hundred barrels of powder, six thousand weight of lead, twenty thousand granado shells, eight thousand hand granados, eleven thousand shovels and pickaxes, one thousand six hundred weight of match, two thousand five hundred fire balls, five thousand two hundred weight of pitch, eleven thousand weight of oil of petroleum, and tar, five hundred thousand of linseed oil, nine thousand five hundred of salt petre, five thousand one hundred pieces of coarse linnen, two hundred thousand hair sacks, for carrying earth and sand, eight hundred and ten weight of iron bars and horse-shoes, one hundred ladles for melting pitch, two hundred weight of packthread, with thongs made of camels hides and buffler leather, for binding, four thousand sheep-skins, fifty-two sacks of cotton, one thousand five hundred empty wool-sacks, two thousand halberts, four hundred scythes and sickles, five thousand six hundred barrels of guns for the janisaries, two thousand plates of iron for covering targets, one hundred and twenty three hundred weight of grease and tallow, two hundred and thirty

thirty powder horns, two thousand six hundred bags for powder, four pair of smith's bellows, eight thousand carts, one thousand great bombs, eighteen thousand cannon balls, one hundred and eighty cannon and mortars.

It is said, that the *Turks* who fled from *Vienna*, travelled fifty four hours without meat or drink, till they reached their countrymen before *Yawarin*, where the vizier had full leisure to reflect on the madness of his own conduct. To palliate it as well as he could, he threw his miscarriage upon the cowardice or treachery of his general officers, particularly the pasha of *Buda*, whom he accused of having misbehaved at the head of twelve thousand men, sent to attack the *Christians* upon their descent from the heights of *Calemborg*. The sultan was then at *Belgrade*, where he received this apology from his vizier; and the pasha of *Buda* understanding what the contents of the dispatches were, recriminated in other letters, which laid before the emperor a true account of the vizier's misconduct. But before any answer could be received to them, the vizier ordered the pasha of *Buda*, and fifty officers of his army, to be strangled. The reason he gave out was, their having, in a manner, forced him to undertake the siege of *Vienna*, and then not supporting him in carrying it on. He then made the pasha *Kara Mehemed*, governor of *Buda*, and encamped under the walls of that city. After that, the *Christian* army went in search of the *Othmans*, to besiege *Barkan*, a fort opposite to *Gran*; but the *Poles* taking the vanguard, paid little regard to discipline, and advancing without being supported by the *Germans* under the duke of *Lorraine*, were defeated, with the loss of two thousand men, and all of them must have been cut off had not the *Germans* come up to their relief. Next The *Turks* day, the *Poles* and *Germans* being now united, a bloody defeated. battle ensued, in which the weight of the *Othman* fury fell upon the *Poles*, at whom they were particularly exasperated, but the latter being again supported by the *Germans* under the duke of *Lorraine*, the *Turks* were completely defeated, with the loss of ten thousand of their best troops, and *Barkan* was taken. This great victory produced so large a booty to the *Christians*, that the *Poles* and *Germans* quarrelled about the division of the plunder, and were with some difficulty reconciled by count *Staremborg*, who had so bravely defended *Vienna*.

The defeat of the *Turks*, raised such a spirit of mutiny among their surviving troops, that the grand vizier was obliged to have recourse to various artifices to screen himself from the resentment of his soldiers. In the mean while, the siege of *Gran* was formed by the imperialists, and *Poles*, and taken chiefly by the courage of the *Bavarian* troops. The duke of *Lorraine*, however, granted the *Othmans*, who held out the place for five days, an honourable capitulation; and treated them with great politeness. It is probable, that

had it not been for the approach of winter, and the growing misunderstanding among the *Christian* troops, the infidels at this time must have been driven out of *Hungary*. *Leventz*, *Rabonitz*, *Probenz* on the *Drave*, *Essegbet*, and *Brevenitz*, near *Kanisia*, surrendered to the *Christians*, and above three thousand *Turks* were cut in pieces at *Setzin*, which was stormed without a capitulation. Besides the above-mentioned places, many others fell into the hands of the imperialists before they went into winter quarters. So many reiterated losses on the side of the *Turks*, reduced them to variance among themselves. Their great officers threw their miscarriage upon each other, but the prime vizier, to exculpate himself, blamed *Tekeli*, for advising him to undertake the siege of *Vienna*. *Tekeli* would gladly have come to a good understanding with the imperialists, but the haughtiness of the court of *Vienna* would hear of no terms but an absolute submission. All this while, the most dreadful cruelties were committed by *Petreczeicus*, the *Moldavian* prince, who had revolted from the *Turks*, upon the *Crim* and *Bujak Tartars*; who, soon after the battle of *Vienna*, severely revenged themselves, and would have cut off *Petreczeicus*, and his confederates, had not the *Tartar* horse been so much fatigued that they could not continue the pursuit. *Dukay*, another *Moldavian* prince in the *Turkish* interest, was carried prisoner to *Warsaw*, where he died in confinement; and *Demetrius Cantaczenus*, a descendant of the ancient *Greek* emperors, was substituted in his room.

The sultan *Mohammed*, intent only on his pleasures, was agreeably amusing himself with the pleasures of hunting, while his armies were thus destroyed; but he was kept in the dark by the vizier, who, as long as he could dissemble, gave him hourly expectations of his troops being put in possession of *Vienna*; and so much was the sultan persuaded of the truth of this intelligence, that he had made preparations for a solemn rejoicing in his capital. A few days undeceived him, for he received letters from his vizier, with an account of the dreadful defeats of his troops, and the loss of his chief fortresses in *Hungary*; but throwing all the blame upon *Tekeli*, and the pasha *Ibrahim*. With those letters, the vizier sent immense presents to the sultana *Valide*, and the principal courtiers about the sultan's person, which had so great an effect, that his sublime highness confirmed him in the viziership, and approved of his putting the pasha *Ibrahim* to death. Those stratagems, however, did not long avail him, for while he was contriving how to get rid of the aga of the janisaries, and other great officers, some generals, who had escaped from the great slaughter of the *Othman* troops in *Germany*, and *Hungary*, informed the sultan of the truth. The pasha *Ibrahim*'s widow, who was sister to the sultan, was at the head of the vizier's enemies; but so steadily did that minister persevere in his own justification, that he

he gained admittance to the sultan, who signed a writing, promising never to take off his head upon any suggestions that could be brought against him. *Ibrahim's* widow understanding this, travelled in disguise from *Buda*, the place of her husband's government, to *Adrianople*, where the sultan resided, to throw herself at his feet, for justice against the murderer of her husband. When she arrived at *Adrianople*, she heard of the death of the sultana *Valide*, upon whose friendship she had great dependence; but she had the pleasure to be informed, that that princess, upon her death bed, had cautioned her son against the vizier, and had exposed his malversations. To complete his ruin, *Tekli*, alarmed at the accusations which he understood had been laid against him by the vizier, came to the sultan's court, where he justified himself from all the charges against him; and the janisaries tumultuously demanded the vizier's head.

Mohammed was, by this time, sufficiently awakened to a The grand sense of his own danger, and his minister's wickedness; but vizier was at a loss how to proceed. He was afraid of having re- strangled course to violent measures, and endeavoured to pacify the janisaries with large sums of money; but in the mean time he called a council of state, to deliberate on the present situation of affairs. The musti, and the great officers who composed this council, or divan, were unanimously of opinion that the vizier should be strangled; but the sultan making some difficulty, the janisaries again rose in tumult, and demanded his head; and this determined his fate. He was then at *Belgrade* recruiting his army, and not without hopes of striking some blow that might yet save him from destruction. The sultan having signed the sentence of his death, committed the execution of it to the kye-haya of the capiji. The manner of the vizier's submitting to the bowstring, is an amazing proof of the *Ottomans* obedience to the will of their superiors. This kye-haya, with two, or at most three attendants, privately set out for *Belgrade*, where he was to take off the head of the greatest subject of the empire; while commanding a powerful army. When he approached *Belgrade*, he privately dispatched a courier to the aga of the janisaries, recommending to him to dispose matters so that the execution should be performed decently and without noise. The aga, the kye-haya, and the two executioners who attended them, arrived at the vizier's palace, where, though he more than guessed their errand, he received them with the utmost respect, and at their demand delivered up the standard and seals of his office, and submitting his neck to the bowstring, he was strangled; not without making some protestations of his innocence. Many of his friends shared the same fate, the chief of whom was the testerdar, or great treasurer; and their estates, which were confiscated to the sultan, were thought to amount to

four millions of money; the seasonable distribution of which prevented a revolution in the empire.

A new
grand
vizier ap-
pointed.

The aga *Seličtar*, a person of great accomplishments, was offered the seals of the viziership; but that high post was now thought to be so dangerous, that he excused himself with a well turned compliment, of his not being able to survive the thoughts of a separation from the person of his adorable sovereign; upon which the seals were conferred upon the pasha kaymakan, *Kara Ibrahim*. This minister entered upon a charge equally dangerous as disagreeable. Universal corruption had overspread the empire, and little regard was paid to the chief officers of state. The new grand vizier had married one of the sultan's daughters, who was not above eight years of age, and found himself involved in inextricable difficulties. Being of himself a wise, moderate man, he was inclined to make up matters with the *Christian* princes, that the empire, which was exhausted by its losses, might have some respite. This advice was so disagreeable to the sultan, that he threatened to hang him up in his robes of state, if he did not proceed in his revenge against the

Oppresses
the *Chris-*
tians.

Christians. The *French* ambassador was the first who felt the sultan's fury, by being committed a prisoner to the custody of the chaush pasha, on pretence of some damages received by the *Turks*, from the *French* ships at *Scio*. The ambassador, at first, made a resolute stand, but was obliged to submit to determined force, and all he could obtain was, that the satisfaction he was to make should be performed by his secretary, which was done with great formality. The secretary laid presents before the sultan's feet, supposed to amount to two hundred thousand crowns, though not worth the tenth part of that sum; while the imperial usher proclaimed aloud, *Behold the agents sent from the king of France, to humble themselves before our magnificent emperor, and in the name of their king to offer their presents, in satisfaction for that affront and insult which the French ships offered at the port of Scio*. Sir John Finch, the *English* ambassador, was in like manner obliged to pay some unjust demands made upon the *English Turkey* company; and the *Dutch*, and *Venetian* ambassadors were forced to submit to the like imposition.

The *Venetians* resented the injuries offered to their ministers, and, joining in a league with the emperor of *Germany*, and the king of *Poland*, against the *Turks*, they declared war, and the *Venetian* ambassador had the boldness to give the declaration into the hands of the kaymakan; but he afterwards left *Constantinople* in disguise. The *Turkish* empire was very ill prepared to sustain this confederacy. Their marine was in a most despicable condition, and their troops were few, and dispirited. The vizier apologized for what had happened to the *Venetians*; but they refused to hear of any terms without the concurrence of their allies. The

vizer

vizier, however, took the best measures he could to face the storm. He restored the *French* and *English* nations to their usual privileges. He appointed the ablest generals to command the *Othman* armies, against the *Poles* and *Germans*, and the high admiral to act against the *Venetians*, while he himself continued at *Constantinople*, to prevent any intrigues that could be formed for his destruction; and gave all his dependents strict orders to communicate to the sultan, only the agreeable part of public occurrences. In the mean while, the duke of *Lorraine*, the imperial general, about the middle of *June* 1684, at the head of forty thousand men, marched to *Vicegrade*, and gave several defeats to the *Turkish* generals, who attempted to interrupt his progress. In the beginning of *July*, *Witzen* surrendered to the imperialists and *Poles*, who again defeated the *Turks*, and soon after formed the siege of *Buda*.

The fortress of *Pest*, opposite on the *Danube* to *Buda*, was taken by the imperialists in a few hours; but the *Turkish* general *Shaytan Ibrahim*, attempting to raise the siege, or to succour the city, at the head of eighty thousand men, was defeated with great loss. A great number of skirmishes followed, generally to the disadvantage of the *Othmans*. But the latter seem to have been well commanded; for when the duke of *Lorraine* summoned the governor of *Buda* to surrender, on pain of his garrison receiving no quarter, he was so far from complying, that he ordered forty imperialists to be hanged on the bastions of the city, though the pasha seraskier *Shaytan Ibrahim*, all this time continued at the head of a powerful army, and made repeated attempts to raise the siege. He was seconded by the rains which fell during the month of *September*; and on the first of *November*, the imperialists finding the *Turkish* garrison to be above ten thousand strong, and that they could not cut off their communication with the *Danube*, raised the siege, and retired into winter quarters, with the loss of twenty-five thousand men. During this siege, count *Lesley* took *Wirrowit*, and beat the *Turks* in two battles. At the same time, *Tekli* was defeated by the imperialists in *Upper Hungary*. To counterbalance those losses, the pasha *Ayncji Soleyman* defeated the *Poles*, at *Babadaghi*, and penetrated into *Moldavia*, and *Walakbia*. A grand design was then on foot to invade *Constantinople* itself, by means of *Serban Cantakuzenus*, the *Turkish* governor of *Walakbia*. This prince had entered into engagements with the emperor of *Germany*, and the czar of *Muscovy*, to drive the *Othmans* out of *Europe*, on condition of his being declared emperor of *Constantinople*, the imperial seat of his forefathers. For this purpose, he had prepared a train of artillery, and raised twenty-four thousand men; but it was thought, that he was poisoned by the practices of the *Turks*. His brother *Demetrius Cantakuzenus*, governor of *Moldavia*, was deposed at the same time by the *Turkish* seraskier,

seraskier, who appointed *Constantine Cantemir*, father to the historian, to succeed him. This year, *Sobieski* king of *Poland*, surprized *Quancze*, upon the river *Tyras*, which was only at the distance of two hours march from *Kaminiek*; but being hemmed in by the seraskier, he made so inglorious a campaign, that the *Turks*, in derision, said he had been bribed by the *French* king, the only friend they had among the *Christian* potentates. The *Venetians* were more fortunate, for they obtained great advantages in *Dalmatia*. Their fleet was commanded by *Morosini*, the same who had surrendered *Candia*; and who, by his brave actions on this occasion, effaced all suspicions of his former conduct. He took *Leukos*, or *Santa Maura*, an island and city in the *Ionian Sea*, on the sixth of *August*; and afterwards, the *Venetians* subdued several ports of *Epirus*, and the *Morcia*, where they defeated the army of the *Turks*.

and Mol.
davia.

Those successes of the *Venetians*, gave the grand vizier but little disquiet, as the *Poles* and *Germans* were now disabled from acting, by the great losses they had sustained. In the beginning of the year 1685, *Schultz*, an imperial general, was entirely defeated by *Tekeli*; but the duke of *Lorrain* beat the seraskier of *Hungary*, and took *New Hausel*, where all the garrison, which consisted, at first, of three thousand men, were put to the sword, excepting two hundred. This struck the *Turks* with such consternation, that they abandoned the defence of *Novigrade*, and *Vicegrade*, which fell into the hands of the imperialists. Those losses daunted the seraskier of *Hungary*, (who had hitherto bravely supported the honour of his master's arms) so greatly, that he made advances for a peace with the imperialists, but they were rejected. Count *Lesley*, and general *Schultz*, were equally successful in *Sclavonia*, and the *Lower Hungary*; but, though *Tekeli* and his troops were every where routed, they chose to retire to *Kaschau*, and to wait for the *Turkish* reinforcements, rather than submit to the imperialists. On the sixth of *October*, *Kaschau* was invested by *Caprara*, the imperial general; and *Tekeli* sent repeated dispatches for assistance to the pasha of *Waradin*, who desired his advice about the best method for relieving the city. *Tekeli* accordingly set out with about seven thousand men, and met the pasha near *Waradin*; where, after receiving the greatest honours, he was arrested by the pasha, and sent in chains to *Constantinople*. The pasha then sent for *Petrozzi*, who was lieutenant-general to *Tekeli*, and was desired to take upon him the command of the *Hungarian* army. *Petrozzi*, and the other officers, who had been stunned by the faithless conduct of the *Turks*, discovered no immediate shew of resentment; but upon their return to their camp, *Petrozzi* held forth the villainy that had been practised towards *Tekeli*, so effectually, that their army resolved to take service under *Caprara*, who was still carrying on the siege of *Kaschau*.

Caprara

Caprara received them with joy, and the garrison hearing of the defection of their countrymen from the *Turks* to the imperialists, threw open their gates to the besiegers, and put them in possession of the place.

It is thought, with good reason, that *Tekeli* was arrested, Campaign and imprisoned, by way of atonement for the seraskier's own in *Moldavia* ill success, to save his head at the *Othman* court. *Tekeli*, *via* however, had his agents at the same court, who justified him so well, that orders were sent from *Constantinople* to reinstate him with honour in his command. In the meanwhile, the king of *Poland* tampered with prince *Constantine Cantemir*, to revolt from the *Turks*, which that prince appeared inclinable to do, if he could have brought the states of the country, whose wives and children were hostages for their fidelity at the porte, to join him. This being found impracticable, the king sent an army under the command of two generals, *Potocky*, and *Yablanowski*, to subdue *Moldavia*. *Cantemir*, not much to his honour, kept a private correspondence with them, and advised them to begin with the siege of *Kaminiek*. The *Poles* despised this advice, and expressed a contempt for all the *Othman* power, advising *Cantemir* at the same time to join them, under the pain of being treated as an enemy. A bridge was run over the *Tyras* by the *Poles*, who were soon encountered by twenty-five thousand *Turks*, fifty thousand *Tartars*, and five thousand *Moldavians*. Both armies halted, and by the management of *Cantemir*, the *Turks* might have been persuaded not to have hazarded a battle; but the *Poles* imputing their caution to timidity, attacked the *Moldavians* under *Cantemir*, who being supported by the *Turks*, obtained, according to his son's account, a compleat victory. This was the only advantage the *Othmans* gained during the whole campaign; which was, in other respects, so unfortunate for them, that the *Maynottæ*, a people of the *Morea*, revolted from them; and the *Venetian* general count *de St. Paul*, besieged and took *Koron*, and put all the garrison to the sword. While *Koron* was besieged, the *Maynottæ*, who are reported to be the bravest people of *Greece*, and descended from the antient *Spartans*, besieged and took *Zarnata*, and *Gommenizza*; but were repulsed before *Zing*. Many other actions happened in the *Morea*, with various success; but they are differently represented by the *Turks*, and *Venetians*, and are of themselves unimportant in their consequences.

Those unfavourable events, occasioned vast uneasiness to the grand vizier, who had no other way to shelter himself and *Hungary*. from the fate of his predecessor, but by putting to death the generals who commanded in the unfortunate expeditions. The only pasha who held out against the bloody politics of the grand vizier, was *Soleyman*, who had defeated the *Poles*, and was thereby become extremely popular in the empire. The vizier not being able to destroy him, persuaded the sultan

sultan to appoint him seraskier, or general, against the *Germans*; and he was succeeded in his command in *Poland* by *Buikkli Mustapha*. Upon this appointment, the kisser aga, who was *Soleyman's* friend, gave him intimation, that his preferment was a trap to ruin him; and advised him to repair to *Constantinople*. Being admitted, after his arrival, to an audience of the sultan, he laid before him the dangerous state of his empire, and being seconded by the kisser aga, or chief of the black eunuch's, *Soleyman* was appointed grand vizier, and *Kara Ibrahim* was banished to *Rhodes*. It is certain, that, when this removal took place, the *Othman* empire was in so deplorable a condition, that even the horse-furniture in the imperial stables, made of plate, was coined into money. The new vizier knew the difficulties he had to struggle with, and that the imperialists were daily gaining ground in *Hungary*, and *Germany*. He ordered all the gold and silver vessels in the palace to be coined, and raised an army; but one of the first measures of his administration, was to free *Tekeli* from his imprisonment, and to reinstate him in all his former honours. That nobleman being thus delivered, endeavoured to raise the siege of *Mongatz*, which was defended against *Caprara* by his lady, with such invincible resolution, that, without his assistance, she obliged the *Germans* to abandon their enterprise, about the middle of *April* 1686.

Siege of
Buda.

On the eleventh of *July*, the same year, the imperialists made dispositions for besieging *Buda*. This enterprise was greatly favoured by the dejection of the *Turks*, through a long series of miscarriages, and mismanagements. Several actions, all of them to the disadvantage of the *Othmans*, preceded the siege, which was at last formed by the imperial general *Staremborg*; and on the thirteenth of the same month, the *Turks* burnt down the lower town, having retired to the upper, which was well provided for a defence, and garrisoned by eight thousand men, under the pasha of the place. On the fourteenth, the duke of *Lorrain* took upon himself the command of the siege, and the seraskier, who attended his motions with an army, found it so much dispirited, that he retired to the distance of three leagues, with an intention (as he could not raise the siege) of throwing succours into the place. The pasha of *Maroz* was appointed to that service; but he was defeated by the *Germans*. The siege was then vigorously pressed by the latter. The garrison made a brave defence, and the pasha of *Buda* being killed, he was succeeded in his command by *Shaytan Ibrahim*. This general was then eighty years of age, and incomparably the best officer the *Turks* had in the field; but was considerably indebted for his advancement to Sir *Jonathan Daxos*, an *English* merchant. Several sallies were made from the town, and some with success, on the part of the *Turks*; the seraskier all the while hanging, with a large
body

body of troops upon the skirts of the *Christian* army. This obliged the duke of *Lorraine* to divide his troops; he took the command of one part of them, with whom he faced the seraskier, and left the other division to continue the siege, under *Staremburg*. This encouraged the duke of *Lorraine* to give orders for battering the town in breach, which was executed with vast success by the baron *de Asti*, who made himself master of the lower town, and the castle. On the twenty-sixth of *July*, the besiegers were advanced within sixty paces of the counterscarp, and both they and the besieged underwent vast difficulties. Every day produced sallies, in which the *Turkish* troops behaved so bravely, that had it not been for a seasonable reinforcement of *Bavarian* infantry, the siege must have been raised. The duke of *Lorraine*, exasperated at the unexpected resistance he met with, sent a desperate kind of a message to the garrison, threatening, that, if they did not surrender, all within the city should be indiscriminately put to the sword. *Shaytan*, the commandant of *Buda*, treated this message with so much disdain, that he ordered forty *Christians* to be put to death on the ramparts of the city, in sight of the *Christian* army; and sent for answer to the summons, that he would treat all the *Christians* who fell into his hands in the same manner, without either giving or receiving quarter. The siege then went on with redoubled fury, till such numbers of the *Christian* officers were destroyed, that the undertaking was looked upon as impracticable, especially after the arrival of a new vizier, with a fresh army of sixty thousand *Turks*. But in the mean while, the chief magazine of the besieged blew up, and several bodies of the janisaries, sent to enter the place, being defeated; the *Othman* army, both without and within the city, was entirely dispirited, and at last hung out a white flag. The *Germans*, who had suffered incredible hardships during the siege, were then intent upon storming the place, and disregarding the signal, entered it sword in hand; and the pasha *Apti*, who had succeeded *Shaytan* in the command, being killed in the breach, the place was taken by storm. About two thousand *Turks* fortified themselves within their works, and resolutely demanded quarter, which, after a council of war was held, was granted them; and they were the only *Othmans* who were saved from the sword. which is taken.

Buda being thus taken, in sight of the grand vizier, who was unable to relieve it, and with tears lamented the loss of it; the duke of *Lorraine* sent one division of his army, under the prince of *Baden*, into the *Lower Hungary*, and another, under the generals *Caraffa*, and *Heusler*, into the upper. The prince of *Baden*, on the fifteenth of *September*, took *Simonthorn*, and, soon after, *Kaposwiwar* by storm. He next attacked and took *Quinque Ecclesiae*, or the *Five Churches*; and burned and destroyed a vast number of other places belonging

Unsuccessful
campaign
of the
Poles.

ing to the *Turks* in the *Lower Hungary*. *Caraffa*, and *Heussler*, were equally fortunate in *Upper Hungary*, where *Veterani*, another of the imperial generals, after defeating the vizier with great loss, took *Seghedin*. In the mean while, the emperor of *Germany*, that he might improve the advantages which so many victories gave him, entered into a negotiation with two czars of *Russia*, *John* and *Peter*, the latter of whom was afterwards the famous emperor of that name. As they had some differences with the *Poles*, the negotiation met with several rubs; but at last the *German* emperor prevailed upon them to give up to the czars, *Kiow*, and *Smolensko*. Upon this, *Sobieski* again marched an army into *Moldavia*, where he made a new attempt upon prince *Cantemir*, to declare in his favour. This prince, as before, expressed vast affection for the *Christian* cause, and promised to do, underhand, all that was in his power to favour the *Poles*; but declined doing any thing openly till such time as *Sobieski* had defeated both the *Turks* and the *Tartars*. It appears that, at the time *Cantemir* returned this answer, he was actually in the *Othman* service; but all the benefit which *Sobieski* reaped from his friendship, amounted to a few days of jollity, which he spent at *Jessi*, upon the provisions that had been there laid in for his use by that prince.

Danger of
Cantemir.

The seraskier *Mustapha*, at last, discovered *Cantemir's* practices with the *Poles*, and threatened to lay *Moldavia* waste, and to treat him as a rebel; but *Cantemir* found means to elude his rage, by again joining his camp. *Sobieski*, by this time, began to feel the inconveniency of devouring the magazines that had been laid up for him at *Jessi*. His army was in want of provisions, and he repassed the *Pruth* in hopes of seizing some magazines belonging to the *Tartars*. He was followed by the seraskier, who surrounded his army; and it was with difficulty that he repassed the same river, and thereby saved his army; but was guilty of many inhumanities against the *Moldavians*, owing perhaps, to *Cantemir's* treachery; as there is little reason to believe, that he would be more faithful to the *Poles*, than he was to the *Turks*, under whom he held his command. Even the most sacred places were not free from his violations, but the inhabitants were sufficiently revenged upon him, by the epidemical distemper which broke out in his army, and the disgraceful losses he met with in his retreat.

Campaign
of the
Venetians.

All this while, the *Venetians* were carrying on a brisk war against the *Turks*, and took *Ottokh*, where they put all the garrison to the sword. After this, the kapudan pasha, or high admiral of the *Othmans*, made an attempt, but without success, upon *Kielassa*, which was relieved by the *Venetian* fleet, while their general count *Coningsmark*, after twice defeating the seraskier of the *Morea*, besieged and took *Modon*; where he found one hundred pieces of cannon, with vast magazines of provisions. *Microfini*, another *Venetian* general, laid

laid siege to *Napoli di Romania*, and *Coningsmark* beat the seraskier who was advancing to its relief; and after several very obstinate battles, the place was surrendered to the *Venetians*. Upon the close of this campaign, which had been very unfortunate for the *Turks*, the sultan sent a minister to negotiate a treaty with the emperor of *Germany*; but the latter refused to listen to any terms without the participation of the *Poles*, and the *Venetians*. This disappointment obliged the sultan's ministers to have recourse to very oppressive measures; and both the *Germans*, and *Venetians*, in the beginning of the year 1687, obtained such advantages, that even the inhabitants of *Constantinople* became apprehensive for their own safety, and at last, proceeded to sedition, demanding the deposition of the sultan himself. This alarming news obliged him to repair immediately to *Constantinople*, where he laid the blame of all the public miscarriages upon his ministers; and to quell the sedition, he sold all the jewels in his treasury, and gave the produce of them to his troops, to an immense value. But this liberality reached no farther than to those who partook of it, nor could it revive a warlike spirit in the rest of the *Othman* empire; for, of forty thousand troops who were expected from *Asia*, not above six thousand arrived at *Constantinople*. A negotiation was thereupon set on foot by the vizier, who offered to give up even *Tekeli's* person; but nothing would content the emperor less than six millions of gold, (meaning we suppose ducats) and an absolute cession of all the places the *Othmans* held in *Hungary*; upon which the war went on. *Soleyman*, in this campaign, shewed great abilities as a general, for though he was at the head of no more than fifty thousand dispirited troops; and though the duke of *Lorrain*, who was reckoned one of the best generals in *Europe*, commanded sixty-four thousand men, all of them well disciplined, and flushed with victories; yet, he chose his camp so judiciously under the fortifications of *Essek*, that the duke of *Lorrain*, when he passed the *Drave*, in order to attack him, found himself under a necessity of intrenching his own army; and the *Turkish* cannon was so well served by *French* engineers, that the *Germans* were actually beat, and forced to repass the *Drave* with considerable loss. The *Othmans* impetuosity did not suffer *Soleyman* to make all the advantage he might have derived from this action; though they pursued the *Germans* so furiously, that they were drawn from their advantageous situation, to fight upon equal terms. Both armies behaved with great intrepidity in this battle, which was fought on the seventh of *August* 1687, at *Mohatz*; but the *German* discipline prevailed over the fury of the *Othmans*, which as first was next to irresistible. The elector of *Bavaria*, and prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, distinguished themselves greatly against the janisaries, and the ipahis, whose spirits beginning to flag, were first put into confusion, and

and then driven back on their camp, which the *Germans* entered at the same time, when the rout of the *Othmans* was completed. Eight thousand of the janisaries, with the aga at their head, were killed; three thousand of their other troops were drowned in the *Drave*, and two thousand taken prisoners; while the imperialists lost no more than one thousand men in the last day's action, and remained masters of the *Turkish* camp; which, besides sixty-seven pieces of cannon, contained amazing quantities of all kinds of ammunition and provisions.

Cam-
paign in
Hungary
unfortu-
nate for
the *Turks*.

The vizier, notwithstanding his defeat, acted as an able general. He reinforced the garrison of *Essek*, left six thousand men to guard the bridge of *Peterwaradin*, and retreated to *Belgrade*, there to recruit his army. The duke of *Lorraine* finding himself unable, from these dispositions made by the vizier, to advance farther on that side, made a feint, as if he intended to besiege *Temeswar*; which drew the *Turkish* army down to defend that city. The vizier being thus weakened on the side of *Sclavonia* and *Servia*, *Dunewald*, an imperial general, passed the *Drave* at the head of ten thousand men, and besieged and took *Burzin*. He next attacked *Wappo*, and not only reduced that place but *Essek* itself, which was deserted by its garrison, as were almost all the other forts in *Sclavonia* belonging to the *Turks*; so that it was entirely reduced by the imperialists. The duke of *Lorraine*, with the main body of his army, was, all this while, observing the motions of the *Turks* in *Hungary*; but his army suffered prodigiously through the wetness of the season, and he was obliged to make good his quarters in *Transylvania*. *Mikhael Apaffi* was then waywode, or governor, of that province under the *Turks*; and he had, in the beginning of the campaign, entered into a correspondence with the *Germans*, to whom he promised winter-quarters in his government. When the duke of *Lorraine* advanced to *Zolnoï*, he sent to demand the performance of this promise; which *Apaffi*, either because he saw the weak state of the duke's army, or being really afraid of the *Turks*, evaded; alledging, that his promise extended no farther than quarters for a few regiments: upon which, the duke entered *Transylvania*; where he took *Klausenburg* and *Hermanstadt* with little or no loss; and, the other chief places of the province opening their gates to him, *Apaffi* and the states concluded a treaty, by which they recognized the emperor of *Germany's* authority.

While the war was thus carrying on so much to the disadvantage of the *Othmans* in *Hungary*, *Sclavonia*, and *Transylvania*, the *Russians*, who were in the confederacy against the *Turks*, invaded *Crim Tartary* under prince *Galliczin*; who lost forty thousand of his best troops, partly by the sword and partly by diseases; and, some disturbances happening at home, he was recalled, as is said, by the princess *Sophia*,
who

who managed the affairs of that empire under her brothers *Ivan* and *Peter*. The *Poles* were not more fortunate under *James Sobieski*, their king's son, who besieged *Kaminiek*, but, upon the advance of the *Turks*, made an inglorious retreat. The fourth *Christian* confederate against the *Ottomans* (the *Venetians*) had better fortune in the *Morea*; where their general, count *Coningsmark*, entirely defeated the *seraskier*, and reduced all that had formerly belonged to them in that province, the important city of *Patras* being the first to submit. The *Venetians* owed these advantages chiefly to their superiority at sea in the *Gulph of Patras*. *Mehomed Pasha* surrendered the castle of *Rumelia*, but first blew up its walls. The fort of *Morea* capitulated at the sight of the *Venetian* fleet; and, at last, the strong city of *Lepanto*, after a slight cannonade from the *Venetian* gallies, surrendered likewise. These four important fortresses were reduced in the space of twenty-four hours, and all their artillery fell into the hands of the conquerors.

Morofini, the *Venetian* admiral, next appeared before the castles *Torneze* and *Mistira*, which immediately surrendered; as are those in and he bombarded, but with little effect, *Napoli di Malvasia*, *Morea* and the strongest fort in all the *Morea*. He then sailed to *Corinth*, *Dalmatia*, the reduction of which he knew would shut the *Turks* out of the *Morea*, and be followed by that of their other forts. The *seraskier* who commanded in *Corinth*, though he had a garrison of four thousand men, abandoned that city after damaging its works and endeavouring to set fire to the magazine, which was extinguished by *Morofini*. As to the *seraskier*, he barbarously put to death all the *Greeks* who fell into his hands, and retired towards *Thebes*. Soon after this, *Coningsmark* advanced by land against *Athens*, as *Morofini* did by sea; and, landing his men within six miles of the city, began to throw into it red hot bullets; one of which falling into a magazine, blew it up: upon which the garrison, consisting of six thousand men, capitulated; and were allowed to march out of the city with what they could carry, but without their arms. Some *Turks*, who had intermarried with the *Greeks*, remained in the place, and embraced the *Christian* religion. *Megara* was next surrendered to the conquerors, who burnt it. The war was, all this time, going on between the *Turks* and the *Venetians* in *Dalmatia*; where the pasha of *Bosnia* laid siege to *Zing*, but raised it upon the approach of the *Venetian* army. *Cornaro*, their general, being joined by the pope's and the *Venetian* gallies, then formed the siege of *Castello Nuovo*; which the pasha of *Bosnia* attempted to relieve; but he was obliged to retire with the loss of three hundred of his best men. Notwithstanding this, the place made a brave defence against the *Christians*, who entering the city by storm, both that and the castle capitulated. The *Christian* writers have greatly magnified the courage and conduct of their generals and soldiers in all those actions

actions and sieges ; and it must be owned that a total despondency appears, at this time, to have prevailed through all the *Othman* empire.

The army in Hungary The effects of this despondency were soon seen. As the *Turks* generally impute all their defeats and disgraces to their commanding officers, the vizier *Soleyman*, after losing the battle of *Mohatz*, perceiving them ripe for a mutiny, endeavoured to appease them, partly by giving them money, and partly by finding them employment. The important town of *Erla*, or *Agria*, had been, for some time, blocked up by a small body of the imperialists ; and, being cut off from all provisions, was in danger of surrendering, when the vizier ordered one thousand janisaries and five hundred *spahis* to relieve the place, who actually refused to go upon the service unless he marched at their head. *Soleyman* saw it was in vain to contend with a spirit which had grown too strong to be subdued. According to the *Turkish* historians, he imputed all the miscarriages of the late campaign to the bad conduct of certain pashas, who, hearing they had been complained of at court, sought to prevent their destruction by fomenting the discontents of the army. At the head of this mutiny was one *Siavus*, or *Chiaush Pasha* ; and, according to the *Christian* writers, one *Osman Pasha*, who peremptorily demanded of the vizier three months pay that was due to the janisaries. He informed them that the money was on the road, and that they should be paid in a few days ; but this did not satisfy the mutineers, who demanded, either to be immediately paid, or, that he should resign the viziership. The vizier found some pretext for withdrawing ; upon which the mutineers immediately declared *Siavus Pasha* their general. According to the *Christian* accounts, the chief mutineers intended to murder *Soleyman* ; and, entering his tent, killed several of his attendants ; but he himself escaped in a boat down the *Danube*.

The mutineers dispatched a messenger to inform the sultan of what they had done ; but, before his arrival, *Soleyman* had been at court, where he was well received by *Mohammed*, to whom he related the story of his deposition, and laid the chief blame upon *Siavus*. The sultan being satisfied of *Soleyman's* innocence, desired him, with tears in his eyes, to conceal himself, in the house of a friend, from all but him and the *kisler aga*, which he obeyed. Two days after his flight, *Siavus Pasha* had a consultation with the heads of the mutiny ; where the *Turkish* historians say that a plan was formed for deposing the sultan himself. The *Christians*, on the other hand, think that *Siavus* did not intend to go so far, and, that he joined in the scheme only because he saw himself in danger from the army, if he opposed it. At first, he affected a backwardness to take upon himself the viziership, till it was given him by the sultan, and he advised them

them to proceed by way of petition. One was accordingly marches drawn up, in the nature of a remonstrance, informing the to Con- sultan, that the army was resolved to march to *Constantinople* to demand justice upon the vizier, who had treacherously deserted them, unless he instantly sent them the head of that traitor, with the pay that was withheld from them by his great officers of state. The sultan being more and more convinced of his vizier's innocence, returned no other answer to this remonstrance, than that the money was ready; but the plot had been too deeply laid to be frustrated by this compliance, for the soldiery immediately exclaimed, that the sultan was as much to blame as his vizier; and that both of them deserved the same fate; and upon this, they tumultuously began their march towards *Constantinople*. The sultan, who had ruined himself by not having resolution enough, at first, either wholly to deny, or to grant, the demands of the mutineers, held a consultation with his ministers how to proceed. *Regeb* the kaymakan, a brave intrepid officer, advised him to defend himself in his seraglio to the last extremity; but the kislar aga, being of a different opinion, *Soleyman* sent the seals, and even the great standard of the empire to *Siavus*, who received them with respect; but told the selihtar aga, who brought them, that the troops were not to be appeased unless they had the heads of the vizier, the tefterder, and gymrukchi, or receiver of the customs. This was reported to the sultan by the selihtar aga, who informed him, at the same time, that the soldiers were in arms, and had actually put to death such of their officers as they suspected to be well inclined to the government. *Mohammed*, by the kislar aga's advice, resolved to gratify them to the full; but in the mean time to send for the pasha *Mustapha*, brother to the late vizier *Kioprili*, whose memory was dear to the soldiery, and to employ him in bringing about a reconciliation. *Soleyman* the vizier was accordingly seized and strangled, as were all the great officers about the palace, who were thought to be disagreeable to the army, which was then at *Adrianople*. The pasha *Mustapha* was received with much affection by the sultan, and created kaymakan of *Constantinople*, with full powers of granting the troops all they could demand.

Mustapha accordingly offered them every thing, but the and de- deposition of the sultan, which was now their chief object. poses the *Siavus*, the new grand vizier, expressed great reluctance to sultan. come to farther extremities, and exerted all his authority to detain the army at *Adrianople*; but perceiving his own life to be again in danger, through his backwardness to head them, he brought them to *Constantinople*, where he waited with great respect upon the sultan, who promised to make him the greatest subject in his empire, if he succeeded in quelling the tumult. The vizier, upon his return to his palace, assembled the chief conspirators, and employ- ed

ed all his art in diverting them from their purpose of deposing the sultan. They heard him with great coolness, and seemed to agree to his reasons; but they no sooner left his palace, than they assembled in the orta jami, or council chamber of the janisaries, where it was resolved to include the vizier among the number of their enemies, for favouring the sultan. This resolution being imparted to the whole body of the janisaries, the flame of sedition was in an instant communicated to all orders of men in *Constantinople*. The clergy, partly through choice, and partly through fear, joined the soldiery; and all the other inhabitants construing this as a divine mandate for the emperor's deposition, snatched up what weapons were next them, and repaired with a kind of a religious fury to the church of Saint *Sophia*, where the grand consultation was to be held. It appears, that there was then no mufti at *Constantinople*, none having been created since the banishment of the last one, so that the nakib, or holy overseer, and the sheykh, or priest of Saint *Sophia*, presided in the assembly. Their first measure was to send for the kaymakan (*Mustapha*), whose presence they thought would give a sanction to their resolutions. When he came, the sheykh laid before him the disgraces and losses that had lately befallen the empire, and the necessity of deposing so worthless and indolent a prince as *Mohammed*, who minded only his diversions.

While he was in the midst of his harangue, an account came, that the emperor had attempted to put to death his brothers *Soleyman*, and *Ahmed*, but that they had been saved by the boxtangi, who were then surrounding them with a guard. This information encreased the fury of the assembly, to such a degree, that they would not only have deposed but murdered, the sultan, had they not been restrained by the wisdom and authority of the kaymakan, who advised them to send the nakib, and the sheykh to the sultan, to impart to him the sentence of his deposition, in the name of the clergy, soldiery, and *Moslem* nation, and to require him, at the same time, to leave his palace, and resign his dignity to his brother *Soleyman*. The sultan received the message with great composure, entered upon a defence of his government, reproached the clergy, or uema, for having corrupted the minds of his people; and their mufti (who he said was at the bottom of the conspiracy) for having advised the unsuccessful war against the *Germans*, which was the spring of all his misfortunes. The nakib paid little regard to what he said, and told him, that he came not to reason with him, but to receive his abdication; which *Mohammed* at last solemnly pronounced on the twenty-ninth of *October* 1687, in favour of his brother *Soleyman*. Upon this, *Mohammed* was conducted to his apartment, where he was closely confined during the remaining part of his life, which was four years, he then dying a natural death; a fate very uncommon

common to a deposed *Turkish* emperor. Some however, have written, that he was poisoned by order of his brother *Abmed*, at the instigation of a wicked astrologer, who had a pique at him, and who pretended to foretel, that, if he was suffered to live, he would reascend the *Othman* throne. *Mohammed* died at fifty-two years of age, of which he reigned forty, five months, and sixteen days. He is generally allowed to have been brave in his person, and just in his inclinations ; but, during the last four years of his reign, he seems to have given up all concern in the government, that he might indulge himself in his pleasures ; and this indolent disposition was attended with the same consequences, that would have attended weakness, injustice, and tyranny.

Soleyman *the Second*.

IT is probable, that when the news of *Soleyman's* advancement was brought him by the *boftangi* pasha, or head gardener ; he looked upon it, as a trap for his life. He continued obstinate for some time in refusing the dignity, on account of the great regard he had for his brother *Mohammed* ; and at last, the *boftangi* pasha was obliged, in a manner, to force him out of his room, and to carry him to the throne, which he mounted with fear and trembling ; and not without many expressions of reluctance. Having been long in confinement, he had addicted himself to habits of study and devotion ; so that his new dignity, for some time, sat awkwardly upon him. At last, all the necessary forms of his inauguration being gone through, he confirmed *Siavus* in the viziership ; and ordered him to quell the remains of the tumult. *Siavus* had a most difficult task to perform in this. The janisaries demanded their pay, and the usual donative bestowed upon them at the accession of every new emperor ; but the vizier found no money in the treasury ; so that he was obliged to have recourse to several severe methods of taxation, and to amuse the officers with fair words, and promises of great employments. This method succeeded tolerably well for some time, and the vizier dissembled certain affronts and injuries offered to his person, with a view of severely revenging them in time. The brave pasha *Regeb*, who had in the late reign, by his singular address and presence of mind, escaped the bowstring which was sent him, was now strangled, his great abilities and firmness rendering him too formidable, even to the vizier himself. The latter permitted the janisaries to displace their aga, and to chose in his room a young man of twenty-five years of age, who had been bred a surgeon. The janisaries having thus thrown off all regard for military discipline, the vizier

vizier found himself safe only by following their dictates, which always terminated in raising money, to gratify their avarice. All the surviving officers, and servants of the late sultan, were taxed, some of them to the value of all they were worth, and large ransoms were raised for those who lay in prison for state matters.

The fe-
dition
quelled.

Those expedients procured a temporary tranquility, and on the seventeenth of *November*, the new sultan went in a boat to the seray of *Ayub*, where he was girt by the nakib with the sword of state, an indispensable ceremony of his instalment. This ceremony being performed, he returned in state, and soon after a universal change of the administration took place. The expences of the court, which had been exorbitant in the late vizier's reign, were retrenched, by which a vast deal of money was saved; and the gold and silver utensils in the imperial stables were coined, but all was insufficient to satisfy the growing avarice of the soldiery, who, if possible, became more outrageous. Perceiving that the authority of *Kicprili* the kaymakan, stood in their way, he was removed from his place, and the vizier, in hopes that their insolence would some time or other render them odious to the people, especially the inhabitants of *Constantinople*, raised to the highest posts all whom they named. At last, a new war appearing inevitable with the *Christians*, the vizier set up the horse-tail as a signal of his intention to take the field, and produced a khatti sharif, or order from the grand sultan, demanding their obedience; as all their demands had been gratified, and threatened to punish as rebels all who were refractory. The vizier would not have ventured to publish this paper, had he not been well assured that the mutineers were now divided among themselves. When it was communicated to the aga of the janisaries, he and all the chief officers promised obedience to it; but *Tesfuji*, the most dangerous of all the mutineers, declaring, that the man was a villain who obeyed it; he was immediately put to death by order of the aga, who was soon after assassinated by *Tesfuji*'s friends. The mutineers then openly ran through the streets proclaiming the vizier to be a traitor, and a breaker of his oath; and robbing the houses of all whom they had not yet plundered. The vizier thought to appease them by resigning his office, and shutting himself up with some friends in his palace, which the mutineers immediately beset, but upon their endeavouring to break open the gates, they were repulsed by those within, who were about a hundred in number, with the vizier at their head. But though great numbers of the conspirators were thus killed, yet the vizier and his party were too inconsiderable to hold out long, and the few of them who remained alive leaped from the house into the street; and thus the vizier was left alone. In this situation, he

Death of
the vizier.

killed

killed twelve of the janisaries with his own hand, at the door of his chamber; but at last he was shot through the head and fell dead. His death seemed to encrease the fury of the *Turks*, by their breaking into his women's apartment, whom they treated with the most unmanly indignities, and cruelty. Their madness, as the late vizier had foreseen, ruined them; for the ulema, and all the inhabitants of *Constantinople*, seeing no end of their tyranny, assembled under the standard of *Mohammed*, and made proclamation, that all who were not willing to be deemed infidels should join them. Upon this, the rioters fearing to be overpowered, offered to submit, but thirteen of their ringleaders were put to death. The musti, whom they had set up upon their own authority was deposed, and his predecessor restored to his dignity. The titles of the emperor were proclaimed afresh, and solemnly recognized by the multitude; while an aged man, the pasha *Nijangi*, was created vizier, and another aga of the janisaries appointed. After the riot was fully quelled, many *Armenians* and other wretches, who had disguised themselves like *Turks*, that they might rob and plunder with the greater safety, were detected and hanged; but an act of indemnity being proclaimed on condition, that all who were concerned in the late commotions, should restore what they had plundered to the rightful owners, all was quiet.

Till then, the sultan's reign had been a continual scene of uproar and rebellion; but, we are informed by *Christian* authors, that above one thousand of the rioters were, in the night time, thrown into the sea. This coming to the knowledge of the janisaries, they again took arms; but the sultan threw the blame of those executions upon the new vizier, whom he banished to *Rhodes*, and reinstated in his favour the pasha *Kioprili Mustapha*. The sultan then appointed one *Tekkiur* to the viziership. Here it may be proper to inform the reader, that this high preferment could be held with safety only by a man of consummate abilities; because the vizier's head, or disgrace, was an atonement offered up by the sultan for all miscarriages of government; and it is plain, that the late sultan owed his deposition to his affection for his vizier. The public tranquility being restored, the sultan began to discover some talents for government. He published edicts against taverns, and tobacco, which he personally enforced in disguise, with great severity. But the disorders which had been suppressed in the capital, now spread into the provinces, where the head of a gang of banditti, instigated the spahis to demand the gratuity due to them upon the inauguration of a sultan. The vizier pleading the poverty of the imperial finances, they raised the money by laying the country under contributions, and *Constantinople* itself must have been laid open to their insults, had not the janisaries united and suppressed them.

Cam-
paign in
Hungary.

These intestine commotions in the *Othman* empire were of great service to the imperialists in *Hungary*. *Agric* was obliged by famine to surrender; and *Mongatz* was besieged by the imperial general count *Terci*. This castle was deemed to be almost impregnable, and therefore *Tekeli* had made it the repository of all his records and treasures. That nobleman was then in a most disagreeable situation. He was distressed and ill treated by the infidels, and the emperor of *Germany* sought his ruin, and rejected all terms of accommodation in which his being delivered up was not a preliminary. His wife, who had an heroic spirit, defended *Mongatz* with invincible courage, but could not hold out against famine, and the place was surrendered on the sixth of *January*, 1633. The government at *Constantinople* had been obliged to restore *Tekeli* to his liberty, and to give him the command of some troops; with whom he laid waste a part of the imperial dominions; but, on the sixth of *February* following, he was attacked and routed by general *Hausler*, with the loss of about one thousand men. These, and many other, disagreeable accounts arriving at *Constantinople*, the common people, the most superstitious in the world, complained that their intention in advancing sultan *Soleyman* to the *Othman* throne had been frustrated; and a dangerous conspiracy was formed; the effects of which, however, were prevented, partly by the prudence, and partly by the lenity of the vizier. At this time, the imperial finances were so much exhausted, that, when the emperor found it conducive to the public tranquility to remove to *Adrianople*, he was obliged to set up his jewels and plate at public sale, to defray the expence of his journey; nor had he even credit enough to pay for the horses, and other beasts of carriage, which he was forced to hire for transporting his furniture.

The sul-
tan re-
moves to
*Adriano-
ple.*

His removal to *Adrianople* saved his government, as the sedicious at *Constantinople* had now no farther object of their malice. They had already plundered every man who held place at court of all his substance; and, with them, to be rich was to be criminal. Though they had advanced the sultan to the throne on account of his piety, yet it was now termed indolence and inactivity; and, on his arrival at *Adrianople*, he affected a warlike character, but dispatched two of his ablest ministers to negotiate a peace with the emperor of *Germany*. An aga, or officer, was, at the same time sent to *Apaffi*, the prince of *Transylvania*, threatening him with an incursion of *Tartars*, unless he raised money for the payment of the *Turkish* garrisons upon the *Borisphenes*. So low were the *Othman* affairs, at this time, reduced, that *Apaffi* despised this threatening; and, on the ninth of *May*, 1633, he put himself under the emperor's protection, renounced his allegiance to the *Othman* porte, and received *German* troops into his garrisons, on condition of himself and his subjects being protected in their religion and liberties. A war with *Ger-*

many being now unavoidable, the vizier committed the command of the army to *Regeb*, the seraskier of *Hungary*; but, on the eighth of *May*, *Alba Regalis*, one of the most important fortresses in *Hungary*, was surrendered to the imperialists; who, about the same time, took the city and castle of *Lippa* by storm, with a great number of other very considerable places. These successes encouraged the *Germans* to form the design of besieging *Belgrade* itself; upon which, *Regeb*, or rather *Togher Bey*, a bold partizan who had risen by robberies and rebellion, took upon himself the command of the *Osman* troops in *Hungary*, and even demanded the seal and the prophet's standard; but this demand seems to have been rejected him.

The elector of *Bavaria*, at that time, commanded the *German* army in *Hungary*, the duke of *Lorraine* being indisposed; and the principal general under him was prince *Lewis* of *Bavaria*. *Belgrade* was besieged, and taken, and, after obtaining a vast many advantages over the *Osman*s, the siege of *Belgrade* was, at last, formed. The empire of *Germany* never, at one time, brought so many great generals as then to the field; and *Ricaut*, the *English* historian of *Turkey*, has very justly characterised them. The duke of *Lorraine*, the elector of *Bavaria*, and count *Staremberg*, who had so gloriously defended *Vienna*, were noted for little besides an excess of personal courage. Count *Caraffa* added the accomplishments of the courtier to those of the general. The prince of *Salm* was esteemed for experience and wisdom as well as valour; and count *Rabota*, who was commander-in-chief of the imperial army, as well as field-marshal, was a most provident officer. Among the other great generals that distinguished themselves at the siege of *Belgrade*, *Ricaut*, who wrote at the time, and upon the spot, mentions the famous prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, a young man, with so much judgment and true observation, that he gives him the very character which he afterwards so eminently deserved.

Before the siege of *Belgrade* opened, the *Germans* took *Tirahol*, or *Titul*, which secured their advances to that city. The main body of the imperialists then proceeded towards the *Sava*, where they beat the seraskier, who commanded the *Osman*s at *Sabats*, and obliged him to retire to *Semendria*. Upon the approach of the duke of *Bavaria*, who was then but a young man, the inhabitants of the suburbs of *Belgrade* embarked, with all the effects they could carry along with them, for different places which bordered on the *Danube*; but numbers of them were intercepted, killed, and plundered by the *Germans*. Upon their flight, the garrison, which the *Turkish* historians themselves say consisted of nine thousand men, set fire to the suburbs; where the imperialists, however, found a large booty. On the twenty-fifth of *August*, the besiegers, having completed their works, began to play upon the fortresses of *Belgrade* with twenty-six pieces of cannon,

cannon, and fifteen mortars, from three batteries. The garrison was commanded by *Ibrahim Pasha*, who was encouraged by *Yeghen*, or according to others by *Ozman*, pasha of *Aleppo*, to make a vigorous defence. *Yeghen*, who was at the head of twenty five thousand men, endeavoured to cut off the provisions of the *German* army; and the besieged did vast execution by the briskness of their fire. The danger of falling short of provisions seems to have determined the besiegers to a vigorous, but a desperate, measure; which was that of storming the city at four quarters at once. While this was under deliberation, the duke of *Lorrain*, being recovered from his indisposition, arrived in the camp of the besiegers, on the sixth of *September*; but committed the conduct of the siege entirely to the elector of *Bavaria*, who commanded the front attack; those of the other three quarters being committed to the prince de *Commercy* and the generals *Heusler* and *Pini*. The quarter which the elector of *Bavaria* undertook to storm was the principal; but the besieged made so gallant a resistance, that, had not the elector himself stepped into the breach, and threatened immediate death to every man who would not advance, the *Germans* would have fled. The presence of his electoral highness re-animated them; and, notwithstanding the bold defence made by the *Othmans*, all the four attacks succeeded, and that important city was taken by storm, in which all the garrison was put to the sword; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the elector of *Bavaria* saved the lives of the pasha and the aga of the janisaries.

Successes
of the
Germans.

Belgrade being reduced, the two *Turkish* ambassadors, whom we have already mentioned to have been dispatched to the emperor of *Germany*, arrived in the *German* camp; but the duke of *Lorrain* having no commission to treat with them, all they did there was to assist at a festival made on account of reducing that important city, from whence they proceeded to *Vienna*. In the mean while, the prince of *Baden*, who commanded the *Germans* in *Bosnia*, took a vast number of places, and defeated the pasha of that province, who lost five thousand of his best troops in the engagement, leaving the pasha and his principal officers dead on the spot, with the loss of no more than one hundred and fifty men to the imperialists. The affairs of *Germany*, then invaded by the *French*, requiring the presence of the elector of *Bavaria*, his command fell upon count *Caprara*, who took possession of *Semendria*, the capital of *Servia*, and other places in that province; upon which the *Rascians* rose in arms, cut in pieces all the *Turks* who fell into their hands, and submitted to the house of *Austria*. After this, all *Bosnia* was completely subdued by the emperor of *Germany*; and prince *Eugene* being recalled to command against the *French*, he was succeeded by prince *Piccolomini*. Count *Tekeli*, all this time, was endeavouring, at the head of a party of *Turks* and *Tar-*

tars,

tars, to animate the *Walachians* and *Transylvanians* against the tyranny of the *Germans*, but all without success.

This year, the war in the *Morea* was carried on by the *Venetians* with various fortune. The *Turkish* seraskier, having taken the field more early than the *Christians*, retook *Athens*; and, soon after, the *Venetians* were obliged to abandon the siege of *Negrepont*, the capital of the antient *Eubea*, and formerly called *Calchis*. This was the most considerable island of the *Archipelago*, and the siege of the place afforded great opportunities for both parties to display their valour; but the brave defence made by the *Turks* disheartened the *Maltese* and the *Venetians* so much, that they, at last, abandoned the siege with vast loss, though *Morosini*, the doge, commanded there in person. During this siege, the brave count *Coningsmark*, the *Venetian* general, to whom that republic had been so much indebted for her successes, died, as was thought, of heart-break, through the mismanagements of the besiegers. On the side of *Dalmatia*, the *Venetians* took many places, and some of them of importance. On the seventeenth of *August*, *Klin* was invested by the procurator *Giralamo Cornaro*; and, after a most obstinate defence, the pasha who commanded in the place, surrendered at mercy, on the twelfth of *September*. *Cornaro*, after this, reduced *Narim*, and thus the campaign ended on that side.

The *Turkish* ambassadors dispatched to *Vienna*, by this and negotiation. time, had reached that capital. Their open instructions were only to notify the accession of *Soleyman* to the *Othman* throne, the *Turkish* government being in hopes that the *German* ministry would take that opportunity to propose a peace: but they were deceived, and the ambassadors were obliged to make the first advances. The terms they offered were, to agree either to a truce or a peace. If the emperor chose the former, he was to retain possession of *Hungary*. *Transylvania* was to remain in its present situation; *Kaminieck*, when dismantled, was to be restored to the *Poles*; and *Belgrade* to the *Turks*. If, lastly, peace was more agreeable to his imperial majesty, the *Othmans* offered to settle it upon the footing of *Belgrade* being restored to them, and their returning part of *Hungary*. *Leopold*, then emperor of *Germany*, affected, through the whole of this negotiation, a great superiority over the *Othmans*. He ordered their ambassadors to be told, That he would hear of no peace till their master should make an ample cession to him of all *Hungary*, with its dependent provinces of *Sclavonia*, *Croatia*, *Bosnia*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Transylvania*; that the exercise of the *Romish* religion should be permitted through all the *Turkish* empire; and, that *Wallachia* and *Moldavia* should remain free. He likewise insisted upon count *Tekeli* being delivered up to him; and, that the *Franciscan* friars should be put in possession of the holy sepulchre at *Jerusalem*. The other confederates were

were equally ridiculous and exorbitant in their demands. The *Poles* required not only that all their antient boundaries should be restored, but that *Crim Tartary*, *Walachia*, and *Moldavia*, should be delivered up to them; that all *Christians* in the *Othman* dominions should be exempted from tribute, and, that they should be put in possession of the country on both sides the *Eorifthenes* as far as the *Danube*. The *Venetians* demanded the demolition of the havens of *Dolcigno* and *Antisari*, with the possession of the sea-coast of *Negropont* from *Corcyra* to *Corinth*, with part of *Dalmatia*, and the cession of the *Morcia*, with all the cities and territories already in their possession.

The
Turks
treat in
Hungary.

The reader will easily perceive, that some of those demands were inconsistent with each other; but, upon the whole, exorbitant as they were, the sultan must have complied with them, had not the *French* king interposed, by giving the porte the strongest assurances that he would enter *Germany* with four hundred thousand men, and disable the emperor from acting against the *Othmans*. This was a policy, at that time, embraced by *France* upon a most unworthy principle; that of keeping the house of *Austria* low by means of the *Othmans*. The *French* king even bribed the *Poles* not to act with their usual vigour, and promised, if they conquered *Germany*, to cede all *Hungary* to the *Turks*. The *German* emperor, on the other hand, had very different ideas; and, though *Suleyman* offered to yield up all that had been conquered by the *Turks* in *Hungary*, the proposal was not only rejected, but the ambassadors themselves were imprisoned; an indignity which seems not to have been relented by the *Othman* court.

No sooner were the *Germans* retired to winter-quarters, than *Suleyman* cut off two rebels, *Egher Osman Pasha* and *Gyechuk Pasha*. This reduced the empire to a state of tranquillity, and *Suleyman* made preparations against the *Venetians* in the *Morcia*. For this purpose he set at liberty one *Liberius Gheralkhari*, who had been long imprisoned, and made him prince of *Mania*, in hopes that all the inhabitants of the *Morcia* would revolt from the *Venetians*, who were to impose upon them the *Roman Catholic*, instead of the *Greek*, religion. *Suleyman* then gave out, that he would command in person against the *Germans*; but, being informed of their approaching to fight him, he resigned the command to a seraskier, who was imposed upon by an ignorant astrologer to venture a battle; which he lost, as he did a second, upon a like prediction of success; and almost all *Servia* submitted to the *Germans*. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, about this time, reinforced the garrison of *Belgrade*, fortified *Semendria*, and defeated an army of forty thousand *Turks* and *Tartars*. He then received intelligence, that the khan of *Tartary*'s son intended to attack his army on the side of *Paslarovitz*; while a seraskier,

seraskier, at the head of fifty thousand men, was to shut them up in an opposite quarter. As this danger was threatening, the prince, on the twenty-ninth of *August*, 1688, advanced briskly against the seraskier, whom he routed, and then he repassed the *Morava* to attack the khan's son, who is called the sultan *Galga*. The generals *Veterani* and *Piccolomini* commanded under prince *Lewis*, and routed a body of three thousand janisaries, who had taken post at a very advantageous pass covered with thick woods. General *Heusler*, when the *Turks* were routed, occupied the same ground, till the main body, under prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, advanced. After this, a running-fight succeeded, but to the disadvantage of the *Turks*, who lost one hundred and five brass cannons, and three mortars.

Prince *Lewis* then marched towards *Nissa*, which lay at the distance of twenty leagues; but the seraskier quitted it upon his approach, and took up a camp on the side of the *Nissava*; from whence he was driven by the imperialists with the loss of ten thousand men, besides all his tents and provisions. Those actions fully proved the debility of the *Turks* at this time, as their army was composed of above seventy thousand men; and that of the imperialists was but fifteen thousand. Prince *Lewis* then ordered *Nissa* to be strongly fortified, and marched against *Tekeli*; whom he defeated, and took *Widdin*; which greatly distressed the *Turks*, as it cut off all communication between *Temeswar* and their army.

So many repeated defeats alarmed *Soleyman*, who came to *Adrianople*; from whence he sent fresh offers to the *German* emperor for peace, provided he would restore *Belgrade*; in which case, he offered to abandon to the emperor all the rest of *Hungary*. *Leopold*, the *German* emperor, would, at this time, have disregarded all the threatening of the *Turks*, had he not been pressed by the *French*, who had obtained vast advantages over him; but, low as he was, he refused to agree to the *Turkish* proposals. This he afterwards found to be an irretrievable error, and was owing to a foolish punctilio of pride; the offers of peace made by *Soleyman* being as follows:

“First, That he should use his utmost endeavours to Their conclude a peace, so much desired by all the people; who, proposals notwithstanding the many arguments, allurements, and fair for peace. promises of the *French* to the contrary, would not trust to that nation, which had been false to them in all ages, and now also endeavoured to entertain them with a thousand false hopes. Secondly, That he should labour, by all means possible, to persuade the emperor to quit *Belgrade*, and to make that place the limit of their dominions; and the *Sava* to terminate the frontier on both sides. And, if any scruple, or difference, should arise thereupon, that then, in lieu thereof, he

he should offer *Canisia*; or, if that should be taken, then to propose *Giula*, *Temeswar*, or *Great Waradin*. Thirdly, As to the *Polanders*, to content them, a proposal should be made to demolish *Kaminiek*; and, if that would not satisfy them, that it should be surrendered. Lastly, As to the *Venetians*, they should enjoy and keep all that they had taken; and, that no mention should be made of *Negropont*."

The war continues. The *Russians*, about this time, began to make a figure in *Europe*, and sent a body of above three hundred thousand men against the *Tartars* under prince *Galliczin*. The *Tartars*, at that time, were the tributaries of the *Othmans*; and the treachery of some of the great *Russian* generals rendered their expedition fruitless. In *Albania*, *Picolomini*, the imperial general, demanded a supply of troops from prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, who sent him three regiments under the prince of *Hanover*, with whom he over-ran, or reduced, the most of that country; but he himself fell a sacrifice to an epidemical distemper, and was succeeded by general *Veterani*. In the *Morea*, the siege of *Negropont* was resumed by the doge *Morofini*, who had wintered with his fleet at *Napoli di Romania*. Notwithstanding this, the *Turkish* admiral landed five hundred men, who repaired the breaches; which obliged *Morofini* to convert his arms against *Napoli di Malvasia*, and he blocked up that place with his fleet. He then attempted to destroy *Liborakhi*, the *Turkish* governor of the *Morea*. This person was a *Christian*, but had taken service under the *Turks*, and had married the prince of *Moldavia*'s widow, with a large fortune. *Morofini* sent one *Dambi* to debauch him from his allegiance to the *Turks*; but he excused himself, by alledging, that his wife, children, and two of his friends, were pledges for his fidelity. Notwithstanding this, he gave *Dambi* a great number of hints which encouraged the doge *Morofini* to besiege *Napoli di Malvasia*. The place was garrisoned by no more than seven hundred men, besides the inhabitants, who made about one thousand three hundred more; but the fort was strong, and the upper rooms of the houses were filled with earth, which rendered them bomb-proof. While this siege was going forward, *Liborakhi* was defeated by the country people, while he was endeavouring to force them to pay their tribute to the *Turks*. After this the siege of *Malvasia* was turned into a blockade, the doge not having a sufficient force to carry it on; and he himself, with the main body of the fleet, returned to *Venice*; but, while he was performing quarantine at *Spalato*, advice came that the provveditor-general *Molino* had gained possession of *Trebigno*.

In the mean while, the internal affairs of the *Othman* empire underwent a great revolution. Sultan *Solcyman* appears to have been a more able prince than he is represented by his historians. His deposed brother being deprived of his usual exercises, petitioned him for some indulgence and liberty;

berty; but all the answer he received from the sultan, was, That he could do nothing but pray for him, and that he must continue under his confinement. Soon after, he put to death the seraskier of *Hungary* for misbehaving against the *Germans*; and he banished his vizier, as being a man incapable of managing affairs of state, and gave the seals to *Kiopri-li Mostafa*, the kaymakan of *Constantinople*. The vast popularity of the *Kiopri* family made this promotion highly agreeable to the *Turks*; and the new vizier immediately assembled a divan, consisting of all the great officers of state, ecclesiastical as well as civil, to deliberate upon the affairs of government. The mufti, and the rest of the ulema, being questioned, whether it was eligible or lawful to ask peace of the infidels, in case of necessity, pronounced in the affirmative: but the lord-chief-justice, or kadiolasker, of the empire, said, That it was more eligible for true *Moslems* to perish by the sword, than to dishonour the empire and the prophet by begging peace from infidels. The vizier struck in with this opinion. He made a speech that would have done honour to *Greek* or *Roman* eloquence. He observed, That the late misfortunes of the empire were owing to a universal degeneracy that had crept into all ranks of men; that the *Othman* generals who commanded against the *Germans*, minded nothing but to raise great armies without discipline; and to amass riches by oppression. That the ulema, or clergy, in general, being sunk in sloth and sensuality, soothed the common people in their vices, and sought only to indulge themselves in the habits of indolence and luxury; by which all the principles that had contributed to the *Othman* greatness, had been totally obliterated. He concluded by observing, That, could he put himself at the head of twelve thousand true *Moslems*, of true primitive virtue, he made no doubt of continuing and finishing the war with success.

The mufti applauded the vizier's spirit, but expressed great doubts as to the practicability of reviving the antient discipline of the *Othmans*, or of continuing the war, especially as their ambassadors at *Vienna* had proposed a peace. The vizier affected great surprize at the mufti's speech, demanding to know who those ambassadors were, and what minister durst be so wicked as to prostitute the honour of the empire, by advising the sultan to beg a peace from infidels. In short, he boldly pronounced, That all who had the least concern in such a transaction, were the worst of traitors, and deserved to be treated as such.

This spirited conduct of the vizier was not entirely owing to himself; for it was, in a great measure, dictated by the *French* ambassador, whose master was, at this time, meditating the conquest of the *German* empire, and encouraged the *Turks* to continue the war. A galibeh diwan, or a council of the most solemn and decisive nature, being called, it

was

was there unanimously resolved to continue the war with the utmost vigour. *Kioprili*, however, being sensible that the ambassadors at *Vienna* were considerably advanced in the treaty, did not fail to write to the imperial ministers, to acquaint them, that they had no authority, or a very suspicious one; for what they were doing; and, that their powers had been given them by the former vizier, without the consent, or knowledge, of the sultan.

His excellent and artful regulations.

Having proceeded thus far, he applied himself, with amazing art and success, to substitute enthusiasm among the subjects of the empire for military discipline and courage. He plainly perceived them to be so dispirited that it was impossible to bring them to the field against the *Germans* with any prospect of success; and he therefore changed the whole warlike system of the empire. Instead of issuing mandates, like his predecessors, to force the subjects to come to the field, he published a firman, importing, That, as he was determined to command in person against the haughty *Germans*, so he was resolved to have no soldiers under him who were not actuated by a spirit of religion, and devoted to martyrdom for the good and glory of their country, and for the extirpation of infidels. He added, That every person who was afraid of being a martyr, might, by staying at home, do his country as effectual service as if he took the field, by purging himself from all vice, and fervently praying for the success of the *Othman* arms.

Great effects of them.

Incredible were the effects of this artful manifesto, which seemed to impress all ranks of men with new principles. Instead of absconding, and hiding themselves, as before, or bribing the pashas to be exempted from military duties, they rushed into the field, and appeared to be emulous for the crown of martyrdom, by serving against the *Germans*. Even they who had been dismissed from the service, by having served out their time, resumed their arms, and a greater army of volunteers was raised than any the *Othmans* had brought to the field for a century before. *Kioprili* next applied himself to the reformation of the public treasury. He perceived, upon enquiry, that his predecessors had been guilty of the most notorious corruptions; and, that they had, for the sake of a little ready-money, exempted great numbers of people from paying any tribute. The vizier, to remedy this abuse, obliged the defaulters to make good all that they had purloined from the public; and issued a general mandate to subject all the inhabitants of the empire to the payment of the charach. This mandate included all the *Greeks*, who, ever since the taking of *Constantinople*, had exempted themselves from paying any tribute, by a writing which they pretended had been granted by the prophet *Mohammed* to the monks of *Sinai*; but which *Kioprili* alleged to have been counterfeited. The general assessment was made under three heads, and was in the nature of a capitation tax.

The

The richest ranks of subjects were obliged to pay ten leonines a year, the middling six, and the poorest about fifteen shillings sterling. The reader, however, is to reflect, that this tax was in lieu of all other taxes excepting the sultan's hereditary revenue.

Kioprili, upon reviewing the state of the empire, found that large sums had been bequeathed to the jami, or religious uses. All this money he ordered to be brought into the public treasury, under pretence that religious purposes were best served by making war upon infidels and the enemies of the holy prophet. He next purged the courts of law from corruption, and filled the benches of justice with men of character and integrity, severely punishing all judges who had been guilty of peculation, and restoring to the injured all that they had been robbed of. Without distinction of country and religion, he ordered that no provisions in corn, or any other kind, should be exacted from the subjects of the empire: an immunity which rendered him extremely popular among the *Christians*, and so greatly raised his character among the *Othmans*, that he took the field with vast advantages. Among other regulations, he ordered that all necessities should be paid for in ready-money.

Kioprili's schemes were greatly advanced by the progress of Cam- the French arms in Germany. The prince of *Holstein* com- paign in- manded the imperial army in *Albania* during the absence of *Hungary*. general *Veterani*, and took post at *Prissieren* to repel the in- roads of the *Turks*. From thence he sent one thousand six hundred men, under the command of the prince of *Hanover* and colonel *Strasser*, to relieve the pass of *Hasseneck*, which the *Othmans* had besieged. The *Turks*, however, having sent a detachment of *Tartars* into the open country, found means to draw *Strasser* from a very advantageous post he occupied, and surrounded him with thirty thousand men. The *Germans* made a brave, but ineffectual, defence. The prince of *Hanover*, count *Solari*, *Strasser* himself, and all the *German* generals of note, were killed on the spot; and it was with difficulty that *Picolomini's* regiment, next day, escaped the same fate, and reached *Proscopia*. *Veterani*, soon after this, fortified *Nissa*; but the imperialists were obliged to surrender the pass of *Kasseneck*. *Kanissa* being besieged by the *Germans*, was so straitly blockaded, that the *Turkish* commandant treated about a surrender; but all terms of that kind being rejected by the imperialists, it was given up to count *Bathiani*. This place was of the utmost consequence to the *Othman* empire; and the pasha, when he surrendered the keys of it, termed it the strongest fortress of the sultan's dominions. Some writers say that it was given up chiefly through the divisions that prevailed in the garrison; and, that it had provisions, arms, and ammunition, sufficient for holding out a much longer siege than it had sustained. Be- that as it will, it is certain that the imperialists found upon

its walls fifty-six brass and ten iron cannon, and in its magazines about four thousand muskets.

The *French* minister had, at this time, great connections with *Kioprili*; and, in fact, directed the motions of the *Othman* court. Observing that *Tekeli* was possessed of great abilities, and extremely popular among the *Hungarians*, he prevailed upon the sultan to grant him a commission, constituting him prince of *Transylvania*, with the same powers that had been granted to the famous *Bethlem Gabor*. *Tekeli*, upon this nomination, affected all the state of a sovereign; issued mandates to his new subjects to disown all connections with the *Germans*, and to join with him in delivering their country from the tyranny of the imperialists. The *Germans* were then weak in *Walachia*, and they were obliged to collect from *Transylvania* all the troops in the neighbourhood, with whom they fortified the most important passes to stop the progress of the infidels. The *Tartars*, however, about the middle of *July*, 1689, appeared with some galleys before *Widdin*, to the number of five thousand men, and began to cannonade the place; but it was soon delivered by *Trautmansdorf*, who obliged them to fall down the stream; and, after throwing a reinforcement into the garrison, he returned to *Jagodina*.

In *August*, the vizier, who had now taken the field, prepared to besiege *Nissa*; but was opposed by *Veterani*, who, after reinforcing the garrison, encamped at *Alexin*. The vizier, in the mean while, marched with his army towards *Belgrade*, and, in his march, detached a body of men who intercepted and cut in pieces a part of *Veterani*'s troops. This advantage, of late so unusual to the *Othmans*, gave vast spirits to the *Turks*, who offered up public thanksgivings at *Adrianople*, *Constantinople*, and the chief cities of the empire. *Selim Gyeray*, the khan of the *Tartars*, was, upon this occasion, extremely useful to the *Othmans*; and the vizier, that he might keep up, to the full, the reputation of sanctity which he had acquired, ordered all his *Turkish* and *Tartar* officers to dismiss the boys, and other persons, whom they kept for infamous purposes, on pain of death.

Advantages

gained by the *Turks*.

Those regulations had a wonderful effect, and the vizier, in a few days, laid siege to *Piroth*, which he took by capitulation. Notwithstanding that, the janisaries would have plundered the heydukes who were in the garrison, had not the vizier strongly remonstrated to them the lasting dishonour that must attend such a violation of faith. Maxims like this were unknown to the *Turkish* government, and *Kioprili* carried them to their utmost extent. Before he dismissed the garrison of *Piroth*, he acquainted them, that it was to be understood, that they were not again to carry arms, for a limited time, against the *Othmans*; and that, therefore, if they were taken in *Nissa*, which he intended to besiege, they could expect no quarter. This admonition had no effect upon

upon the heydukes, who immediately retired to *Nissa*, which was besieged by the vizier. The place was defended by count *Staremborg*, with three thousand foot and one thousand four hundred horse. The defence the count made was next to desperate, because he had intelligence that his main design was to besiege *Belgrade*. The siege was pressed by the vizier with so much vigour, that, on the twenty-fifth day, the garrison capitulated, on condition of their being allowed to march out of the place with their arms. This capitulation did not protect the heydukes who had surrendered at *Piroth*. Some of them, though disguised, were discovered by the janisaries, and, being put to the torture, were obliged to discover their companions, who were all of them delivered up by *Staremborg* to the vizier, who hanged part of them and condemned the rest to the galleys. He, at the same time, advertised *Staremborg* of his danger, if he or his garrison should take refuge in *Belgrade*, which he fairly acknowledged he was determined to besiege.

The spirit and successes of the *Turks* threw a damp upon the *Germans*, who were unequal to the double war carried on by them on the one side, and the *French* on the other. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* had an interview, at *Jagodina*, with general *Veterani*, where measures were concerted for the relief of *Nissa*; but *Heusler* having been defeated by *Tekli* and the seraskier of *Transylvania*, forced them to alter their plan, and to march towards *Servia*, where the *Germans* were very weak. This determined the vizier to undertake the siege of *Widdin*, which was garrisoned by no more than eight hundred men, while his army consisted of above one hundred thousand. So poor a garrison could not pretend to make any resistance, and they surrendered, on the twenty-ninth of *August*, before a breach was made in the walls. The siege of *Semendria* was next undertaken by the *Othmans*; and its garrison, commanded by lieutenant-colonel *Weingartler*, consisting of no more than one thousand men, stood a storm, which ended in their being all put to the sword.

The vizier then proceeded to his main object, which was *Belgrade* the recovery of *Belgrade*. This city, since it was taken from besieged, the *Turks*, had been very strongly fortified by the *Germans*; so that it became a matter of deliberation with the vizier, who called a council of war for that purpose, whether he should proceed against it by siege or blockade. The majority of the council declared themselves for the latter method, on account of the vast strength of the place, and the infinite disservice which the newly renewed spirits of the *Othmans* must sustain should they be repulsed; which was extremely probable, as the garrison consisted of eight thousand regulars, besides numbers of other troops. The advocates for this opinion added, That, if the vizier would fortify the banks of the *Save*, the *Germans* must be obliged, by famine, to surrender the place. They observed, at the same time,

that the *Germans* were so pressed by the *French*, they could make no head against the *Othman* troops.

The vizier, who had adopted a system of politics very different from those of his predecessors, followed the sentiments of the majority, though contrary to his own, and drew lines of circumvallation round the city. He had soon occasion to repent of his conduct, by receiving intelligence that the imperialists were advancing to its relief; upon which he ordered one part of his army to guard the passages of the *Save*, and the other to carry on the siege in form. According to *Christian* historians, *Belgrade* was taken partly by accident and partly by treachery. The duke of *Croy*, who took upon him the defence of the city, arrived on the eighth of *October*, the city being invested on the first. The day of his arrival, the chief magazine belonging to the besieged blew up; by which the citadel was dismantled, one thousand of the garrison were destroyed, and the city itself rendered incapable of any farther defence, the duke of *Croy* himself having been wounded and narrowly escaping with his life. According to some accounts, the blowing up of the magazine was effected by a *Turk* disguised like a *German*; but others ascribe it to the treachery of some pretended *French* deserters. There appears to be great reason for suspecting treachery, for not only the great but the lesser magazines blew up one after another; which gave so much courage to the *Turks*, that they cried out, in fits of enthusiasm, "That the hand of God was with them;" and they advanced to the storm with such irresistible fury, that one thousand of them perished by the blowing up of the last magazine. In a few minutes, the smoke being dissipated, they entered the place; where they met with no farther resistance, the garrison having been, in a manner, destroyed, and their works demolished. The *Germans* who survived the storm escaped by boats upon the *Danube*. Amongst those were the duke of *Croy* and general *Aspremont*, who was second in command, and whose conduct, on this occasion, has been severely censured, but was cleared by prince *Lewis* of *Baden*.

and
taken.

Belgrade being thus, to the amazement of all *Europe*, reduced by the *Turks*, through that spirit of enthusiasm which *Kioprili* had re-animated, he sent a party of *spahis* to relieve *Temeswar*, which the *Germans* had blockaded for three years, but without being able to take it. The place was defended by *Koja Jaffer Pasha*, and the garrison was reduced to the utmost distress; but, so scrupulous were the *Turks*, that they could not be persuaded to relieve their hunger by those animals which their religion held to be impure. Upon the arrival of the supply of provisions, the *spahis* and the *janisaries* quarrelled who should be the first to seize them, and many were killed on both sides; but the *janisaries* remained masters.

After this; *Kicprili*, having repaired the damage done to *Belgrade* during the siege, passed the *Danube*, took *Lippa*, and drove the *Germans* from *Orsova*. He next attacked *Esfek*, but, the garrison being strong, and the winter approaching, he was obliged to abandon his design upon that place, after losing a great number of men in a general storm which they attempted. The deliverance of this place was owing to the duke of *Croy* and count *Staremborg*.

A new war, at this time, broke out, on account of the Cam-succeſſion of *Mikhael Apaffi*, the prince of *Transylvania*, who paign in died towards the beginning of the year 1689, and bequeathed *Transyl-vania*, his dominions to the emperor of *Germany*; but they were assigned by the porte to count *Tekeli*, who was supported by the seraskier of *Hungary*, the khan of *Tartary*, and *Brankovan*, the prince of *Walachia*, who took upon himself the imperial name of *Cantacuzenus*. *Tekeli*, by this powerful support, passed the mountains of *Walachia*, and surprized *Heuſler*, the imperial general, who, notwithstanding the intrepidity with which he defended himself, was defeated and taken prisoner. *Tekeli*, after this, advanced further into the province, where the inhabitants received him as their lawful prince.

By this time, prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, hearing of *Heuſler's* defeat, passed the *Danube* near *Semendria*, and entered *Transylvania* by a pass called the *Iron Gate*. On the third of *October* he arrived at *Hermanstadt*, which *Tekeli* abandoned upon his approach; and, in a short time, he was deserted by the *Walachians* and *Transylvanians*, and forced to retire again into *Turkey* by the pass of *Bocz*. Prince *Lewis* pursuing his good fortune, arrived at *Zatmur* on the first of *December*, and found the vizier's son in possession of all the country beyond that. It is remarkable, that, when *Orsova* fell into the hands of the *Turks*, the *German* governor insisted upon being conducted, with all his garrison, their wives, and children, to *Belgrade*. The *Turks* acquainted him fairly, That that city was in their possession; but, not believing them, he continued so obstinate in his demand, that he was conducted thither. The men, on their arrival, were thrown into prison, where all of them perished; and the women and children sold as slaves, and their effects seized by the *Ottomans*.

In 1690, the king of *Poland* entered *Moldavia*, where and *Mol-davia*, prince *Cantenir* commanded for the *Turks*, and ordered the inhabitants to desist from all intercourse with the *Polcs*, or to furnish them with any provisions. Upon this, the king sent off a strong detachment to *Soroka*, a city on the *Tyras*, where they secured a large magazine of provisions, and brought them to the camp. In the mean while, the *Turks* and *Tartars* were advancing against him; and, his provisions being devoured, he attempted to return to *Poland* through a mountainous country, where many of his troops were cut off.

off while they were straggling in quest of subsistence. According to *Cantemir's* account, none of them could have escaped, had it not been for his father's moderation; who persuaded the seraskier to discontinue the pursuit. The same historian tells us, that his *Polish* majesty, on this occasion, acted in a most unsoldierlike manner, his army being ruined by the *Tartars* without coming to an engagement, and numbers of their cavalry submitting to be made prisoners rather than perish with hunger; so that it was no uncommon sight for a *Tartar* to have seven *Poles* for his prisoners loaded with fetters.

In the *Morea*, *Malvasia*, which had been blocked up for seventeen months by the *Venetians*, was battered by sea and land; and, at last, was surrendered to them: and, about the same time, their admiral, *Delfino*, beat the *Turkish* admiral, and destroyed several of his ships, at *Mitylene*. The *Venetian* general *Cornaro*, about the same time, took several other places in the *Morea*; and the war prospered equally well with the *Venetians* in *Dalmatia*. On the seventh of September, the *Venetians* landed at *Vallona*; and, after obtaining some advantages against a body of seven thousand *Turks*, who opposed them, they laid siege to *Kanina*, which they took; and, soon after, the *Turkish* garrison of *Vallona* gave up that place likewise. It is said that one hundred and thirty-four pieces of cannon were taken by the *Venetians* in those two fortresses. At *Hercegovina*, in *Dalmatia*, the *Turkish* governor, *Pasha Kin Ali*, endeavoured, with three thousand men, to surprize some places that had been lately conquered by the *Venetians* in that country; and, the better to succeed, he chose the *Easter* holidays for his attempt, while the *Christians* were intent upon their devotions. The people of *Nisikho*, however, having intelligence of his design, left their churches, killed seven hundred of his men, and carried himself prisoner to *Katuro*. After this, the *Venetian* general, *Molino*, took and destroyed *Filioporikh*, in the neighbourhood of *Glamez*. To counter-balance those advantages, *Mezzo Morto*, the dey of *Algiers*, who commanded the *Turkish* fleet, destroyed two *Venetian* men of war near *Kandia*.

The
Turks un-
fortunate
in the be-
ginning of
the cam-
paign.

The vizier *Kioprili*, having been this year victorious wherever he commanded, returned in triumph to *Adrianople*, where he found the sultan ill of a dropsy; and, his physicians having advised his removal to *Constantinople*, the vizier attended him to that capital; where he was received with unusual honours, as the reviver of the *Othman* glory and the *Moslem* discipline. The rejoicings made by the *French* ambassador, for his successes against the *Christians*, exceeded even those made by the *Turks*; and the winter was spent by the vizier in raising a more powerful army than what he had commanded in the preceding campaign. In the mean while, he appointed *Muſtapha Pasha* to act against the *Poles*, and
Kaplan

Kaplan Ali Pascha against the *Venetians*, who abandoned *Kanina* and *Vallona*, which they had taken in the beginning of the summer. *Kaplan* then took up a camp near *Celidnus*, where he checked the *Albanians*, who were ripe for a revolt. In *Hungary* the war went on with various success. The prince of *Hanover*, who commanded against *Tekeli*, was killed in an encounter with the *Turks* near the village of *Sernist*. In the mean while, colonel *Pobland*, an imperial officer, defeated one of *Tekeli's* commanders near *Karasebes*, took the fortress of *Tacket* and *Waradin*, and defeated a large body of *Turks* and *Tartars* who were making incursions into *Transylvania*. Many other encounters and skirmishes happened in these quarters about the same time. Count *Nigrelli*, an imperialist, defeated the garrison of *Great Waradin*; while the *Turks* took the castle of *Novi*, but were afterwards beat by the *Kroats*, who killed one thousand of them upon the spot. Colonel *Pobland* drew the garrison of *Lugos* into an ambuscade, and, after cutting in pieces eight hundred and fifty out of one thousand, of which it consisted, he took possession of the place. After this, the imperial garrison of *Segedin* surprized the city of *Khonad*; upon which the *Turks* abandoned the castle in the night-time.

All those motions, so much to the disadvantage of the *Turks*, happened before the vizier took the field. In *March* the imperial garrison of *Essek* destroyed *Inik*, with all its inhabitants; and a *German* officer, *Percilia*, killed one thousand two hundred *Turks* and *Tartars*, from whom he carried off a large booty. One *Antonio*, a famous *Rascian* partizan in the *German* army, took the strong castle of *Karakowar*, and afterwards surprized four of ten ships which were carrying provisions from *Widdin* to *Belgrade*, and forced the others to return. He likewise dispersed one thousand *Turks* who were upon their march to surprize *Lugos*.

When the campaign opened, count *Guido*, of *Staremburg*, drew together an army at *Sauseberg*; while the imperialists surprized *Titul*; and *Veterani* defeated a strong convoy that was carrying provisions for *Belgrade*, and killed one thousand of their party that guarded it. There is some reason to believe that many of those actions are considerably magnified, and some of them multiplied, the same encounter being sometimes split into various relations; a common practice with the *German* authors. It is certain, however, that the *Turks* under *Kathina Mostafa* were defeated near *Mitrovitz* with the loss of one thousand five hundred men and that of the place.

Those ill successes, on the part of the *Turks*, were, in a great measure, owing to the vizier not taking the field, on account of the weakness of the emperor. Many considerations detained him about the sultan's person, particularly the apprehension he was under lest one of the sons of the late emperor *Mohammed* should be made sultan; in which case,

he, probably, must have lost, not only the command of the army, but his head.

Death and
character
of *Soley-*
man.

On the eleventh of *June*, 1692, the sultan *Soleyman* died of the dropsy, being fifty-two years of age, of which he reigned three years and nine months. *Ricaut* represents him as being short in stature, with a lean, long visage, large, ox-like eyes, with a black beard mingled with grey hairs. Tho' he is represented, by historians, as being dull and heavy in his intellects, yet, from the choice he made of *Kioprili*, as well as from the principal actions of his life, he appears to have had a sound understanding. His great application to reading, a quality uncommon with the *Turkish* sultans, rendered him despicable in the eyes of his ignorant, barbarous ministers. But his government was, in general, venerated by his subjects on account of his sanctity and devotion, and the regularity with which he performed all his religious duties. *Ricaut* observes, that his favourite *Kioprili* was one of the most learned men in the empire, and had a most noble library, which recommended him to *Soleyman*. The *Othmans*, in general, had so great an opinion of this sultan's virtues, that they have even invented ridiculous miracles which they have ascribed to him.

The Reign of Ahmed II.

Accession,

THE appointment of a successor to the late sultan *Soleyman* was a matter of the utmost importance to *Kioprili*. A powerful faction at court were for replacing upon the throne the deposed emperor *Mohammed*, who was now looked upon as being the victim of popular inconstancy; and many were for raising one of his sons, who, contrary to the barbarous usages of the *Othmans*, had received a liberal education in the palace. Both those proposals were inconsistent with the views of the vizier, whose vast successes, during the last campaign, gave him a decisive weight in the appointment of the new emperor. *Ahmed*, the younger brother to the two late emperors, best suited his views; and he was accordingly saluted sultan before his brother's body was interred. He was a thoughtless prince, unversed in the affairs both of life and empire; but so far from having about him any of the *Othman* ferocity, that he spent most of his time in composing verses and playing upon musical instruments. Sometimes he visited his deposed brother *Mohammed*, whom he diverted with variety of gambols, singing, dancing, and playing tunes in his presence, exhorting him to patience under his confinement, and bidding him be merry. He put him in mind, however, that he himself had been a prisoner for forty years, while *Mohammed* was emperor and did what he pleased; and,

and, that it was but just that he should have his turn of power and pleasure ; but assured him, at the same time, that he never would put him to death.

A prince of his disposition was highly agreeable to *Kiopri*- and *chajli's* views ; and, being afraid of the inconstancy of the people of *Constantinople*, he persuaded the sultan to remove to *Abmed II. Adrianople*, where he would be both more safe and free while preparations were making for the next campaign. The spirit of enthusiasm still prevailed among the *Othmans* to an incredible degree, and the name of *Kiopriili* brought to his standard such numbers of soldiers, that many of them were dismissed ; while all of them called out to be led against the infidels and that they would serve without pay, rather than miss the opportunity of gaining a crown of martyrdom. *Kiopriili* soothed them with gentle expressions, but under-hand gave orders to the pashas to bring only a certain number to the field, as there might be some difficulty in finding them subsistence before they reached *Buda*. The prodigious reputation which *Kiopriili* had acquired, and the influence he had in all affairs of government, soon formed a party against him in the sultan's cabinet. There the *koltuks* (so called from having the privilege of supporting the sultan under the armpits) or chief courtiers, taking advantage of the sultan's weakness, instilled into him a distrust of his vizier's designs, as if he intended to raise to the throne a son of the late emperor *Mohammed*, and, that he had brought the janisaries to favour the resolution as soon as he should depart from *Adrianople*. The sultan, being shaken with those suggestions, asked the kisser *Agasi*, who was at the head of the party against the vizier, how he should proceed. He advised him to send the captain of the battle-axes to desire the vizier to come to court, where he might be easily dispatched.

This conversation was held in the sultan's apartment, and Conspired was observed by one of the mutes, whose office it was to keep the door while the sultan was in discourse with any of his ministers. As these mutes have great sensibility in signs, he easily perceived, from the emotions into which both the sultan and kisser fell, that something very extraordinary was in agitation ; and, suspecting what it was, he privately hastened to the vizier, and, by signs, found means to make him understand what he had discovered. In the mean while, the *baltajilar kyehayasi*, or captain of the battle-axes, arrived, and acquainted the vizier, that the sultan was in haste to speak with him ; and this confirmed all the intimations he had received from the mute. He acquainted the messenger, that he would immediately wait upon the sultan, and ordered his horse to be got ready for that purpose ; but, in the mean while, he privately sent for the aga of the janisaries, and other chief officers of the army, whom he knew to be in his interest, and to them he communicated what he had discovered. He then recapitulated all the services he had done

done to the empire, and pressed them to take upon themselves the administration of affairs in opposition to the evil counsellors about his master, to whom he intended next day to resign the seals of his office. The aga, and the other officers, were amazed at this relation, and broke out into the most indignant expressions against the stupidity and ingratitude of the sultan towards the pillar of the state and the restorer of the *Othman* glory; declaring, at the same time, that they would rather depose him than see *Kioprili's* life, or power, in danger. They then entered into an association, in which they bound themselves to stand, to the last drop of their blood, by the vizier; and, that they would implicitly follow whatever he should command them.

Kioprili, who had only affected to resign the seals, being now sensible that he could depend upon their friendship, ordered the reis-effendi, or high-chancellor, to write out a talkish, or letter of the most solemn kind, to the emperor, to inform him that he was detained by a sedition of the soldiers, who thought themselves injured by certain courtiers; but, that, as soon as he had restored tranquillity, he would give his imperial majesty his best advice how to proceed against the mutineers. Next day, he sent another talkish, informing the sultan, that he had tried all means possible to quell the sedition, but without effect, because the soldiers insisted upon the kisser-aga, or aga, with his secretary, being delivered up to public justice; and advised his imperial majesty to comply with their request, that he might prevent more disagreeable consequences. The kisser-aga, on the sultan's receiving this mandate, for such it was, from the vizier, saw that his practices had been discovered; but, either through policy or real magnanimity, he requested, that he might pay his life as a forfeit, if it could be conducive to the public tranquillity. This, probably, saved his head; for the vizier, perceiving that the sultan was extremely unwilling to sacrifice a favourite, who had manifested so much disinterestedness and loyalty, was contented with his being banished to *Egypt*; but the secretary was hanged in the robes of his order, with a silver standish at his girdle.

Treaty of
peace.

The Revolution having, by this time, taken place in *England*, in favour of king *William*, that prince, whose ruling passion was to humble the *French*, interposed as a mediator, between the *Germans* and the *Othmans*. Sir *William Trumball*, who had been sent ambassador, by the *Stuart* family, to *Constantinople*, being recalled, Sir *William Hussey* was chosen by the *Russia* company to be their agent at the porte; and, being recommended to king *William*, he was invested with the character of ambassador, and empowered to offer to the sultan king *William* and queen *Mary's* mediation between him and the *Germans*. *Hussey* was directed to call at the court of *Vienna* in his way to *Constantinople*; but the ridiculous

ious forms of the imperialists prevented his arrival at *Adrianople* before the vizier had quelled the late conspiracy, and was preparing to set out for *Belgrade* at the head of one hundred thousand men. Though he was resolved as to the part he was to act, yet he gave *Hussey* a civil reception, and received his proposals; which were no other than that both parties should agree to an article of *uti possidetis*, by each retaining what he then possessed. The vizier seemed not to dislike what *Hussey* proposed; though his real design was to amuse the *Germans* till he could take the field, which he effectually did. Putting *Hussey* off on pretence of the necessity of his affairs, he referred him to the kaymachan of *Constantinople*, who gave him audience, and affected to treat him with the same distinctions that were paid to the *French* ambassador, but without complying with any of his proposals. The truth is, that the *French*, at that time, entirely possessed the ear of the sultan as well as of his vizier, who was at the head of an army so numerous, and so well provided, that he deemed it to be invincible. He privately informed the *French* ambassador, that all that had passed between *Hussey* and the kaymachan was little more than grimace.

His most *Christian* majesty omitted nothing to improve this good correspondence between himself and the emperor of the infidels. He sent one of the best engineers in his dominions to conduct his artillery, and twenty-two of his officers, with a physician to attend upon the vizier during his campaign; a present extremely agreeable to that minister, whose court had a very high opinion of *European* physicians. By this time, count *Marfigli* arrived from the court of *Vienna*, with the character of secretary to the *British* minister; but, in reality, to manage the *German* interest at the porte. The *Dutch* minister, *Colier*, had orders to co-operate with him; and, finding they could do nothing effectual with the kaymachan, they set out for *Belgrade*, once more to treat with the vizier, and to propose to him much more advantageous terms of peace. On the sixteenth of *August* they arrived at *Adrianople*, where they heard of the total defeat of the *Turkish* army, which we are now to relate.

The vizier's army, when he arrived at *Belgrade*, consisted of above one hundred thousand fighting men; the best, according to general information, the *Othmans* had ever brought to the field. Besides those land troops, the *Danube* was covered with his vessels, which were extremely useful in conveying and cutting off provisions; the imperialists having no vessels nearer their camp than *Peterwaradin*. On board one hundred of those small vessels, the vizier sent four thousand men, under a pasha, to attack *Titul*, which still remained in the hands of the imperialists; and which was battered so furiously, that *Thos*, the imperial commandant, was obliged to capitulate on the fourth day, on condition that the garrison, which consisted of no more than one hundred and twenty

Battle of
Slanke-
men.

twenty *Germans* and one hundred *Rascians*, should be allowed to march to the imperial camp. When they came out, the pasha and his officers, seeing how few they were, detained them. This produced an altercation between *Thos* and the pasha, who then gave orders to put all the garrison to the sword; and, drawing his scymitar upon *Thos*, the latter shot him, and another officer, dead; and ordered his men to fight their way through the army. This they bravely attempted to do, and killed five hundred of the *Turks*; but, the latter over-powering them, only a few of the garrison escaped being put to the sword.

It was the twenty-ninth of *July* before prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, the imperial general, arrived at *Peterwaradin*, where he reviewed his army, which consisted of sixty-six thousand men. He marched first to *Carlowitz*, and then to *Slankemen*, which was then only a ruined castle on the south of the *Danube*. In the mean while, the *Turkish* army passed the *Save*, and was encamped at *Semlin*, a town near the confluence of the *Save* and the *Danube*. By the twelfth of *August*, the imperial army were advanced within cannon-shot of the *Turks*; but, upon reconnoitring their camp, the *German* generals judged it to be impregnable; and, not being able to get provisions by the *Danube*, prince *Lewis* resolved to march back to *Slankemen*. The *Germans* beginning their retreat, after many skirmishes had passed between the advanced parties of both armies, the *Turks*, imagining that the *Christians* were flying, attacked their rear, but were repulsed with considerable loss. Notwithstanding this, the *French* ambassador had such sanguine hopes of conquest, that he persuaded the vizier to make a forced march in the night-time; by which he got between the imperialists and *Peterwaradin*, with design to cut them off from that post; and fortified themselves with such incredible diligence, that they raised walls above five feet high, and bastions mounted with cannon round their camp. It must be acknowledged that this was a very masterly manoeuvre; because the magazines at *Peterwaradin* could not now supply the imperialists with provisions, and none could be had by the *Danube*. All farther junctions of men were likewise cut off, and one thousand four hundred recruits, in their march to the imperial army, were put to the sword by the infidels: but, in another sense, it was, perhaps, impolitic, to drive such an army as prince *Lewis* commanded to despair; and, in this, the *Germans* found their safety.

The *Turks* defeated. Hearing that all their provisions from *Peterwaradin* had been intercepted by the enemy, on the nineteenth, by day-break, they drew up in order of battle, the prince of *Baden* commanding their right wing, and count *Dunewald* their left, and, about noon, both armies faced one another that of the *Turks*, had its left flank covered by the *Danube*, with a deep ditch on their front. The proper disposition

tions being made, the artillery began to play on both sides. The imperial generals ordered their army to advance all at once; but this was found impracticable, for their left was encumbered by bushes and high grass; so that, when the right wing began the attack, they received so smart a fire from the janisaries, that, at first, they fell into disorder; but, being rallied by the dukes of *Holstein* and *Artemberg*, who renewed the charge, they led their men up to the muzzles of the *Turkish* guns, though with prodigious loss, especially of their officers. The left wing of the imperialists was in equal danger, some of its oldest and best regiments being entirely cut off; but despair still re-animating the *Germans*, and their bodies of reserve, and even baggage-men, coming up to their assistance about the close of the day, they, at last, broke into the *Turkish* camp where it was weakest. The *Turks*, in their turn, were now driven to despair, and pent up in a narrow space between their entrenchments and the *Danube*; from whence only some of their horse found means to escape through an opening made by a motion on the right of the imperialists. The *Turkish* infantry, and the main body of their cavalry, still maintained the fight with admirable resolution; and, though they had lost their camp, they had almost gained the field, when their tubulkhana, or great warlike music, which is always played near their general's person, ceased. This was owing to the vizier's being shot through the head while he was bravely animating his men in their foremost ranks. The visible despondency which his fall occasioned among the *Turks*, redoubled the efforts of the imperialists, who now found but little resistance, the aga of the janisaries being killed at the same time. Twenty-five thousand *Turks*, of whom ten thousand were janisaries, were killed, drowned, or mortally wounded. Of the imperialists, three thousand, one hundred, and sixty-one, were killed; of whom by far the greatest proportion consisted of general officers: and they had about one thousand, four hundred, and thirty-six, wounded, by their own account; though some say that their loss was far more considerable.

The booty found in the *Turkish* camp was very valuable; Their loss, and, perhaps, more so than was given out. All their mili- and contrary chests, consisting of copper, silver, and gold coin, fell sequences into the hands of the conquerors, with one hundred and of the vic- fifty-four pieces of cannon, the grand-vizier's standard, ten tory. thousand tents, and all the beasts of burthen, of which the *Turks* carry along with them incredible numbers. The consequences of this battle was not so fatal to the *Turks* as might have been expected from so complete a defeat; but this seems to have been chiefly owing to the inability the *Germans* were under to prosecute their victory; which was well known to *Chateauneuf*, the *French* ambassador. The prince
of

of *Baden*, general of the imperialists, was no enterprising officer, though brave and experienced; and all he did after the battle was to turn the blockade of *Great Waradin* into a siege; in which, after all, he failed; for, winter coming on, he was obliged to resume the blockade. On the other hand, general *Veterani* took *Lippa*, and the *Turks* abandoned *Brodt* in *Sclavonia*.

A new
vizier ap-
pointed.

Ahmed received, at *Adrianople*, the news of his army's defeat; and immediately he appointed *Ali*, who had been kye-haya, or deputy, to *Kioprili*, to succeed him in the viziership. This minister is represented as having been very unequal to his post. He was, by the common people, called, by way of derision, *the waggon-driver*; either because his talents were not superior to that profession, or because he had exercised it. When he was preparing to set out for *Belgrade*, *Hussey*, the *English* ambassador, who was to attend him thither, died; and was succeeded, as plenipotentiary, by lord *Paget*; who proved to be a very proper minister for that court. The new grand vizier, when he first entered upon his ministry, seemed to give a favourable ear to the mediation of the *English* and the *Dutch* for putting an end to the war in *Hungary*; but he soon altered his behaviour. The *Poles* had made an unsuccessful incursion into *Bessarabia*, from whence they were forced to retire with loss. The strong fortrefs of *Garbusa*, in *Candia*, fell into the hands of the *Turks*, through the treachery, as is said, of a *Spanish* officer, who pretended that the *Venetian* commandant had ravished his wife. But, above all, the new vizier was encouraged to lay aside all thoughts of an accommodation by the information he received from *Germany* of the exhausted state of the imperial finances and dominions, and of the vast successes and preparations of the *French* against the empire.

Peace
proposed,

The truth is, the demands made by the *Christian* powers were unreasonable, and shewed their haughty, intractable disposition. The emperor, notwithstanding his reduced condition, demanded that all he had conquered should remain to him; that he should be put into the entire possession of *Transylvania*; that *Tekeli* should be delivered up; and, that *Ragusa* should be exempted, for the future, from paying tribute to the *Turks*. The *Poles* required the surrender of *Kaminiek*, *Podolia*, and the passes of the *Nieper*; and the *Venetians*, that *Livadia*, *Athens*, and *Thebes* should be ceded to them in lieu of some places in the *Morea*. Thus all hopes of peace being laid aside, and the vizier unable to continue the war, in preference to so many other generals of service and abilities, he had recourse to the most infamous methods of dispatching out of the world every officer, military as well as civil, of whose capacity he was jealous; and, at the same time, he replenished the finances with their effects; besides various other oppressive methods he took to fill the treasury.

His

His practices were too bare faced to be longer borne with. Some men of consequence, who had escaped his cruelty, had the courage to represent to the sultan, that all persons of experience and abilities in the empire were in danger of being exterminated. The sultan, at that time, had been so affected with the bad news of the late battle, and the death of his vizier, that, notwithstanding the sprightly turn of his disposition, he fell ill of a fever; and the mufti, who was a man of parts and abilities, protected the vizier, who paid him an implicit obedience; so that his fate seems to have been, for some time, suspended.

Mean while, the commonalty of the *Turks*, especially about *Adrianople*, began sensibly to feel the want of bread, particularly after the remains of their army arrived in that city from *Hungary*. This disposed them to mutinies; but the great officers of the army assembling, came to a resolution to support the government and to continue the war against the emperor. This resolution was so disagreeable to the common people, that the *French* ambassador was in danger from their resentment; and, indeed, nothing but the great sums which he distributed among the chief officers and ministers, could have prevented a revolution, at this time, from taking place; especially as the people were farther exasperated by the vast sums of copper money circulated from the imperial treasury, while the soldiery was paid in silver. Upon the appearance of *Tekeli* at court, he was treated with unusual distinction by the grand-vizier, having magnificent presents made to him; and, by his, and the *French* ambassador's, advice, it was resolved, that two great armies should be immediately assembled; the one to act in *Hungary*, and the other in *Transylvania*. The khan of the *Tartars* was, by the influence of *Chateaucneuf*, treated with equal distinction; and he and *Tekeli* set out at the same time; the former for the *Crim*, and the latter for *Hungary*. A war being thus resolved on, the divan formed a scheme for supporting it by a more equal taxation both of men and money, and which was approved of; and, indeed, frequent experience demonstrated how inexhaustible their dominions were in both.

While matters were thus concerting for carrying on the war, the *Asiatic* soldiery discovered great dispositions towards a revolt; and even the petty princes of the *Arabs* insulted the *Turkish* caravans that were going to *Mecca*. About the same time, viz. in *February*, 1692, a most magnificent embassy from *Persia* arrived at *Constantinople*, the ambassador's retinue consisting of three hundred and thirty-eight persons, many of them the sons, or relations, of princes; all his utensils, even to the meanest, were of silver; and sixty camels, magnificently caparisoned, were loaded with presents designed for the sultan. The jealous disposition of the *Turks* made them look upon this ambassador as being no better than a spy, who was to inform his master of the weakness of their empire;

empire; and therefore they were extremely uneasy during his stay at *Adrianople*; the only declared object of his embassy being to congratulate the sultan on his accession to the throne. Their apprehensions were somewhat dissipated by the *French* ambassador declaring, that his master had already sent off a body of able officers and engineers to serve in the *Turkish* camp; and, that he every day expected the arrival of two large ships, laden with all kinds of military stores and muskets for the janisaries. He even offered, in his master's name, to maintain three regiments of that body; but that offer was rejected by the divan with some indignation, as injurious to the honour of their empire.

The new vizier displaced and banished. Upon the recovery of the sultan from his illness, fresh applications were made to him against his vizier; who, besides the mufti, was greatly supported by his own son, a man of sense and experience. But all their art could not stifle the public discontent at a minister, so bloody and so incapable, continuing so long in office. At last, he quarrelled even with the mufti, whom he banished from court, and sought the ruin of the kaymakan of *Adrianople*, the only person who, he thought, had interest enough to hurt him during his absence in *Hungary*. His life, however, was of too much importance, and he was too well beloved by the sultan, to be dispatched without an imperial mandate; and the vizier was infatuated enough, without any ceremony, to demand his head of *Ahmed*, who seems to have been prepared for this insolent request. The moment it was made, he called for a band of black eunuchs, or executioners, in waiting, and ordered them to remove the wretch into another chamber and strangle him. The eunuchs happened to be in the vizier's interest, and, throwing themselves at the sultan's feet, besought him to take compassion on his minister's decrepid age. The sultan relented, and converted his sentence into banishment; and, ordering the kaymakan, who expected nothing less than death, to appear before him, he gave him the late vizier's seals. That minister was too wise to accept of them; and, with great importunity, got himself excused: upon which the viziership was conferred upon *Tapashli Ali Pasha*, governor of *Damascus*, who had served with reputation under *Kara Mustafa* at the siege of *Vienna*.

The new vizier being sent for from his government, at the distance of one thousand miles, created some stand in public affairs, and occasioned an application from some of the soldiery in favour of *Halil*, the seraskier of *Belgrade*; but the sultan remaining firm in his choice, *Halil*, perhaps to his joy, was employed in the *Negropont*; and every thing remained quiet, while the deposed vizier was confined to the *Dardanelles*, and his immense estate seized, with that of his son, for the use of the sultan.

It is said, that the new vizier, upon his arrival at *Adrianople*, was disposed towards a peace with the *Germans*; but the four ambassadors who had been sent to negotiate at *Vienna*, where they met with barbarous treatment, by being thrown into prison, returned to *Adrianople*; and, being influenced, partly by *French* gold, and partly by their own resentment, they made such a report of the distressed state of the *German* empire, that the continuance of the war was irrevocably resolved on. The former schemes for recruiting the army were now put in practice, but met with great difficulties; and the vizier, in the mean time, dispatched the seraskier of *Hungary*, with what forces he had raised, towards *Belgrade*, to cover the *Turkish* frontiers; and he then appeased a mutiny of the janisaries, who refused to march without six months pay. His next measure was to remove the kaymakan of *Adrianople*, and to substitute in his place the pasha of *Aleppo*, one of his own creatures; and this he effected, so far as we can learn, by his own power, without any interposition from the sultan, who, perhaps, was disobliged at that kaymakan for having refused the viziership.

Great Waradin, all this while, continued blocked up by the imperialists; and the *Tartars* were so much out of humour with the *Othman* court, that they refused to march to its relief. General *Heusler*, who commanded the blockade, perceiving that the garrison held longer out than he expected, and understanding that the *Turks* were preparing to throw provisions into it, resolved upon more vigorous operations, by drawing his lines nearer to the city; but he was interrupted in his works by two brisk sallies of the besieged, who were both times repulsed. At last, *Heusler's* heavy cannon coming up, he sent them a summons, requiring them to surrender, under pain of all within the town being put to the sword, without respect to age or sex. The garrison consulted their officers, and, as no relief was at hand, and the time was elapsed in which they expected it, they sent five deputies; the chief of whom, in a formal speech, agreed to give up the place, on condition of them and their goods being safely conveyed to *Panzova*; which, with other reasonable terms, were complied with.

This was looked upon as a conquest of great importance, and there were found in the fortress five thousand measures of barley, one thousand of wheat, three hundred sacks of rice, fifty vats of flour, fifty brass guns, twenty-two mortars, seventy thousand pounds of good powder, seven hundred and twenty-three thousand of decayed powder, three thousand five hundred cannon-balls, thirty thousand pounds of unwrought, and four thousand three hundred of wrought iron. The whole garrison consisted of one thousand two hundred men; and they, with the inhabitants, amounted to twelve thousand: but, after they marched out of the fortress, they found themselves surrounded in an open place prepared without the walls; and there detained till the *German*

man and *Rascian* garrison of *Pescobara* was released, they having been detained by the *Turks* contrary to the capitulation by which the place surrendered. To make some amends for the loss of *Great Waradin*, the *Turks* attempted to make an irruption into *Sclavonia*, by the way of *Essék*; but the *Rascians* fell upon them unawares, and dispersed them with considerable loss. About the same time, a party of the *Othmans*, going on board some armed vessels, made a desperate attempt upon *Titul*; but here, likewise, they were repulsed with loss by the *Rascian* garrison.

Campaign
in Hun-
gary.

They had no better success against *Titz*, another fortress upon the *Danube*, which they attacked with fifty vessels; but, after an assault which lasted several hours, they were obliged to retire with loss. On the other side of the river *Una*, the imperial *Kroats*, a people as barbarous as the *Turks* themselves, with the governor of *Novi* at their head, burnt the suburbs and town of *Belatz*; where they put all to the sword, excepting twenty persons of quality, whom they reserved to be ransomed. The same *Kroats* then proceeded to *Ostrasatz*, which they destroyed in like manner, notwithstanding the brave resistance made by the *Turkish* garrison. So many miscarriages created vast discontent both at the court and in the army; and it appears, at this time, that a conspiracy was formed against the vizier, chiefly on account of his having displaced the kaymakan of *Adrianople*. The vizier had the good fortune to discover this conspiracy, but did not think proper to punish the chief conspirators with death; all he did was to remove the aga of the janisaries from his place, and to substitute, in his stead, *Ishmael Pasha*, who had been kaymakan of *Constantinople*; and, having had some part of his education in *Germany*, where he had been prisoner, he was esteemed to be a man of address and capacity. The *tefterdar* was likewise involved in this conspiracy, and he too was removed. But nothing gave so much disquiet to the vizier as his finding that the janisaries likewise were in the plot against him. The truth is, that rapacious body had no attachment to any set of men but for money; and the vizier and his opponents were alike to them. The vizier out-bid the others, and gratified the mutineers; but he saw, at the same time, that he must be at the necessity of doing the same as often as those tumultuous troops should please to be discontented. It was owing to this delay that the *Turks* met with so many losses in *Hungary*, where they twice attacked the fortress of *Portsen*, near *Peterwaradin*, but were repulsed with loss. The *Kroats* and *Rascians*, about the same time, to the number of five thousand five hundred, made an irruption towards *Meydan*; where they had the good fortune to save from butchery four hundred *Christians*, who were sentenced to be executed next day, and to return home laden with plunder, besides making several prisoners of distinction. A large convoy of provisions sent to *Temeswar* was taken at the same time; and the *Ra-*
sians,

scians, breaking into the *Morava*, carried off two hundred thousand crowns in specie, and beat the *Turkish* convoy.

The seraskier of *Babadaghi*, with some other *Turkish* general officers, in the end of *July*, entered *Moldavia*, where they were joined by the *Turkish* waywode of that country with twenty thousand *Tartars*. Their object was *Soroka*, which they were in hopes of surprising, the *Poles* having been negligent of guarding it. The *Turkish* army consisted of thirty thousand men, including the *Tartars*, and the garrison of no more than six hundred; but, so unskilful were the *Turks* in the methods of besieging, that, though they invested it, and carried on their approaches with all the regularity they were masters of, they were obliged, at last, to raise the siege, with the loss of three thousand men. This miscarriage of the *Turks* gave great spirit to the *Poles*; and, when the khan of *Tartary* offered to restore *Kaminiek*, with all *Podolia* and *Ukrania*, to that republic, provided she would renounce her alliance with the emperor, the proposal was rejected, as the *Poles* were in hopes of recovering all *Moldavia*.

The *Venetians* having, during the preceding campaigns, subdued all the *Morea*, began now to entertain hopes of recovering *Candia*. With this view they endeavoured to surprize *Canea*; but the *French* in their service deserted to the *Turks*, whom they put upon their guard; and the *Venetians*, after besieging the place for fifty days, were obliged to raise the siege with considerable loss. This was attended with some other advantages gained by the *Turks* in those parts. But the seraskier of the *Morea* was repulsed, with great slaughter, in an attempt he made upon *Lepanti*; and *Ali Beg*, a *Turkish* general, was taken prisoner in endeavouring to recover *Gracow*. In the year 1693, the *Turks* celebrated, with the most extravagant rejoicings, the birth of twins by one of their sultan's wives; but their joy was somewhat damped by the burning down of four thousand houses, and two hundred shops, at *Constantinople*.

Mean while, the vizier was carrying on secret measures for peace; which being discovered lost him his post, as being done contrary to the knowledge of the sultan and the opinion of the divan. He was succeeded by *Bulukyi Mostafa*, who, endeavouring to carry on some works of reformation, to signalize his accession to the viziership, an insurrection was threatened, and conspiracies were formed against him; but, finding means to engage the janisaries on his side, the principal conspirators were apprehended and punished, and tranquility was restored to the empire.

The passion for war still continued at the *Turkish* court; A sheykh and the grand-vizier was preparing to put himself at the head of an army which was encamped without *Constantinople*, when a sedition broke out under *Misri Effendi*, the sheykh of *Prusa*. This rebel was an enthusiast; and it was thought,

from some poetical rhapsodies which he published, that he was a friend to the *Christians*. He erected a standard in *Prusa* for enlisting volunteers in the cause of *God*, who were to serve without pay or reward, without arms, or expence to the sultan. The vast reputation he was in for sanctity, soon brought above three thousand votaries, who stiled themselves derwishes, to his standard; and he set out at their head for *Adrianople*. Meeting with no resistance, he entered that capital, and, marching to the mosque of *Selim*, he there harangued the people. He told them, after performing his devotions, That God had revealed to him the cause of the late ill success of the *Othmans*, and, that the crimes of seventeen great men, among whom he named all the principal officers of the state, had brought the divine vengeance upon them; that the empire itself must be destroyed unless they were put to death; and, that the *Othmans* had no occasion for powerful armaments, because he was ready, with his unarmed derwishes, to encounter the infidels, or, as the *Turks* call them, gyawrs, and to drive them out of the empire.

which is
quelled.

The people, even of the better sort, were, by no means, indisposed towards this doctrine. The preacher wore a green turban, as a descendant from *Mohammed*; by which his person became sacred, even from the power of the sultan himself; and his congregation was resorted to by numbers of the regular troops. The vizier was alarmed by those seditious appearances, and sent the kaymakan of *Adrianople* to the court, then residing in that city, to bring the sheykh before him; but he refused to betray his divine mission by obeying such a gyawr as the vizier. The kaymakan perceived that nothing was to be done by force against the enthusiast; and made his report to the vizier, that, unless he was speedily suppressed, the whole empire must be thrown into confusion, his discourses tending to rebellion against the sultan himself. Upon this report, the vizier held a consultation with the aga of the janisaries, and the other great officers whom the sheykh had doomed to destruction; and the result was, to send a talkish, or formal address, to inform the emperor of his danger. *Ahmed* immediately doomed the traitor, as he could not be put to death, to be banished to *Prusa*. The vizier, well knowing the danger of proceeding against the sheykh, by violence, trapped him by flattering his vanity. He again sent the kaymakan to him, with the aga of the janisaries, and a number of officers and soldiers, who appeared before him in the most respectful manner, attended by one of the sultan's chariots; and acquainted him that his imperial majesty had so great an opinion of his sanctity that he wanted to enjoy the pleasure of his conversation, and would therefore be glad if he immediately repaired to the palace. The sheykh suspected their intention, and boldly answered, That, though he believed they were sent by *Shaytan*, or *Satan*, he would attend them; but, that they would soon

soon receive marks of a divine manifestation in his favour. The effects of enthusiasm are incredible. The enthusiast mounted the sultan's chariot, and passed through crowds of his votaries; but he was no sooner at a proper distance from them, than he was put into a covered waggon and transported to *Prusa*.

The army, all this while, continued to be encamped without the walls of *Constantinople*, and, in a day or two after the sheykh's disappearing from *Adrianople*, a most dreadful hurricane happened, attended with thunder and lightning, which consumed a vast number of tents in the camp, and threw all the rest to the ground. The common people immediately interpreted those judgments as so many marks of divine vengeance for the indignity that had been done to the sheykh; and the sultan himself was so much of that opinion that he sent the holy man a most respectful letter, asking him pardon, and imputing the hardships he suffered to the villainy of his ministers; requesting him, at the same time, to return to *Adrianople*, and bless his army before it departed. The sheykh, to keep up the reputation he had got, in his answer, paid a compliment to the sultan, whom he acquitted of the treachery that had been offered him; but informed him, that the same divine spirit which had led him to *Adrianople*, did not permit his return thither. Thus ended this religious frolic, as it may be termed. But we are told by *Ricaut*, that, upon the disappearance of the sheykh, his principal followers were put to death; and, among them, a rapacious pasha, two agas, and an astrologer. Another fire, which happened at *Constantinople*, wherein twenty thousand houses were consumed, confirmed the people in their opinion of the sheykh's sanctity; which was heightened by news arriving of an emir of the *Arabs*, who said that he was descended from the prophet *Mohammed*, having laid siege to *Bassora*, in the *Persian Gulph*, as being his property by lineal descent. Upon this, the pasha of *Bosnia* had orders to march against the rebels; but the latter opened the sluices which let the water into the flat country, and not only overflowed the *Turkish* camp, but drowned about seven thousand of their men. But we are now to attend the progress of the *Hungarian* war.

On the twenty-seventh of *June*, 1693, the imperial general *Heusler* took the strong fortrefs of *Jeno*, which he had, *Turkish* for some time, blocked up; and, soon after, that of *Philagoras*. Those losses obliged the vizier to hasten his departure marches from *Adrianople* with the army, which was composed of very to *Hun-* indifferent soldiers. While he was upon his march, being *gary*. informed of the taking of *Jeno* and *Villagethwar*, he was distracted how to proceed, or whether he should reinforce the garrisons of *Temeswar* or *Belgrade*. At last he resolved upon the former, and ordered a pasha to march to that city with

a strong detachment of men and a convoy of provisions. The pasha, and some of the other officers, presuming to remonstrate, that *Belgrade* was in danger, and must be lost, if *Temeswar* was succoured, the vizier was so incensed, that he put to death, with his own hand, six of his general officers who were of the pasha's opinion; and began his march towards *Temeswar*, as if his intention had been to subdue all *Transylvania*.

By this time, *Belgrade* was actually invested by the *Austrians* under the duke of *Croy*; but, either through false information of the vizier's movements, or, as is more probable, through the dilatoriness and imbecility of the court of *Vienna*, he neither was provided with men or artillery for so great an undertaking. It was the first of *August* when the siege might be said to begin; but it went so slowly on, that it was the fifth before a battery was finished; nor did the *Brandenburgh* troops join the army before the ninth. In the mean while, the vizier, understanding at *Distra* that *Belgrade* was besieged, changed his route, and, by a most unexampled march through mountains, he advanced towards *Belgrade*, after the siege had continued, without any success, for twenty days. The conduct of the imperialists, on this occasion, was unaccountable. No care was taken to cut off supplies to the town by the *Danube*; nor was the proper artillery brought up for several weeks after the siege was formed. This was not a little owing to the false intelligence the duke of *Croy* had received of the vizier's having marched into *Transylvania*; but he no sooner heard of his advancing to the relief of *Belgrade*, than he plied the siege with redoubled fury. But it was now too late. The vizier's approach not only animated the besieged to a brave defence, but discouraged the *Germans*, who suffered very severely from the sallies of their enemies, in one of which they lost above one thousand men; and they were repulsed in an attempt to storm the counterscarp.

and raises
the siege
of *Belgrade*.

A council of war being held, it was judged impracticable to continue the siege with their reduced numbers, and, at the same time, to make head against the vizier, whose march to the relief of the city was as incredible as it was unexpected. The outer walls of the place had been ruined by the artillery of the besiegers; and, even the citadel itself, though defended by a garrison of sixteen thousand *Turks*, was so shaken, that it must have surrendered in a few days, had it not been for the approach of the vizier, who was preparing to storm the *Christian* camp. A resolution being taken to raise the siege, the troops no sooner began to march towards the *Sava*, than the vizier dispatched a courier to the sultan, to inform him of his having gained a complete victory over the *Germans*, which was proclaimed with great ostentation at *Adrianople*.

The

The duke of *Croy* took up a strong camp across the *Sava*; which the vizier not daring to attack, sent the *Tartar* khan *Selim Gyeray*, with a large body, to cut off their provisions, and to ravage the *Hungarian* provinces. At *Khonad*, the *Tartars*, whose strength consisted chiefly in their horse, were so artfully surrounded by the imperialists, under *Hofkirkhen*, that they were reduced to the melancholy alternative of either starving or surrendering. The khan, rather than submit to either, ordered his followers to alight, and each man to kill his horse, and then to attack the enemy on foot; which they did with so much intrepidity, that the *Germans* were, at first, thrown into confusion; but recovering themselves, all the *Tartars*, excepting the khan and a few of his followers, were slaughtered.

On the nineteenth of *October*, *Hofkirkhen* fell upon the *Turks*, who lay before *Giula*, and drove them from a palanka, though they consisted of forty troops of horse, one thousand two hundred janisaries, and two thousand eight hundred *Tartars*. A thousand of the latter were killed, two thousand five hundred beasts of burthen were taken, and all their provisions destroyed; but it is uncertain whether this action did not precede that which we have given an account of against the *Tartars*; because, in the close of the letter which *Hofkirkhen* writes, upon this occasion, to the duke of *Croy*, he says, "Had I come but eight hours sooner, I had also met" "with the *Tartars* marching to *Debrezen*; howsoever, I am" "now preparing to follow them, and hope to come up with" "them to-morrow, or the day following."

This year, the imperialists, under count *Bathiani*, attacked *Brunzein Maydan* at sea, where the *Turks* had a great magazine of artillery, the neighbourhood of the place being famous for iron mines. The *Turks*, at first, made a brave defence; but such was the impetuosity of the *Germans*, that they stormed the walls of the place, and put to the sword above five hundred men and women, besides taking prisoners some persons of note; and, after securing all the contents of the magazines, they reduced the town itself to ashes. This place stands on the river *Sanna*, between *Kastanovitz* and *Bibaiz*; and the loss of it, together with a vast quantity of iron and brass artillery, gave very sensible disquiet to the court of *Constantinople*; the fourth part of which city was burnt down on the twenty-sixth of *August*, by an accidental fire. In other quarters, the *Othman* arms met with various success. The *Poles* were amused by the artifices of the *French* court; and the *Venetians*, in *Dalmatia*, by turns, defeated and were conquered. But we are now to turn from the operations of the field to those of the cabinet.

His *Britannic* majesty, *William III.* had nothing more at heart than to effect a peace between the porte and the *German* empire, which he knew could not act, with any probability of success, against the *French*, while it had an *Othman*

Negotia-
tions for
peace

war to sustain. *Lewis XIV.* on the other hand, employed his ablest ministers, and their most specious arts, to prevent any accommodation between the porte and the house of *Austria*. *Chateauneuf*, his resident at *Constantinople*, finding that the *Turks*, before the siege of *Belgrade* was raised, were wavering between peace and war, called for a new supply of credit, which was sent him by the marquis *de Lorand*, who assured the vizier, that the *French* king was upon the point of conquering *Great-Britain*, and consequently *Holland*; which would give such a blow to the *Germans* on the side of *Europe*, that the *Othmans* must become masters of all *Hungary* and *Transylvania*. The *Turks* believed him; and he had even the address, not only to obtain a promise from the vizier, that the porte never would make peace with the *Germans* without the participation of *France*, but leave for him to attend that minister's person in *Hungary*, that he might disappoint all attempts towards peace. King *William* gave Mr. *Harbord* the character of his ambassador at *Constantinople*; but, when he arrived at *Vienna*, he heard, with the most sensible concern, of the small probability of his success with the *Othmans*. In quality, however, of mediator, he received the proposals tendered for a pacification by the imperialists, the *Poles*, and the *Venetians*; which, with many other curious original papers, are inserted in *Ricaut's* history. Being thus supplied with credentials, *Harbord* proceeded from *Adrianople* (where he had arrived, for the most part, by water) to *Belgrade*, where he had an audience of the vizier. According to *Rycaut*, he found that minister so entirely prepossessed by the *French* ambassador, who, on that account, behaved with great insolence, that indignation and concern threw him into a fever, of which he died on the thirty-first of *July*, 1692. His death happening soon after that of *Hussey*, afforded great matter of speculation, as if both of them had been poisoned by the practices of the *French*; but, as *Rycaut* sensibly hints, their interest was so firmly rivetted with the vizier, that they had no occasion to have recourse to those nefarious acts.

prove ineffectual.

Many of the other great officers of the *Othman* empire were not of the vizier's opinion; and, upon the death of the deposed sultan *Mohammed IV.* a divan being held, the question of peace or war was warmly debated; and it was thought that the former would have taken place, had not the imperial and *Dutch* ministers been so zealous for it, that the *Turks* imagined the *European* confederacy on the brink of ruin.

Lord *Paget*, who now acted as the sole *British* minister at the porte upon the death of *Harbord*, had an audience in *March* with little effect; and, soon after, the affair of the mediation grew desperate. It was, at this time, reported, that the sultan was about to remove towards *Belgrade*, to give greater spirit to the operations of his generals; but he

was

was dissuaded from this resolution by his physicians perceiving him to be far gone in a dropsy, the hereditary disease of the *Othman* family. Preparations for war, however, went on with infinite vigour against the *Christian* confederacy; but, whatever general maxims may prevail amongst the *Othman* ministers, it is certain that the secret springs of action are moved by a few private favourites within the walls of the seraglio. This observation was exemplified in the fate of this Removals vizier, who had so successfully raised the siege of *Belgrade*, and returned to *Adrianople* in full hopes of being received with distinguished honour by his master. Instead of that, being accused, on the slight pretext of his neglecting the affairs of the empire, because he one day went a hunting, he was divested of the seals, which were given to *Ali Pasha*, the governor of *Tripolis*; but (a rare instance among the *Othmans*) he enjoyed his estate and liberty, and was made governor of *Damascus*.

The porte, at this time, by the instigation and influence of the *French* ambassador, sought to divide and destroy the *Christian* confederacy. The *French* deluded the *Poles* so as to apply for a separate peace; which must have been effected, had they not peremptorily insisted upon the surrender of *Kaminieck*, with all its dependencies, and upon a clause of *uti possidetis*; two terms which were too unpopular even for the *French* interest to carry through. The *tesferdar*, or treasurer, was, at this time, displaced, and, according to some, strangled; and one *Ozman*, a worthless pasha, a native of *Candia*, was made *kaymakan* of *Adrianople*. As to the vizier himself, he was, in his own mind, for peace; but, so great was the *French* influence at the porte, that he durst scarcely own his sentiments. It must be owned, that the common *Othman* histories, at this time, are extremely imperfect; and that many changes took place at court unknown to the public; as will appear by the following curious letter from lord *Paget* to a friend at *Vienna*, dated *April 24*, N. S. 1694; which contains a more true description of the *Othman* court, at this time, than we find in any history.

“ SIR,

“ THEY so often change their ministers here, that an
 “ ambassador can scarce come to treat twice with the same
 “ person. Since my arrival here at the porte, they have had
 “ three grand-viziers, three chimacams of *Adrianople*, four
 “ chimacams of *Constantinople*, three agas of the janisaries,
 “ three *tesferdars*, or lord-treasurers, two new *cadileschers*,
 “ or judges, of *Asia* and *Romelia*; and, in short, all the
 “ great officers of the empire were changed, the *mufti* only
 “ excepted; by which, there was such a new set of idiots
 “ and fools got into places, as would overturn the best set-
 “ tled government in the world: for, these officers being
 “ only

“ only such as chance offers, it is a doubtful wager, whether he proves a fool or a wise man; and, in case he should prove a man of parts, yet he is suffered so short a time to remain in his office, that he is in no capacity to improve them.”

“ Ambassadors, unless it be at their first audience, and at that of *Congedie*, have no conversation or access to the grand-seigniors; and then they affect such a sort of grandeur, as may best cover all their thoughts by a silence; so that they give no place for any debate; and a man can never lay any foundation upon their words: for, as their ally of *France* scorns to be a slave to his word, so they hold it to be no dishonour to be open, and esteem nothing for a secret. It is true, that, very seldom, or never, a minister shall receive a flat denial from a *Turk*, for he shall train you on to the very last point; and, when you come to the last argument, and upshot of all, then a sum of money must make the conclusion.”

and intrigues at court.

Such was the confused state of the *Othman* affairs at this time, when the khan of *Tartary*, upon some dissatisfaction expressed by the porte at seeing the applications of the *Polish* envoy chiefly addressed to him, left the court in disgust, and was followed by the *Polish* envoy himself, whose negotiation was disowned by all the rest of the confederates, who retired in disgrace from *Adrianople*. At this juncture, the intrigues of the court grew to a greater height than ever; and the vizier, with the other great officers without doors, applied formally to the grand-seignior to remove the kisler-aga, and some other officers within the palace, whom they accused of meddling in affairs of peace and war, in which they had no concern. The sultan, on receiving this application, broke out into an unusual passion against the vizier, and told him, That, if the kisler-aga deserved any punishment, it was for his having been instrumental in his, the vizier's, promotion to the high place which he so unworthily filled. The vizier then found that he was deprived of his chief support, by the departure of the *Tartar* khan; soon after which, his wife, who was sister to the sultan himself, endeavoured to accommodate matters between her husband and the kisler-aga, but without any effect, for she was forbidden the court, and the sultan's master of the horse was sent to demand from him the seals of his office, which he was obliged to resign. His house was then sealed up by the kaymakan of *Adrianople*; but, being rich, he had interest enough to procure an order for his being reinstated in his government of *Tripolis*. His enemies procured a revocation of this order; and a capigi, with several bostanjis, being sent after him, overtook him on the road, and, having brought him back, he was shut up in a prison, which few had ever been known to leave, but with their lives, and his estate was confiscated to the sultan.

He

He was succeeded by another *Ali Pasha*, who, as his predecessor, had likewise been governor of *Tripolis*. This minister had, at the time of his succeeding to the viziership, some experience in business; but was not looked upon by the public as a man of abilities or capacity for that high station. He too, like his predecessors, was inclined to pacific measures; but was overborne by the ulema and the favourites of the seraglio, and the war went on. The *French* ambassador, acquainting the sultan that the *German* army was neither numerous nor well disciplined, formed a plan for attacking *Peterwaradin*; which coming to the knowledge of count *Caprara*, in *Hungary*, he entrenched himself round the city; and, in this situation, the vizier found him when he arrived before the place. He saw the *German* entrenchments too strong to be forced, and, fearing to be attacked himself, he fortified his own camp, and began regular approaches against *Caprara's* works, as if they had defended a fortified city; while his fleet, which consisted of one hundred and ten vessels of all kinds, cast anchor within cannon-shot of the imperial ships. This was a new way of making war; as if, in fact, two sieges were carried on at once; that of the *German* camp, and that of *Peterwaradin*. The *Turks* being well supplied with artillery and *French* engineers, soon broke into the imperial camp; from whence they were dislodged, with difficulty, by the *German* hussars; and, some *Brandenburgh* battalions arriving on the nineteenth, their courage was greatly abated. While those operations were carrying on by land, a brisk cannonade was kept up between the *Turkish* and imperial ships upon the *Danube*; and the governor of *Titul* took twenty-five of their provision ships, and sunk three of their frigates; beside which, one thousand five hundred of their troops were cut off by *Bassompierre*, an imperial general. Among the latter was the son of the *Tartar* khan, who threatened vengeance; but, the rainy season coming on, and the *Turkish* troops working in the ditches to their knees in water, the vizier was, at last, persuaded to raise the siege; which he did by night: and, soon after, the *Germans* reduced *Giula*. It is observed, by *Marsigli*, who was no mean judge of military operations, that the vizier, during the whole of this campaign, acted in a most unsoldierlike manner; nor could he have taken the place, in the way he proceeded, had his army been double its number.

In other parts of the *Othman* frontiers, especially towards *Poland* and *Russia*, nothing of importance happened. The inhabitants of the island of *Khios* were of two kinds; part of them *Latins*, chiefly *Venetians*; and the rest *Greeks*, who thought themselves happy under the *Othman* government, by the distinguished privileges they enjoyed. After the *Turks* had miscarried before *Vienna*, the *Italian* part of the inhabitants became spies for the *Venetians*, and, at last, secretly invited them to invade their island; but sounded the

Successes
of the *Ve-*
netians.

Greck

Greek part of the inhabitants upon the subject. The latter, unwilling to change the government they lived under, gave intelligence to the kapudan-pasha of what was in agitation; but, such was the state of the *Othman* affairs, at that time, that he was unable to save the island; which the *Othman* governor, *Silahdar Hassan Pasha*, was obliged to deliver up by degrees.

The reduction of this island gave opportunities for its popish inhabitants to manifest their zeal for their church, for they immediately shut up all the places of worship belonging to the *Greeks*, many of whom they obliged to comply with their religion; and they broke, in almost every article, the terms of the capitulation for the island. The *Venetians*, as much elated by this acquisition as the *Turks* were dispirited, agreed upon besieging *Smyrna*. This alarmed the *French*, *English*, and *Dutch* consuls residing there; and they remonstrated to the *Venetian* commanders, That the warehouses of *Smyrna* were full of merchandizes and commodities belonging to their respective nations; and, that their republic would be obliged to make amends for all the damage which might be done to those ware-houses during the siege. The *Venetians*, upon those representations, returned homewards with their fleet; but their general, *Delfino*, took *Kiklu* and *Klobuk*, in *Dalmatia*; the *Turkish* seraskier endeavouring in vain to retake them.

Rebellion
of the
Arabs,

About this time, the *Arabs*, who, for some ages, had affected an independency upon the *Othman* government, complained, that the surreh, or tribute, paid them for not robbing the caravans going to *Mecca* from different parts of the *Turkish* dominions, had been withdrawn; and surprized some of the caravans, in which the khan of *Tartary* was going on a pilgrimage to that city, whom they made prisoner, and compelled him to carry their complaints to the porte. In the mean while, their general, *Amir Mohammed*, continued to plunder the *Othman* subjects; and the *Arabs* found the trade so beneficial, that his army amounted to such a number as enabled him to besiege *Mecca* itself: but, according to the *Turkish* historians, being struck with the sanctity of the place, he desisted from his enterprize. By this time the vizier had returned to *Adrianople* with a dispirited army, and in a manner that looks so much like a flight, that a tumult ensued. The people of *Adrianople* being assembled in the chief mosque of the city, a bold *Turk*, who had accomplices attending him, mounted the pulpit, and harranged the people as follows:

and sedi-
tion at
*Adriano-
ple*.

“ *Moslems*, or believers, You are all, at this time, obliged
“ to stand up for the faith, for your country, and govern-
“ ment. You cannot but be sensible, that the *Christians* at-
“ tack us both by sea and land; that we have a sultan who
“ attends to nothing; and a great vizier, who is not ac-
“ quainted, or practised, in affairs either civil or military.
“ Where-

‘ Wherefore, let us all run to the gate of our mufti, and
 ‘ there cry out, and exclaim, for a change of government.
 ‘ Do you not obferve what a capricious fool we have for a
 ‘ vizier; how obftinate and ignorant, and how he daily
 ‘ commits a thoufand follies?

Intelligence of this feditious fpeech being carried to the kaymakan, he mounted on horfeback, and, taking with him a ftrong guard of janifaries, he feized the preacher, but without daring to punifh him at firft. Finding afterwards that the mutineers were divided among themfelves, he proceeded againft them more feverely, by putting to death the moft culpable, and throwing their bodies into the fea. The *Arabs* were all this while in arms; and *Amir Mohammed*, who, we perceive, was a fharif, or descendant of the prophet, was preparing to ftrike an important blow both againft *Mecca* and *Medina*; but was diffuaded from it by the mufti, and the other good *Moflems*, both civil and military; who perfuaded him into more pacific fentiments. We are, however, given to underftand, that thefe were greatly owing to his being deserted by many of the *Arab* chiefs.

Towards the end of the year 1694, the vizier, who continued with the army encamped without the walls of *Adrianople*, gave out, that he would attempt the recovery of *Khios*; the lofs of which had occafioned an interruption of all corre-fpondence with *Smyrna*, *Rhodes*, or *Egypt*; and this had heightened the price of coffee, rice, and fugar. This defign was laid afide upon intelligence being received, that the *Venetians* had made proper difpofitions for defending it. Before the clofe of this year, the prudence of the kaymakan of *Adrianople* alone prevented a general revolution from taking place in the *Othman* empire.

In the beginning of the year 1695, the attention of the Death and miniftry was turned towards finding employment for the ar- character my, to divert its turbulent fpirit; and a frefh fire broke out of fultan in *Constantinople*: but fultan *Ahmed* died on the twenty- *Ahmed*. feventh of *January*, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the fourth of his reign. We have already given his character; and all we have to add, is, that, during his reign, he fell into the common error of the *Othman* princes; that of too great an attachment to private favourites, who abufed his confidence. *Rycaut* represents him, as being agreeable in his perfon; but his belly was too prominent, occafioned by the dropsy. The immediate caufe of his death was a defluxion upon his lungs; and it is faid, that, in his laft agonies, finding his nephew, *Moftafa*, could not be perfuaded to fpeak to him, he fent him a meffage, begging, that, if he fhould fucceed to the empire, he would fuffer his fon *Ibrahim*, who was no more than three years old, to live.

The Reign of Mostafa II.

Accession
of *Mosta-
fa*.

WE have already observed, that, whatever ideas the public may entertain concerning the despotism of *Turkish* sultans, their power is undoubtedly circumscribed in matters of succession, and all the great constituent parts of government. This appeared in the succession of *Mostafa II.* the son of *Mohammed IV.* to the *Othman* throne, in prejudice of the infant son of the late emperor *Abmed*. The vizier *Ali* would gladly have placed this infant son of *Abmed* on the throne, that he might have enjoyed his power during a long minority. The courtiers had determined otherwise; and the hazandar-bashi, or treasurer of the seraglio, freeing *Mostafa* from his confinement, he immediately mounted the throne, and was recognized as sultan by the great officers of state. He was, at this time, about thirty-three years of age, healthy and active in his constitution; and, from what we can gather from the *Turkish* as well as *European* historians, like many of his predecessors, he stepped from a prison to a throne. His mother, who was the favourite wife of *Mohammed IV.* had a perfect ascendancy over the son's spirit; and she was given out to have been the daughter of a *Christian* bishop. She was then at some distance from court; and, till her sentiments should be known, the new sultan was pleased to confirm the vizier in his office. The first act of his government was to inspect his finances, which he found to be miserably poor. To recruit them, he obliged all his great officers, not excepting the vizier, to bring in their ready-money; and his own mother is said to have contributed seven millions (of aspers we suppose) or about four hundred thousand pounds.

Alterations at
court.

The vizier seeing *Mostafa* upon the throne, was among the first of the courtiers to pay him his allegiance. The sultan declared, that he was resolved to command his armies in person. He issued orders for a new train of artillery to be cast, and he made all the arrangements necessary for a vigorous campaign, without consulting any of his ministers. He then recalled to court many of his father's faithful officers, and, among the rest, *Elmas Mohammed Pasha*, a worthy, able man, and unstained with avarice, the common vice of the *Othmans*; and him he made nishanji pasha, a post somewhat a-kin to our privy-seal; after which he was made rekiub kaymakan, or deputy to the vizier, when the latter was at war.

Many circumstances concurred to render the beginning of this reign uncommonly auspicious. All the measures of the sultan declared him to be of a warlike disposition. He publicly charged his vizier to take care how he behaved to-
wards

wards his soldiers, and to tell him nothing but the truth. The *Tartars* had beat the *Poles*. The *kapudan-pasha*, or admiral of the *Turks*, had defeated the *Venetians* in two several engagements; and, to the astonishment of all christendom, the latter meanly resigned, without a struggle, their important acquisition of the isle of *Khios*; which the *Turks* again took possession of, to the great joy of the *Greeks* and discomfort of the *Latins*, some of whose chiefs were publicly executed by the *Othmans*; and all who remained on the island were obliged to conform themselves to the *Greek* liturgy.

The sultan being now firmly seated on the throne, and his mother being arrived at court, all the great places of the government were new modelled. Some of the late ministers were strangled, others beheaded, an astrologer was hanged, put to death, and banishment was inflicted upon the least culpable; and all by the direction of the sultana valide, or mother. The sultan himself, like some of his predecessors, often went in disguise to places of mean resort, that he might hear the opinions of the common people; and his secret displeasure against his vizier was increased by his understanding that the people, in general, looked upon the sultan only as a nominal character; and, that, in fact, the vizier managed all the great affairs of the empire. This determined that minister's fate, for the sultan was resolved, at all events, to destroy him. The vizier was sensible of this, and did all he could to avert his fate. He squeezed money from all ranks of people, and his expertness in that practice was so agreeable to the sultan, that his life was spared longer than he at first intended.

All the cares of the sultan were now directed towards a vigorous campaign on the side of *Hungary*. *Mostafa* persisted in his resolution to command the army in person. The vizier, and the great officers of state, did all they could to dissuade him from this; but his mother encouraging him to persevere, they thought proper to congratulate him upon the magnanimity of his resolution. An encampment, as usual, being ordered for the army, which was to consist of eighty thousand men, about two miles out of the gates of *Adrianople*, the soldiers clamoured for their donative. The grand-vizier applied to the sultan, and offered to find the money for pacifying them; but the sultan replied, with great firmness, That he was not indebted for his throne to the soldiery, but to his own hereditary right; that the misconduct of the two former reigns had impoverished the treasury; that the donative in question was originally no other than a gratuity granted by his predecessors on occasion of signal successes; and, that, in short, he was resolved to discontinue it.

Before the army was assembled, the *Tartar* khan was ordered to be in readiness with all the men he could raise. He endeavoured to excuse himself, on account of a war he was engaged in with the *Muscovites*; but the sultan insisted peremptorily

remptorily upon his attendance. The sultan, by the firmness he displayed on this, and all other, occasions, found himself adored by his subjects, and now thought that he might venture to execute his vengeance against the vizier. That minister had long foreseen his own destruction; which made such an impression upon him, that his very words and actions, even in the presence of the sultan, betrayed his apprehension. *Mostafa*, in one of his midnight rambles, understood that his artillery carriages were not sufficiently fortified with iron; and this trifling circumstance induced him to charge his vizier with neglect in the important duties of his office. The vizier threw the blame upon the topachi-bashi, or master of the artillery, who recriminated; and, as the sultan had resolved that the vizier should be in the wrong, he was banished to *Chesme*, on the coast of *Anatolia*; from whence he was soon brought to *Adrianople*, and, being there put to death, his head was exposed in the most ignominious manner. The mufti, who was esteemed an honest, worthy man, was, about the same time, displaced; and the sultan's tutor, a person of a very opposite character, was appointed in his room. The aga of the janisaries, and almost all the domestics of the court, were, in like manner, displaced by the female faction, which directed every thing at court, and substituted, in their rooms, none but the most infamous of mankind.

Elmas Mohammed
made vizier.

Elmas Mohammed Pasha, whom we have already mentioned, and who was looked upon to be one of the handsomest men in the empire (his appellation of *Elmas*, or *Diamond*, being given him on that account) was raised to the viziership, to the great disgust of the old pashas in office; and, every thing being now in readiness for the march of the army, the sultan set out at the head of it, but not before he had published the following general orders. "That no man going to the wars should be served by young boys. That good order and discipline should be observed in the march. That no man should ride out of the common high-road, or by bye-ways, into the corn-fields, or vine-yards, or other grounds belonging to the husband-man." In consequence of those orders, the sultan, who continued to go about in disguise, commanded several persons, whom, he thought, had contravened them, to be immediately executed. The army, when it left *Adrianople*, by reason of the *Tartar* khan not joining it with above five thousand men, did not exceed fifty thousand. On the tenth of *June* they began their march, and took the route of *Transylvania*; by which the elector of *Saxony*, who this year commanded the imperialists, was disabled, through most unaccountable mistakes, from coming up with them. The sultan passed the *Danube*, and, on the seventh of *September*, 1695, attacked *Lippa*, which was then no better than an open place, and took it by storm. All who were in it were put to the sword, excepting the governor
and

and a few of the principal officers, who were reserved to be evidences of the *Turkish* victory. The sultan then reduced and dismantled *Titul Veterani*, the imperial general, was then upon his march, with seven thousand *Germans*, to join the elector of *Saxony*; and the sultan sent *Mahmud Beg Ogli*, begierbeg of *Rumelia*, with the light-armed troops, to keep the *Germans* in play till the rest of the *Othman* army could come up. *Veterani*'s troops were reckoned to be the best that *Germany* ever produced, and they repulsed *Ogli*, with vast slaughter, in sight of the sultan; who, with his own hand, killed numbers of the runaways, and advanced in person to the charge. The *Turks*, animated by his presence, broke, with irresistible fury, into the *German* camp; where they were cut in pieces by the imperialists: and a total route of the *Othmans* must have ensued, had not their generals, stung by the reproaches of the sultan, a third time rallied their army and renewed the attack. The battle was fierce and obstinate, notwithstanding the inequality of the numbers; the *Turkish* army then consisting of forty thousand spahis and eighteen thousand janisaries: but, the brave *Veterani* being mortally wounded, his men retreated.

This astonishing action gave the sultan an idea of the *Cam- German* valour and discipline, very different from what he had entertained before. He privately applied to the mufti, *Transylv-* to find out some honourable method for discontinuing the *vania*. pursuit of an enemy, whose despair might yet render them victorious. The mufti, as that set of men are always fruitful in expedients, immediately published a fetvah, implying, that, according to the principles of the *Keran*, no *Moslem* could obtain a crown of martyrdom, if he was killed in the too close pursuit of a flying enemy. In this action, the begierbeg of *Rumelia*, several of the best *Turkish* generals, and above ten thousand of the common men, and other officers, were killed. The *Germans* lost one thousand horse, and one thousand five hundred foot; and, though it was observed that the sultan, in all actions, took care not to expose his person, yet he wrote most magnificent accounts of his victories to his mother and the regency which he left at *Adrianople*. He then led his forces back to the *Danube*, and took *Logush* and *Karansebes*, places of very little strength or importance. Through the whole of this campaign, so rigorous a discipline was observed, that some *Turks* were hanged for so small a crime as robbing a bee-hive. But, however inglorious this campaign might be to the *Turks*, it was more so to the *Germans*, whose general sent his troops into winter-quarters without their coming to farther action.

The affairs of *Poland* this year are variously represented. The khan of *Tartary* made an irruption into *Podolia* and *Polutia*, as far as *Leopolis*; and is said to have carried off fourteen thousand prisoners: but this is denied by the *Poles*, who say, that they forced the *Tartars* to retreat, though their ar-

my consisted of above seventy thousand men. About the same time, *Peter*, czar of *Muscovy*, attempted to take *Asoph*, one of the principal towns of *Krim-Tartary*; but miscarried, through the inexperience of his soldiers.

Mezzo Morto, so called from his being half dead, occasioned by a wound he received in an engagement with the *Spaniards*, was, at this time, at the head of the *Turkish* marine, and one of the most skillful, as well as bravest, officers of his time. He was born in *Africa*, of *Moorish* parents, and had been early accustomed to a piratical life; nor could he be ever reconciled to the *Turkish* manners, even in his dress. After the *Turks* had lost *Khios*, though he was then only captain of a galley, to which post he had raised himself by his merit, he was so far from desponding, that he advised the divan to carry on an offensive war by sea. Some of the greatest officers of that board treated him as a madman for this proposal; but the seraskier *Misri Ogli*, who was to carry on the *Venetian* war, approved of his scheme, and put him at the head of a squadron with which he attacked the *Venetian* fleet in the chief harbour of *Khios*; and, to the astonishment of all the *European* powers, defeated it in two engagements. The *Venetians*, who had depended entirely upon their naval power, at first, were inclined to have butchered all the *Greek* inhabitants, whom, perhaps, with some reason, they imagined to have favoured the *Turks*; but the powerful protection of the seraskier, over-awed the *Venetians*, and their troops shamefully deserted the island. Such as remained were obliged either to embrace the *Greek* religion, or to serve in the galleys; which even the power of the *French* ambassador could not exempt them from: and many of the military men, whom their ships could not receive, when the others left the island, were put to death.

Mezzo Morto, who shut up all the *Latin* churches in *Khios*, in the same manner as the *Latins* had shut up those of the *Greeks*, obtained great applause from his conduct. The sultan made a kind of a triumphal entry into *Adrianople*, upon the recovery of *Khios*, and likewise upon the defeat of the rebellious *Arab* sheikh *Mohammed*, who had so often robbed the caravans travelling to *Mecca*; and made *Mezzo Morto* his high-admiral. The *Turks*, in general, recovered their spirits, and flocked to the imperial standards to make a glorious campaign in *Hungary*; where the elector of *Saxony*, the imperial general, had besieged *Temeswar*. The sultan flew to raise the siege, which he effectually did; and the *Othmans* took up a fortified camp, which the *Germans* bravely endeavoured to storm; but they were defeated with great loss of men and almost their whole train of artillery. This victory was owing greatly to the new vizier *Elmas Mohammed Pasha*, who threw himself, with the janisaries, between the *Germans* and the tent of the sultan, who had been almost made a prisoner by the sudden irruption of the enemy into his camp.

The

The *Othman* loss in this engagement was very considerable. The vizier's brother, the governor of *Temeswar*, and some thousands of the janisaries, were killed; and the safety of the *Othman* army was, at last, owing to the *bastanjis*, a militia but lately instituted among the *Turks*, somewhat of the nature of the antient soccage-tenures in *England*, as they held their lands by military services. The sultan affected great moderation upon this victory; which he was so far from pursuing, that he ordered the musti to issue a ferman, prohibiting farther blood-shed; and, to the great disappointment of the *Germans*, he put an end to the campaign. Such, in general, is the *Turkish* account of this important campaign; and, in the main, however disguised by the vanity of the *Germans*, it is true. The precise loss of the imperialists is not ascertained; but that of the *Othmans*, by their own confession, amounted to above eight thousand men.

While matters went prosperously on for the sultan in *Hungary*, *John Sobieski*, king of *Poland*, died; but the truth is, after the campaign, in which he raised the siege of *Vienna*, the *Poles* made but a poor figure against the *Othmans*. On the other hand, *Peter the Great*, czar of *Muscovy*, took *Asoph* from the *Porte*; and the *Venetians* obtained some advantages on the side of the *Morea*, where they repaired the famous *Hexamilion*, a wall of six miles long, which is built across the isthmus of *Corinth*. They had not equal success by sea, where the great abilities of *Mezzo Merto*, now the kapudan-pasha, introduced a new discipline in the *Turkish* marine, and baffled all the attempts of the *Venetians*, who had so lately been accustomed to despise the *Othman* fleet.

The sultan having led his army back to *Adrianople*, there disbanded it; and, by *Rycaut's* account, the revival of the *Othman* glory was, in a great measure, owing to the sultan's valour; or, at least, to the opinion the public had of it. From *Adrianople* he marched with his guards to *Constantinople*, which he entered in as great triumph as if he had returned from the conquest of *Vienna* itself. Three days after his entry, he was solemnly girt with a sword by a sheykh at the monument of *Ayub*, one of the most important ceremonies of the *Turkish* government.

On the first of *November*, this year, a *Persian* ambassador had audience of the sultan. His business was to complain of *Babek Soleyman Bey*, governor of *Karamania*, for his turbulent disposition; to solicit a separate place for the *Persians* to worship in in the temple of *Mecca*, and to obtain a preference for the *Armenian* patriarchs in the *Holy Land*; but we do not find that his embassy met with great success. The vast improvements that *Mezzo Merto* had made in the *Othman* marine, induced the sultan to apply more than ever to fitting out a large fleet, part of which he destined to act against the *Venetians*, and part against the *Russians*, who,

since the taking of *Asoph*, had become formidable to the porte. His proceedings were so vigorous, that the *Venetians* were kept in awe, nor did the *Russians* continue their conquests. As to *Mezzo Morto*, the sultan heaped upon him all the honours he could bestow, and furnished him with as many sailors and marines as he demanded. About the twenty-third of *May*, a ferman, or proclamation, was published for a general rendezvous of the army about *Adrianople*; and, to give spirit to the warlike operations, a thorough reformation of the coin was effected, to the great joy of the military, as well as the civil, part of the empire; and, among other savings that were made at the same time, the allowance of count *Tekeli*, for himself, his wife, and his family, was reduced to five dollars a day; but, to make him some amends, he was permitted to sell wine. This nobleman is a standing evidence of *Othman* ingratitude. No man was more caressed at their court than he was, while they had any occasion for his services; but their ends were no sooner answered than he was thrown aside, lodged in one of the most disgraceful streets of all *Constantinople*, and he and his followers must have starved, had it not been for his wine-licence, which, indeed, amounted to a monopoly, none of the *Othman* subjects being indulged in that privilege. The *French* ambassador, it is true, continued to shew him some tokens of respect; but his influence was soon at an end with the porte, when the *Othman* ministers found that he was treating of a separate peace with the imperialists and their other enemies.

Rebellion
in *Asia*.

A rebellion, at this time, was raging in the bowels of *Asia*, which retarded the *Asiatic* troops from joining the army that was to act in *Hungary* till the sultan emitted a proclamation of pardon; upon which ten thousand of the rebels came over to serve him in his army; which, when he set out for *Hungary*, did not consist of above forty thousand men. The struggle about the succession to *John Sobieski*, king of *Poland*, was then very high in that country; but the sultan being informed that it had gone in favour of the prince of *Conti*, he immediately wrote a letter to *Tekeli*, giving him the title of king of *Hungary*; but commanded him to repair to him at *Belgrade*. The messengers found the poor prince in bed, emaciated, tortured with the gout, and full of diseases; but, without regard to his rank or condition, they forced him from his bed into a common cart, in which they set out with him for *Belgrade*. His new title did him little service; for, as the prospect of peace encreased, so did the disregard of the *Turks* for him and his cause; but, in the mean while, he was highly caressed.

Expedi-
tion i. to
Hungary.

The suppression of the *Asiatic* rebellion soon raised the sultan's army to the number of one hundred and thirty-five thousand men, besides a vast number of attendants which the
Turkish

Turkish camps always have in their train. The imperial and *English* ministers acquainted the sultan of the peace of *Ryswick* between the emperor and the *French* king, and renewed their offers of mediation; which he rejected, having received information, that the imperial army under prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, did not exceed fifty-six thousand men; and, that he had orders to act upon the defensive, and only to cover *Peterwaradin* and the forts upon the *Danube*. The sultan calling a council of war, *Tekeli* gave it, as his opinion, that the army should move from *Belgrade* and march into *Transylvania*, where the imperialists were weak, and where the *Othmans* were sure to be joined by fifty thousand *Hungarian* malecontents. The *German* army was then lying at *Segedin*; but no sooner had the *Othmans* passed the *Danube*, in their march to *Temeswar*, than prince *Eugene* made a motion, as if he intended to attack *Belgrade*; and the sultan, in another council of war, came to a resolution to attack the imperialists at *Titul*; and, in the mean time, he ordered his fleet to proceed up the *Danube*. The *Germans*, perceiving the *Othmans* advance, fortified the banks of the *Teisse* with masked batteries. The sultan, thinking himself secure of victory, proclaimed a reward of fifty crowns for every *German* taken alive, and twenty-five for every head that should be brought in. The *Turks*, animated by this reward, threw themselves directly into their dumbas, or boats, and passed tumultuously, in great numbers, to the opposite bank, without resistance; but, no sooner were they arrived there than the batteries, being unmasked, killed three thousand of their janisaries; and the whole must have been cut in pieces, had not their fleet advanced and secured a retreat for the janisaries in an island lying in the middle of the *Teisse*. From thence they crossed the river lower down, and a second engagement ensued; but the imperialists, perceiving the whole *Turkish* army preparing to pass the river, retired to a camp in the plain of *Kobila*, lying between the *Danube* and the *Teisse*, and so as to be in the neighbourhood of *Titul*, *Segedin*, and *Peterwaradin*.

The whole *Othman* army, after this, having passed the *Teisse*, in a new council it was resolved to besiege *Peterwaradin* before the *Germans* could advance to its relief. But this could not be done till a bridge should be constructed for passing the army; and this took up so much time, that prince *Eugene*, by a wonderful march, notwithstanding all the opposition made by the *Tartar* cavalry, led his army from *Segedin*, and encamped on a plain between the *Othmans* and *Peterwaradin*. This expeditious march struck the *Othmans* with consternation, and the sultan called together another great council of war, to deliberate, whether the imperialists should be immediately attacked, or the *Othmans* remain upon the defensive till they should be attacked by the *Christians*. The members of the council were greatly divided on those

Debates
in the
Turkish
camp.

points. The vizier was of opinion, that, considering the uncommon ardor of the soldiers for battle, the enemy ought to be attacked; and, that it would be disgraceful for the *Othman* arms to lose so fair an opportunity; and, that, in such a case, the army would be apt to mutiny. His advice was opposed by *Jaffer Pasha*, a general of great experience in the *Christian* wars, and of as undaunted a spirit in council as in battle. He, very sensibly, observed, that the *Othmans*, even when superior in numbers, never engaged the *Germans* in the open field, but they were defeated; and, that their army, which was one of the best they ever brought to the field, was commanded by a general, whose abilities and valour would suffer him to slip no advantages, and who would not risk a battle without being assured of a victory. He therefore advised the sultan to keep upon the defensive, even though the enemy should march by them to take possession of the head of the bridge. He said, That, by such a conduct, the *Othmans*, though they should not prove victorious, would avoid being defeated; and, that, by surrounding the *Germans* with their works, they might oblige them to fight under vast disadvantages, or to repass the *Danube* for subsistence. The vizier, perceiving that *Jaffer* was favourably heard by the assembly, called him dog and infidel, and accused him of having been bribed by the *Germans*. *Jaffer*, without being moved, called out to the sultan to open the curtain, which, as usual, divided him from the assembly, that he might hear what he had to propose; which was, to submit to be laid in irons, and to die the death of a dog, if he was not defeated, should he attack the *Christians*, provided the vizier should be obliged to account for his temerity.

The emperor was at a loss how to proceed, and adjourned the debate; but inclined so far to *Jaffer's* advice, that he commanded his chaush, who served as a kind of military provost, to order, and even to force, all the soldiers, many of whom had already ranged themselves in order of battle, to keep within the lines. This threw them into such discontent, that the musti was forced to publish a fetvah, importing, That every soldier who should fall in such a battle, would forfeit his crown of martyrdom.

Prince *Eugene's* army, in the mean while, was in the utmost distress by the thirst and heat it suffered; so that he was obliged to secure the possession of the head of the bridge, that his men might refresh themselves with the water of the river. The prince having, by the orders given out in the *Turkish* camp, been enabled to do this without opposition, the *Othmans* imagined that their generals were afraid to fight; which gave the vizier an opportunity of triumphing over *Jaffer's* timid counsels, which had given the *Germans* possession of the *Danube*, and time to reinforce their army. But all he could bring the sultan to consent to, was, to undertake the siege of *Segedin*, which he pretended could not hold out

above

above ten days ; and the reduction of it would put the *Othmans* in possession of all the country between the *Teisse* and the *Danube*. He added, There was the less danger in this measure, as the *German* army was too much fatigued to be able to follow them, and far less to undertake the siege of *Belgrade* ; to the government of which he advised the sultan to appoint *Jaffer Pasha*. The sultan easily perceived with what view this last piece of advice was given, and rejected it. Next day, he began his march, but left *Jaffer* the command of the rear ; while he, with a body of horse, marched towards *Zenta*, a small castle on the banks of the *Teisse*.

Prince *Eugene*, hearing that the tubulkhana, or imperial Battle of music, was playing in the neighbourhood, expected a battle ; *Zenta*. but finding the *Othmans* were directing their march towards *Zenta*, he dispatched his *Hungarian* horse to harass their rear ; while he himself followed, at the head of sixteen thousand troops, with such incredible diligence, that, that very night, they got up with *Jaffer's* division ; every man of whom they killed or took prisoner, and *Jaffer* himself among the rest, excepting a chamberlain, who escaped to *Zenta* and informed the vizier of what had happened. That minister dreading the consequence, ordered the messenger's head to be struck off, to keep the news from spreading ; and informed the sultan, that *Jaffer* had, indeed, been surprized ; but that the *Othmans* had rallied, and entirely defeated the *Christians*. He was, however, very soon contradicted by the appearance of the *Tartar* horse, who informed the sultan, that the whole *German* army was at hand. The sultan could not conceal his indignation at his vizier, but, ordering a bridge to be thrown over the *Teisse*, which was compleated in four hours, and without suffering the vizier to pay his usual compliments, he passed it on horseback. The vizier saw now his ruin inevitable, unless he was saved by a desperate effort ; and, instead of following the emperor with all the troops and artillery, as he had been ordered, he fortified his camp as well as time would permit ; and, sending for the pashas, who had passed the river, he insultingly told them in a speech, That now was their time to be conquerors or martyrs ; and immediately the whole army fortified the camp by a second ditch, before which they placed their waggons and other carriages.

The sultan, who seems, at this time, to have been on the opposite side of the river, beheld, from thence, the *German* army advancing ; and sent repeated messages to the vizier, commanding him immediately to send over all the janisaries with the artillery. The vizier concealed those orders, which, indeed, happened to be impracticable, by the bridge being accidentally broken down. About three hours before night, the *Christian* army advanced to the charge ; but they were repulsed with loss : and they perceived, with amazement, that the *Turkish* camp, instead of being defended only by

waggon, was surrounded by two deep ditches ; that the division of the army with the vizier was more numerous than all their own army ; and that, when the bridge was repaired, they might be reinforced by the sultan. Upon those considerations, prince *Eugene* altered the plan of his attack, and ordered a trench to be dug in the dry part of the channel of the *Teisse*, below the *Turkish* camp, into which he introduced several regiments, who thereby flanked the *Turks* within their camp, while he himself attacked its outside. To prevent the bridge being repaired, he ordered two cannons to play upon it ; while the sultan employed one of the ablest officers about his person to defend it ; but the *German* artillery being better served, he was driven from his post with some loss ; and the bridge was damaged so as but one man could pass it a-breast. During this cannonade, the two attacks formed by prince *Eugene* went briskly on, but to the great disadvantage of the *Germans*, whom the janisaries drove from the outer ditch, but, returning to the inner ditch, they declared they would not follow their advantage, and that they would stand upon the defensive there only. This obstinacy appears to have proceeded either from a desire of being at hand to repel the attack from the river, or, which is more probable, from a disgust at the behaviour and haughtiness of their vizier and the pashas, to whom they attributed all that they had suffered ; and who, upon their refusing to defend the outer ditch, killed several of the most forward mutineers. According to *Cantemir's* account, this severity drove them into such rage, that they massacred the vizier, the pashas, and all their other officers, excepting an aga who, from his impetuosity, was called *the mad*. While this scene was acting in the camp, the imperialists seized the outer ditch, and made dispositions for attacking the inner ; and this drew the main strength of the enemy from the attack on the side of the river ; so that the *Germans* were likely to become masters of the head of the bridge, and, consequently, the *Othmans* were in danger of losing the only communication they had with the sultan.

Total de- The consideration of this was so alarming, that their force
 feat of the was again directed towards the river ; which gave an oppor-
Turks. tunity to the *Germans* to pass the inner ditch with little or no
 loss, and to attack the *Turks* in their rear. This completed
 their destruction. They who fled from the swords of the
 imperialists, either threw themselves into the river, where
 they were drowned, or were killed in seeking a passage over
 the ruined bridge, by which only a very few escaped. By
 the lists it appeared, that, within the space of three hours,
 no fewer than fourteen thousand and seventy janisaries, with
 their aga, were killed ; three thousand, seven hundred top-
 chi and jobeji ; seventy-three general officers, besides the vi-
 zier, *Elmas Mohammed* ; fifteen pashas of three horse-tails ;
 twenty-seven pashas of two or one horse-tail ; and seven
 thousand

thousand arnauds, who were, by far, the bravest, and best disciplined troops, not excepting the janisaries, of the *Othman* army. In short, at a moderate computation, no fewer than thirty thousand *Turks*, including attendants upon the camp, were drowned or killed in this battle. According to the letter sent by the emperor of *Germany* to king *William*, ten thousand of those fell by the sword, the rest being drowned; and the imperialists took seventy-two pieces of cannon, several thousand waggons laden with provisions; while the *Germans* had no more than five hundred men killed and as many wounded. There is reason, however, to believe, from the accounts given us of this battle, by prince *Cantemir*, who was present, that the loss of the imperialists was more considerable. It is, notwithstanding, agreed, on all hands, that, since the defeat of *Bajazet* by *Tamerlane*, the *Othman* power had never received so great a blow. Their defeat appears, in fact, to have been entirely owing to their want of discipline, and the hatred which the soldiers, especially the janisaries, had for the vizier; choosing rather to fall by the swords of the imperialists than to contribute to his glory. The *Othmans* behaved bravely when it was too late; but their efforts were those of despair rather than courage, and served only to precipitate their fates.

The sultan, during the battle, remained a spectator on the opposite side of the river; and was often heard to bewail the loss of so many brave soldiers, without being in a condition to relieve them. Though he was naturally brave, though he was still at the head of an army, equal, at least, to that of the *Germans*; and though it might have been easily supposed that the latter were most terribly fatigued, yet a panic seized him; and he put to death a renegade *Venetian*, who had been made a pasha, only for advising him not to fly dishonourably. In the middle of a very dark night, unable to see the way, he set out with a great retinue; many of whom, by mistaking the road, lost their horses and equipages: and the sultan, in the morning, changing both his horse and habit, fled to *Temeswar*, where he ordered the governor to conceal his arrival, lest he should be besieged by the *Germans*. The soldiers, about noon, perceiving that the sultan and his great officers were not at their head, immediately concluded that they had been taken prisoners on their march by some of the *German* parties; and they fled, without the least order, towards *Temeswar*, where they found the gates shut against their admittance. This confirmed them in their apprehensions, but they could fly no farther. Besides their being every moment afraid lest the *Germans* should fall upon them, they were destitute of all provisions; and neither they, nor their horses, had any thing to quench their thirst. Thus all property ceased among them; the stronger robbed the weaker of whatever could support his life. The sultan, all this time, had no regard but for his own safety; and, expecting every moment

moment to be besieged by the *Germans*, he prepared for a vigorous defence. Perceiving he was in no danger of a siege, on the third day he appeared without the walls; and his army, at seeing him, received him as if he had returned in triumph, and seemed to forget all the miseries they had suffered.

Their
camp
plundered
by *Tekeli*.

Tekeli, who was at the head of a body of *Hungarians*, was in no haste to follow the sultan; but, upon his and his army's precipitate flight, he pillaged the *Othman* camp, and made himself ample amends, by the vast booty he got, for all the penurious days he had spent in their service. As to the *Germans*, they, for some days, were disabled to proceed; and, even after they had been recruited, they were apprehensive of some stratagem having been formed by the *Othmans*. At last, after spending some days in repairing the bridge, they passed the *Teisse*, and took possession of all that *Tekeli* had left in the *Othman* camp.

On the fourth day after the battle, *Mostafa* began his march towards *Belgrade* with his army. He had, upon his arrival at *Temeswar*, dispatched a black eunuch, to inform his mother of his being alive, and at the head of an army. This was a wise precaution, as it quelled all insurrections and intrigues about his succession. To quiet the minds of the people, and to save the glory of the *Othman* arms, it was publicly given out, that a detachment of the sultan's army, under the vizier, had been attacked by one hundred thousand *Germans*; and, that he, and the janisaries with him, had been cut in pieces; but that the emperor, with the main body of the army, were not in the engagement. As it usually happens, the more the vizier was hated, the more the sultan was beloved, by the soldiery; who called out again to be led to the *Christians*, that they might revenge the defeat of their fellow-subjects. *Mostafa* accordingly marched at their head towards *Belgrade*, as far as *Alibunar*; where he invested *Husseyu Pasha* with the viziership. He then proceeded to *Belgrade*; from whence, after a stay of a few days, he returned with his army to *Adrianople*, about the end of the year 1698.

Successes
of the
Germans.

The truth is, the season was now too far advanced for either army to undertake any thing of importance. The *Germans*, on the thirtieth of *October*, detached some troops, under general *Rabatin*, towards *Karansebes* and *Vipalanka*. On the fourth of *November*, the siege of the latter was formed; and, on the sixth, the place was taken by storm; and the garrison, consisting of eight hundred men, was put to the sword. The *Germans* likewise took the castles of *Doba* and *Mogla*, and set fire to *Saray*, the capital of *Bosnia*. The late defeat of the *Othmans*, at the battle of *Zenta*, seems to have thrown their affairs into such confusion, that the *Turkish* troops in that province applied to *Daltaban Mostafa Pasha*, who happened to be then in *Bosnia*; and who, by his great actions,

actions while he was governor of *Baghdad*, had acquired the highest military character in the empire ; and forced him to take upon himself the command of the army : which he no sooner did, than he drove the *Germans* beyond the *Saave*, and retook from them twenty-four castles, or rather palankas, situated on that river.

The domestic revolutions that happened this year in *Muscovy* and *Poland*, prevented any remarkable actions in those parts ; only the *Russians* employed the summer in fortifying *Asof* and *Luktikh*, without being interrupted by the *Othmans*. In the islands of the *Archipelago*, the infidels had a great number of officers called begs ; each of whom commanded one or more vessels to cruize upon the *Venetians*, or the other *Christian* powers at war with the *Turks*. The most eminent of these begs was one *Mehemed*, who, at his own cost, maintained three gallies. This free-booter attempted *Tino*, one of those islands, but was repulsed by the *Venetian* governor ; and, the *Turks* having several times declined to engage the *Venetian* fleet, the latter claimed a vast superiority over them this campaign.

Upon the return of *Mostafa* to *Constantinople*, he found his subjects, of all ranks, greatly dejected by the events of the preceding summer ; nor, indeed, could he, with all his efforts, keep up his own spirits. Sometimes, like his predecessors, he went in disguise through the streets of his capital, that he might learn the sentiments of his people ; but he heard nothing but the language of despondency. “ God,” said they, “ has declared himself on the side of the infidels ; “ it is therefore impossible for the *Othmans* to defeat the *Germans* : and to shed more *Moslem* blood, in fighting against “ God as well as man, is impious and fruitless.” This was not only the language of the vulgar, but of the *Othman* ministry. The vizier himself had a pacific turn, and, being no enemy to wine, he sometimes opened himself, in that respect, to the *English* and *Dutch* ambassadors, who still attended the court, but thought it below the dignity of their masters to press the renewal of a mediation that had been so often rejected.

The *German* emperor, on the other hand, had still more powerful motives for peace than *Mostafa* had. The low state of the king of *Spain*’s health, and the daily expectation of his death, required all his attention to prevent the *French* from becoming masters of that monarchy ; and the situation of his affairs in *Europe* became every day more critical. It is difficult to say, whether the *Othmans* or the *Austrians* were the most ridiculous and unremitting in their punctilios. Both equally desired peace, but neither would ask it of the other.

Alexander Maurokodatus, a *Greek*, who had been employed in the late embassy to *Vienna*, then served as interpreter for the

porte ; and, being a person of great sagacity and penetration, he freely opened himself to the vizier upon that subject. This minister acknowledged, he did not expect that the imperialists would make any advances towards peace; and he knew that his master would suffer all extremities before he did. *Maurokordatus* asked his leave to undertake the arduous employment, which he promised to effect without drawing any imputation upon the glory of the *Othman* throne ; adding, that he had sufficient reason to believe, that the *Germans* were as much tired of the war as the *Othmans*. *Maurokordatus*, having brought the vizier to consent to this, paid a visit to the *Dutch* and *English* ambassadors, seemingly to desire them to transmit to the *German* emperor his thanks for the civilities he had received at *Vienna*; and, in the course of his conversation, pretending a great affection for the *Christian* interest, he said, that he would not discover to the *Othmans* the very great reasons which he knew the *German* emperor had to wish for peace, lest it should make them advance in their demands ; but that, if they would leave the matter to him, he did not doubt but to finish it to the glory and satisfaction of his imperial majesty. The ambassadors seeming not to dislike the proposal, *Maurokordatus* bound them to secrecy by an oath ; a very necessary precaution in his situation ; and the ambassadors recommended to him the taking the affair upon himself, as they knew that his imperial majesty would disavow all kinds of advances for peace that could be made in his name ; but that they believed he would not be averse to listen to an equal plan of accommodation. *Maurokordatus* made the vizier, who had heard him with raptures, believe that the ambassadors had expressed a greater readiness for peace than they really had done, and he committed the whole to his conduct, with the most extravagant promises of reward, if he should succeed in restoring tranquillity to the empire.

The artful agent managed with so much address, that the material points of the treaty were settled, without either of the ministers having met together ; and, at last, there being now no longer a necessity for standing upon forms, the negotiation became public. *Feriole* had now succeeded *Chateaufneuf* as ambassador from *France*. Under a notion of supporting his character to the full, he acted more like a madman than a minister (and indeed he fell soon after into a phrenzy) and spared neither promises, money, nor threats, to break off the negotiation ; pretending, that his master had made only a short truce with the *German* emperor, and that, next spring, he would invade *Germany* with one hundred thousand men. But the *Othmans* had been so long imposed upon by *French* promises, that they were as much disregarded as the ambassador's person was hated, and the negotiation went on.

It did not, however, prevent both parties from making all the advantages they could in the field. The sultan marched to *Adrianople*, whence he sent the vizier with his army to *Hungary*; whilst he himself retired to a hunting-seat in the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*, there to wait the events both of the war and the negotiation. The vizier advanced to *Belgrade*, and the imperialists to *Peterwaradin*. The *Russians* and *Poles* continued inactive on their respective frontiers. The *Venetians* alone kept up the spirit of the *Christian* confederacy, and beat the *Turkish* fleet near *Mitylene*; but were repulsed in an attack they made upon *Stolaz*, in *Dalmatia*; where the *Turkish* seraskier was forced to abandon the siege of *Cing*, upon the approach of the *Venetians*.

By this time, the negotiations for peace were so far advanced, that the plenipotentiaries were named by all parties. Those for the *Othmans* were *Rami Mehemed Reis Effendi* and *Alexander Maurokordatus*; who, upon this occasion, were honoured with distinguished titles and ranks. The imperial plenipotentiaries were count *Pettingen* and count *Schlik*. *Procopius Bogdanowitz* acted for the czar; the waywod of *Posnania* for the *Poles*, and *Ruzini* for the *Venetians*. Lord *Paget*, the *English*, and *Collier*, the *Dutch*, ambassadors, were the mediators. The place where they met lay near *Carlowitz*, between *Peterwaradin* and *Belgrade*; but their obstinate disputes about precedence had almost prevented the conferences from taking place, till *Maurokordatus* contrived a round building, with different doors for the different treating powers, by which those ambassadors were to enter all at the same time, and each to take his seat, which was so placed as to leave no room for any dispute about precedence; while the guards consisted of an equal number of *Turks* and *Germans*: This arrangement seems to have been the most difficult part of the negotiation, the material points having been settled before-hand. The treaty was signed on the fifteenth of *January*, 1698—9.

The heads of it were, That a truce should take place between the porte and the *Germans* for twenty-five years; that *Transylvania*, as held by *Mikhael Apaffi* and his predecessors, should be ceded to the emperor; that the *Othmans* should remain in possession of *Temeswar*; and, that the forts of *Lippa*, *Khonad*, *Karansebes*, *Lugos*, *Herkomisia*, *Bech*, *Bechkerek*, and *Sabbia*, were to be dismantled, for the greater security of *Temeswar*. The navigation of the *Teisse* and *Maros* were to be free to both parties, and the emperor was to have possession of the territory between the *Teisse* and the *Danube*. A line drawn from the mouth of the *Maros* to that of the *Bosut*, where it falls into the *Saave*, was to be the boundary of the eastern part of *Hungary* belonging to the *Germans*; and the *Saave* was to part the *Turkish* from the imperial limits, on the south, till its junction with the *Unna*; and, that no new fortifications should be erected within those boundaries.

The

The terms made for the *Russians*, at first, were no other than, that a truce should be concluded, for two years, upon the footing of *uti possidetis*. This term was enlarged to thirty years, after some further negotiation; and it was agreed, that the *Russians* should remain masters of *Asof*, and all that they had taken from the *Turks* on the *Nieper*; but, that *Kasikermen*, being dismantled, should remain with the *Othmans*. The *Poles*, who, at first, stood upon very high terms, were to give back to the sultan several places in *Moldavia*; but *Kaminiek*, *Podalia*, and *Ukrania*, were to be restored to them. The *Venetians* were to remain in possession of the *Morea* as far as the *Hexamilos*; but *Lepanto*, *Prevesa*, and the castle of *Romania*, were to return to the *Othmans*: *Leucade* was to remain with the *Venetians*, whose tribute to the *Turks* in the *Archipelago* was to be discontinued; and the boundaries of their dominions were fixed in *Dalmatia*. Such, with a great number of lesser provisions, which are as immaterial as they proved afterwards ineffectual, was the famous treaty of *Carlowitz*; in which the lord *Paget*, the *British* ambassador, obtained the greatest honour. We have omitted the incidents that retarded so long the conclusion of the treaty; and likewise the pompous formalities that preceded it: all which are minutely recorded by *Rycaut*, together with a copy of the treaty itself; which lasted from the middle of *November*, 1698, to the time specified, during a bitter cold season.—We are now to return to the affairs of the *Turks* in other quarters.

In the beginning of the year 1698, the *Tartar* khan, as he is called, had a conference at *Constantinople* with the sultan, mufti, and vizier, concerning the operations of the future campaign, in case the negotiations for peace should not take place. They informed him, that their cavalry had suffered but little in the battle of *Zenta*; and, that they could have no difficulty in replacing the infantry in the ensuing campaign. The khan seemed, on this information, inclinable to continue the war. He knew that the *Russians* were embroiled with the *Swedes*, and that the *kossaks* and *Poles* were too much employed in the election of their king, to be formidable either to the *Turks* or *Tartars*. This conference being ended, the sultan applied himself, with great vigour, to repair, at once, his armies and his finances. He sent the proper officers to raise men and money in *Asia*, and gave orders for casting a great quantity of heavy artillery at *Constantinople*; and *Mezzo Morto* was continued in his post of high-admiral, with orders to take the first opportunity of fighting the *Venetians*. Notwithstanding those warlike appearances, the ministry got over the khan of *Tartary* to their party, and gave themselves very little trouble, in reality, concerning the *German* war; but were greatly alarmed at the rebellion of the *Arabs* lying on the borders of *Persia*, under one *Bebek Selcyman*. The *Othman* ministry did not, it seems, think

think themselves able to quell this rebellion; and applied to the *Persian* ambassador, to desire that he would prevail with his master to furnish a body of troops for suppressing the rebels. The ambassador, at first, declined to meddle in the affair, because of *Soleyman's* great interest among the *Arab* princes. The truth is, the sopher of *Persia* himself wanted to make good some claims he had upon the *Othmans*; and had received an ambassador from the pope with distinguished honours. Upon this, the sultan named an ambassador to the court of *Ispahan*; and orders were sent to the seraskier of *Egypt*, who had likewise the government of *Baghdad* bestowed upon him, to endeavour to subdue the rebels, who had taken possession of *Bassora*.

It is observed, in the histories of those times, that the *Oth-* Splendor
man court never was so splendid as it then was. Almost all of the
the courts in *Europe* had their ambassadors at *Constantinople*, *Othman*
where the *Othmans* seemed to have laid aside their harsh, ri- court.
gid manners, though they would not suffer the *French* am-
bassador to approach the sultan with his sword by his side;
upon which he returned to *France* without an audience.
They were as magnificent in their presents, entertainments,
and equipages, as the *Christians* were; and as fond of pomp
and shew: though certain misunderstandings happened occa-
sionally on settling the limits according to the treaty of *Car-*
lowitz.

The court of *France* justified its ambassador in refusing to submit to the *Turkish* ceremonial of laying aside his sword; and he was so foolish as to build a gondola, for diverting himself on the water, every way like that made use of by the sultan for the same purpose. The *Othman* government, at first, remonstrated upon this want of respect; but *Feriole* refusing to make any alteration in his gondola, it was cut in pieces, and the *Turk* who had the care of it severely bastinadoed.

But, notwithstanding all this shew of magnificence and tranquility, the *Turkish* government never was in a more disagreeable situation than at that time. The common people could not bear with the pomp and splendor of the court, after a peace which they considered as being inglorious and detrimental to their empire. *Soleyman*, the *Arab* rebel, had obtained many advantages over the seraskier of *Egypt*, and had cut in pieces a great caravan of pilgrims going to *Mecca*; and it now happened that he was supported in his rebellion by the sopher of *Persia*. Many other circumstances, and even superstition itself, contributed towards bringing the discontents of the people to a head. Those discontents first broke out at *Belgrade*, where the garrison, mutinied for want of pay, and forced the seraskier to take refuge in the city; but the mutineers bringing cannon before the wall of the citadel, took it by storm, and put the seraskier, and all who were with him, to death.

The

The vizier, who was well acquainted with the sultan's humour, endeavoured to stop all disagreeable events from coming to his ears, by severely punishing those who presumed to report them; and informed his master that the peace of his dominion was now so well established, he might safely take some repose: upon which, *Mostafa*, having committed the reins of government to the vizier, retired to *Karishtiran*, to amuse himself with hunting. This brought to the minds of the soldiery and populace, the fate of *Mohammed IV.* the sultan's father; and comparisons, very disadvantageous to the reigning sultan, were formed between him and his father. It was observed, that the former, in the early part of his reign, had supported the *Othman* glory with great lustre; and, that his passion for hunting had alone undone him; that the present sultan, though young and vigorous, had dismembered the empire of its strongest places and fairest territories: and their conclusion was, that, as he had the failings, so he must meet with the fate, of his father. Those murmurings coming to a great height, the vizier advised the sultan to leave his retirement, and remove to *Adrianople*, where he remained all the winter of the year 1699.

Intelligence
from *Tartary*.

Mostafa II. throughout his whole reign, was ill served either by his troops or his ministers. The discontents of the former lost him the decisive battle of *Zenta*; and the attention of the latter was generally employed in concealing from him the true state of his affairs, and in lulling him into a fatal security; in which they were but too much assisted by his mother, the sultana-valide, whom he most tenderly loved, and who had an irresistible turn for pleasure and magnificence. Notwithstanding this, he appears to have been a prince of sound judgment. While he remained at *Adrianople*, he received letters from the khan of *Tartary*, of whom he had a great opinion, informing him, that the whole system of power in the north, and upon the *Black-sea*, was threatened with a total revolution by the ambition of the czar of *Muscovy*, who had obliged his subjects to conform themselves to the *German* habit, and his soldiers to the *German* discipline, who was building forts upon the *Don* and the *Nieper*, raising numerous armies, and preparing fleets that would soon give him the mastery of the *Black-sea*. In short, that he had more to apprehend from this northern, than he had from the *German*, gyawr; and, that he would be in a condition to over-run all *Krim-Tartary*, if it was not speedily supported, before the *Othmans* could march to its relief. This intelligence was quite the reverse of what the sultan had received from his vizier, who was still negotiating with the *Russian* ministers, and entertaining them with great magnificence. *Mostafa*, suspecting the khan's intelligence to be true, resolved to employ a secret agent, whom he could trust, to examine things with his own eyes; but made an unfortunate choice of *Kibeli Ogli*, who was the vizier's nephew.

phew. This person, afraid of undertaking a commission of such importance, without acquainting his uncle, discovered to him all that had passed between himself and the sultan. The vizier charged him to repair to *Krim-Tartary*, according to the sultan's orders; but to make his report to him, the vizier, and receive his instructions as to the answer he was to make to the sultan. *Kibleli* performed his journey, and found the *Russians* in even greater forwardness, in building ships, fortifying places, raising armies, and in completing every plan of greatness, than even the khan had represented them. All this, upon his return, he imparted to his uncle; who advised him to conceal from the sultan the disagreeable circumstances, and only acquaint him, that the *Russians* had indeed begun some works and fortifications, but that they had discontinued them, and were about to send an ambassador to renew their peace with the sublime porte; and that, upon the whole, the khan had aggravated matters only that he and his subjects might have an opportunity to gratify their favourite passion for plunder. *Kibleli* punctually obeyed his uncle, and appeared before the sultan in his travelling habit, as if just alighted from his journey. The sultan, exasperated at the khan, wrote him a letter full of reproaches; to which the khan sent an answer, by a trusty hand, in which he insisted upon the truth of his information, and recriminated upon *Kibleli*. The sultan, startled at the khan's firmness, sent for *Kibleli*, and, by threatening him with the rack, he got from him the truth. *Kibleli* was soon after put to death; and the vizier was disposed, his office being held vacant for forty days, till he was succeeded by *Dultaban Mostafa Pasha*, governor of *Baghdad*.

This *Dultaban* was an excellent officer, and had been employed against the *Arabs*, who were now very formidable. Being accused by one of the courtiers of favouring the enemy, a capigi was sent to take off his head; but, upon his arrival at *Dultaban's* camp, he found that he had obtained a complete victory over the rebels; which rendered it dangerous for him to execute his commission. He therefore returned to the sultan, who approved of what he had done. *Dultaban*, in the mean time, receiving intelligence of his narrow escape, sent a large present to the avaricious musti, who had been the sultan's tutor, and was then his favourite, and who offered to procure for *Dultaban* the viziership, as *Husseyu Pasha* had now drank away his senses; which he accordingly performed.

The new vizier pursued a system very different from those of his predecessors. He called for a state of the empire, on pretence of his being ignorant of its situation towards *Europe*; and perceiving that many towns beyond the *Saave*, which he himself had taken from the *Christians* while he was pasha of *Bosnia*, had been ceded by the *Othmans*, he exclaimed most bitterly against the authors of the late peace, as being

bad gyawrs as the *Germans* themselves. Above all, he inveighed against the giving up *Kaminiek*, the glory and strength of the *German* empire on that side, where a magnificent jami, or mosque, had been erected, as a trophy of the *Moslem* religion; but was now disgracefully yielded up to infidels, in exchange for three small places on the *Moldau*, full of *Christians*. In short, understanding that a general war, on account of the *Spanish* succession, was like to break out all over *Europe*, he resolved to have no regard to the late peace; but to attack *Poland*, with the weakness of which he was best acquainted.

who resolves to break the peace,

but is put to death.

The *Poles*, ever since the conclusion of the peace, had behaved with so much circumspection towards the *Othmans*, that the vizier could find no pretext for breaking with them, but that the *Othman* ambassadors had exceeded their instructions, and had acted against the principles of their faith; and that they should atone, with their heads, for their treachery. Perceiving that the musti's credit with the sultan stood in his way, that high-priest having confirmed the peace with his fetvah, and having always patronized the negotiations of it, he resolved to dispatch him privately, and that it should be done by some of his domestics strangling him with a cord, at an entertainment in the vizier's own house; to which the musti, out of a shew of friendship, was to be invited. The vizier intrusted this secret to his kychaya-aga, who betrayed it to the musti. The latter having fortified his party, especially by the karab-pasha, or chief butcher, one of the richest subjects in the empire, pretended sickness; and, when the ceremonial, which is very rigorous among the *Turkish* ministers, brought the vizier to wait upon the musti, to conduct him to his own house, he found him in bed; and, appearing to be very sick, he evaded going to the entertainment. The vizier retired; and the musti sent for *Rami* and *Maurokordatus*, the negotiators of the late peace, whom he made acquainted with their danger; and it was agreed among them, that the vizier should be ruined. The musti undertook to be the agent for his destruction; and he informed the sultan, that *Dultaban* was raising an army officered by his own dependants, with a view of breaking the peace and deposing his imperial majesty. The credulous sultan believed him; loaded *Dultaban* with reproaches; and, without suffering him to speak in his own defence, commanded him to be put to death. The vizier begged hard for a private audience of the sultan, to whom he said he had somewhat very particular to impart; but was hurried to the place of execution, where the secret died with him, and where he reproached the sultan with his injustice and ingratitude.

Dultaban was succeeded in the viziership by *Rami*. He was of low original, but had raised himself by the quickness of his parts, his skill in poetry and music; but, above all, by his fine hand of writing; a quality which is in great esteem among

among the *Turks* and *Arabs*. He had been only nominally joined with *Maurokordatus* in the late treaty. His preferment was very disagreeable to the clergy, and all ranks of people at *Constantinople*; whilst *Dultaban's* memory was revered. The mufti was both hated and envied, for his avarice and for filling the chief posts of the empire with his own relations and children, amongst whom every thing was venal. He was likewise accused of having persuaded the sultan to retire to *Adrianople*, and to abandon the capital of his empire; with various other charges.

Kioprili Abdollah Pasha, the son of the great *Kioprili*, who was killed in the battle of *Salankemen*, was then kaymakan of *Constantinople*, though but a youth of eighteen, and had married the mufti's daughter. On a certain day, after the janisaries had received their pay, the jebeji, who are the next corps, applied for their pay likewise; and, upon *Kioprili* putting them off with some excuses, about forty of them behaved so mutinously, that he ordered them to be apprehended and put to death. Matters being ripe for a revolt all over *Constantinople*, the jebeji made resistance, and were rescued by their fellow-soldiers. Upon their return to their quarters, they were encouraged by *Karakash Mehemed*, a bold demagogue, to depose young *Kioprili*, and to attempt a change of government. Next day, being joined by the janisaries and great numbers of the citizens, they met at the atmeydan, or the hippodrome, near the church of *St. Sophia*, and bound themselves, by oath, to destroy the mufti, vizier, and the other enemies of the republic, or to perish in the attempt. *Kioprili*, hearing of his danger, escaped out of his palace by a back-door; and one *Firari*, after strangling *Kapigi Pasha*, who had been sent to take off *Firari's* head, was chosen kaymakan by the insurgents. The mufti was deposed at the same time; and *Kiazibi*, who had been mufti in the reign of *Mohammed IV.* was chosen mufti in his room; and one *Dorojan Pasha* was made grand-vizier. In short, the insurgents filled up all the chief posts of the empire with officers of their own chusing.

To insure the success of their designs, they shut the gates of *Constantinople*, and armed themselves from the public magazines. By those precautions, the sultan was kept ignorant, for some time, of their transactions; but, on the eighth day of the insurrection, *Mostafa Effendi*, principal secretary of state, appeared before the gates of *Constantinople*, as a messenger from the sultan, to enquire into the cause of the insurrection, and to promise redress of all grievances. The people treated the secretary as a spy, and had almost beaten him to death. It was now dangerous for them to stop; and, being fifty thousand strong, they set out for *Adrianople*, which they threatened to destroy if they met with any resistance from the inhabitants.

When they had marched as far as *Hapsa*, a town in the neighbourhood of that city, they affected more moderation; and sent private notice to the inhabitants of *Adrianople*, not to oppose them in arms, because they were come to redress public grievances, and not to shed the blood of *Othmans*. They dispatched, at the same time, a messenger to inform the sultan, that he must give up his wicked minister to the justice of his country; and, that they were resolved to repel force by force. The sultan, not intimidated by this insolent message, gave his vizier the command of his army against the rebels, who were declared *gyawrs* by a *fetvah* of the *mufti*. When the two armies were near each other, *Nakib Effendi*, the rebel *mufti*, pulling out a *Koran*, held it up to the imperial troops; whom he conjured, by all the ties of blood and religion, not to oppose the insurgents, who were come only to vindicate the faith, laws, and constitution of the empire, and to bring public offenders to justice. When his speech was finished, the imperial troops saluted the insurgents as their friends and brethren, and promised to join with them in all their attempts.

Therebels
march to
Adriano-
ple,

It was with difficulty that, on this occasion, the vizier escaped in disguise, with two servants, to *Varna*; from whence he reached *Constantinople*, where he concealed himself in the suburbs. The fate of the *mufti*, and his family, was more terrible. The sultan would have saved him if possible, and had sent him away, under a guard, which had orders to bring him back if necessary. The rebels were then encamped within a mile of *Adrianople*, at a place called *Solak*; from whence they dispatched a messenger, to demand the heads of the *mufti* and vizier, those of the *mufti*'s two sons, and that of *Maurokordatus*. The sultan, finding them intractable, ordered the *mufti* to be brought back, and delivered him up, with his two sons, into the hands of the rebels, who put him to death with the most excruciating torments, which they inflicted upon him to force a discovery of his treasures; but, being a man of great resolution, he suffered all their tortures, and died without revealing them.

where
they de-
pose the
sultan.

The sultan, being now abandoned by all his subjects, sent the seal of the viziership to *Dorojan*, the rebel vizier, and confirmed all the other officers they had nominated in their posts; promising, at the same time, to grant all their demands, and to deliver up the late vizier, with *Maurokordatus*, as soon as they could be taken. This condescension served only to encrease the insolence of the rebels; and they privately dispatched an express to *Abmed*, the sultan's brother, offering, if he would repair to their camp, to proclaim him emperor. The sultan intercepted this dispatch; and the few friends he still had about his person, advised him to put his brother to death; but, unwilling to commit such barbarity, he came to a resolution of resigning the empire.

With

With this view he went to *Abmed*'s apartment, and, embracing him with great affection, gave him the appellation of sultan, and, requesting the same liberty to be allowed him that he, *Abmed*, had enjoyed under his reign, informed him that he was come to raise him to the throne. "But," continued he, "remember, that, however just your title may be to the *Othman* throne, you ascended it by means of traitors, whom, if they are not cut off, will surprize you in the same manner as they have done me." Having finished his speech, he retired to his brother's apartment, where, it is said, he died of melancholy, six months after his abdication, having reigned eight years and some months.

The chief failing of *Mostafa* II. appears to have been his Character love of favourites, especially the musti. But, if we examine of *Mosta-* his history by facts, which alone ought to take place in such *fa* II. cases, he, perhaps, may appear not to be so blameable as he has been represented by *Othman* writers. The want of discipline among his troops, was evidently, as we have already seen, the occasion of his being defeated at *Zanta*. They were, in no respect, comparable to those of the *Germans*, who, with all the advantages on their side, of arms, artillery and discipline, were commanded by, perhaps, the greatest general of his age. *Mostafa* seems to have been sensible of his inferiority in those respects, and thought it eligible to sacrifice part of his dominions rather than risque the whole; which it is more than probable he must have been stripped of, had he refused to make peace at the time he did it. This peace was, by his subjects, considered as being dishonourable; but *Mostafa*, from an honest principle, was resolved to maintain it: and, if we look even into the *Turkish* accounts of *Dultan*'s conduct, we must conclude, if they are true, it was highly blameable, if not treasonable. In short, it is plain, through the whole of *Mostafa*'s catastrophe, that he fell a victim to his good faith and the mutinous disposition of the *Othmans*, who judge of every thing by events. His greatest enemies have acknowledged, that he was a prince naturally just and humane; that his judgment was solid; his inclinations generous, without profusion; and the manner in which he conducted the peace of *Carlowitz* shews him to have had great application and knowledge of business. His person, which was of a middle size, was well shaped, his complexion was fair, and his face handsome. He excelled in archery and horsemanship, and was strict to all the duties of his religion. So little do the *Europeans* know of *Turkish* affairs, that they know not whether *Mostafa* II. left any sons. Some say that he left three; but others pretend that he was so fond of *Ibrahim*, the son of his uncle *Abmed*, that he intended to have made him his successor. Notwithstanding this, it seems to be certain, that the sultan *Mohammed*, who succeeded his brother *Abmed* III. was one of *Mostafa*'s sons.

The Reign of Ahmed III.

Accession
of *Ah-*
med III.

War with
Russia,

and *Ger-*
many.

THE chief transactions of the *Turkish* history, during this reign, will fall under the history of the *European* states, or are to be found in the preceding parts of this work. We shall, however, for the sake of order, continue the great lines of it, as near as we can, to the present times. *Ahmed III.*, succeeded his brother in the *Othman* throne in 1703. As he was a prince of great understanding, he complied so far with the general voice, that he dismissed from his court his own mother, who was looked upon to be the protectress of the mufti in the late reign, and the main spring of all its unpopular measures. We shall have an opportunity, in the histories of *Russia* and *Sweden*, to give an account of the generous reception that *Ahmed* gave to *Charles XII.* king of *Sweden*, after the battle of *Pultowa*; and of the success of his arms against the czar *Peter* of *Russia*. It is sufficient here to say, that, in the year 1711, war having been, at the instigation of *Charles XII.* of *Sweden*, declared against the *Russians*, the grand-vizier passed the *Danube* with the *Othman* troops, and hemmed in the czar, who commanded his own army, in such a manner, upon the banks of the river *Pruth*, that all the *Russians* must have either been cut in pieces, or starved into a surrender, had not the great address of the famous *Catherine*, afterwards empress of *Russia*, prevailed with the vizier to agree to a peace. It has been the general opinion, that this cost the vizier his head; but later, and better, authorities inform us, that he only was dismissed from the viziership, and sent to govern a province. It is certain that the peace concluded by the vizier was ratified by the sultan; and by it the *Russians* gave up *Asoph*, and demolished all the forts that gave offence to the *Othmans*.

After this, great preparations for war were made by the porte, without any of the powers of *Europe* knowing their destination. The *Christian* states, however, were so much alarmed, that they formed alliances to stand by one another in behalf of whatever power the storm should fall upon. It happened to be directed against the *Morea*; and, in 1715, war was declared against the *Turks* by the *Venetians*. The grand-vizier assembled the *Othman* army near the isthmus of *Corinth*, the only pass by which the *Morea* can be attacked by land. The chief officer under him was *Topal Osman*, a man of such eminent virtues, that the bare mention of him is not sufficient in this place. When young, he had been charged, by the sultan, with a commission to the pasha of *Cairo*; but, in his voyage thither, he had the misfortune to be taken by a *Spanish* privateer, who carried him to *Malta*, where he was ransomed by one *Arnaud*, a *Frenchman*, who was an entire stranger to *Topal*, but was struck with the noble

ble address and manly assurance he discovered, in his manner of entreating *Arnaud* to ransom him ; which this *Frenchman* did, at the rate of three hundred pounds sterling. *Topal* having thus recovered his liberty, repaid *Arnaud* with vast generosity, and made him some valuable presents besides. He then proceeded to *Cairo*, where he executed the commission he had been charged with by the sultan ; and, returning to *Constantinople*, where he was well received by his master, he was the first who brought to that capital the news of his having been a captive.

The vizier charged *Topal* with a command to force the pass of *Corinth* ; which he not only did, but took that city itself by storm : and he was rewarded by being made a pasha of two tails. It is well known that this important blow was followed by the *Othmans* reducing all the *Morea*, of which *Topal* was made the governor. To counterballance this conquest, war having been proclaimed between the *Turks* and the *Germans*, *Ahmed*, in the year 1716, sent an army into *Hungary*, consisting of near two hundred thousand men, who entrenched themselves near *Carlowitz*. Prince *Eugene* commanded the confederates, and, though his army did not amount to above sixty thousand men, he attacked them on the fifth of *August*, and defeated them with a most prodigious slaughter. The *Turks*, at first, defended themselves very bravely ; but there was no resisting the *German* veterans, who, upon this occasion, made an immense booty. They Great de- took all the *Turkish* artillery, consisting of one hundred and feat of the seventy pieces of cannon, tents, baggage, and ammunition, *Turks* at and their military chest, which contained five millions of *Carlo-* florins in specie. The plunder of the grand-vizier's tent *witz*, amounted to above three hundred thousand florins ; and two hundred of his women, from fourteen to twenty-six years of age, fell into the hands of the victors. In this battle, the grand-vizier himself, and ten pashas, were killed. Prince *Eugene*, after this, invested *Temeswar*. On the first of *September*, he opened the trenches against it ; and it was surrendered on the fourteenth of *October*, after being in possession of the *Othmans* for one hundred and sixty-four years.

It was thought that this blow would have rendered the *Turks* quiet for the following year, the campaign of which prince *Eugene* intended to open with the siege of *Belgrade*. To the amazement of all *Europe*, the *Turks* assembled a more numerous, and better appointed army than they had lost the year before. The prince marched one part of his army over the *Teisse* by a bridge of boats, and took post on the opposite side of the *Danube*, in sight of *Belgrade*. The *Othmans* were so much struck with the boldness of this passage, that they fled in confusion ; which gave an opportunity to the other part of the imperial army, to pass the *Danube* likewise upon a bridge of boats.

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Deposi-
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Prince *Eugene*, sensible that the *Turks* would attempt to relieve the city, lost no time in drawing lines of circumvallation and contravallation from the *Saave* to the *Danube*; and rendered his camp so strong, that, when the town was invested, it seemed as if one fortress was besieging another. The *Turks* recovered their consternation; and it has been said, that they never had in the field a better army than the grand-vizier, who was commanded to relieve *Belgrade* at all events, brought against the imperialists on this occasion. Prince *Eugene's* dispositions were so admirable, that, though the *Othman* army exceeded in strength what he had conceived, he continued his attacks, and, at the same time, defended his camp; which the *Turks* found to be so strong, that they were obliged to open trenches to approach the *German* lines; and thereby two sieges may be said to have been carried on at once. The imperialists were shut up, on one side, between two great rivers; on the other, by *Belgrade*, one of the strongest fortresses in *Europe*; and by the *Othman* camp, which, as usual, was well fortified. The prince knew, in this situation, the prodigious advantage which attends an attack; and, instead of being attacked, he led his army out of their lines against the enemy. This intrepidity did not, at first, daunt the *Turks*, who made a most gallant resistance; but all was in vain; for, though they kept up the hottest fire that ever was known to come from the *Othmans*, they were compleatly defeated. The *Germans* took, in this battle, one hundred and thirty-one brass, besides other cannon, thirty-seven mortars, fifty-two pair of colours, and nine horse-tails, or standards. Such was the discipline of the *Germans*, that not one of them entered the *Othman* camp to plunder, till the general gave them permission, after rallying his army, and putting it in order. The loss of the *Germans*, especially of the cavalry, in this battle, was very considerable; but, two days after, the important city of *Belgrade* surrendered to the *Germans* by capitulation. By an exact list of the artillery taken in the town and the battle, it appears that, in both, the *Othmans* lost four hundred and fifty-six brass cannon, two hundred and nine of iron, and one hundred and three brass mortars. The garrison was computed to consist of twenty thousand soldiers, and above sixty thousand *Turks* marched out of the place by capitulation.

Those prodigious blows made such an impression upon *Ahmed*, that he set on foot a negotiation for peace; which was accordingly concluded at *Passarowitz*, in 1718; and, by that treaty, the imperialists were left in possession of all they had taken. The disputes between *Ahmed* and *Thomas Kouli Khan*, and the complete victory gained by the latter over the *Othman* army near *Tauris*, have been already mentioned; as also that the *Persians* not only retook all that the *Turks* held in their dominions, but carried their arms into those of *Ahmed*.

Abmed. The latter being then at peace with the *Christians*, recalled his forces from *Europe*, and, passing the *Bosphorus* with his whole court, he took up a camp at *Scutari*, with an intention to march to *Aleppo*, to oppose the progress of the *Persians*. But, by this time, the *Turks*, through the immense losses they had sustained, were disgusted with the sultan; and he, to save himself, threw all the miscarriages of the empire upon the great officers of state. This did not quiet the populace; for, on the twenty-eighth of *September*, 1730, a fellow, one of the meanest of the people, erected, in one of the public streets of *Constantinople*, a rent-standard; to which, with a loud voice, he invited all good *Moslems* to repair. In the morning, this fellow's following became so formidable, that the sultan retired to *Constantinople*; and the janisaries, joining in the tumult, demanded the heads of the grand-vizier, the reis-effendi, and the captain-pasha, who were accordingly put to death. Even this compliance could not avert the fate of the sultan, who was deposed from his throne; and *Mohammed*, the son of *Mosstafa II.* was taken out of prison that he might fill it.

Abmed survived his deposition five years. He was a magnanimous, virtuous prince, and would have made a most glorious figure, had he reigned over any other people than the *Turks*. He was so great a lover of learning, that he introduced, contrary to the *Othman* maxims, the art of printing into *Constantinople*; which was so disagreeable to those barbarians, that it is said to have been one of the principal causes of his deposition.

The Reign of Mohammed V.

THIS prince being advanced from a prison to the throne, Accession at first distinguished *Patrona Alli*, the person who had of *Mohammed V.* been the principal engine of his exaltation, with exemplary honours; which served only to encrease the fellow's insolence so much, that, making every day fresh demands, the sultan found himself, at last, under a necessity to put him to death. Three grand-viziers had been disposed in a short time; but, in *September*, 1731, *Topal Osman* was called from the begierbegship of *Romania*, one of the greatest governments of the *Turkish* empire, to fill that high station. After Account he arrived at *Constantinople*, he desired the *French* ambassador of *Topal* to write to *Malta*, to acquaint his benefactor *Arnaud* with *Osman*. his promotion, and to invite him to come to *Constantinople*, that he might give him farther proofs of his gratitude. *Arnaud*, who was then seventy-two years of age, when he came to *Constantinople*, brought with him his son, and, amongst other presents, twelve *Turks* whom he had ransomed from slavery.

slavery. The vizier received him with great form, in presence of all the high officers of state, to whom, in a most pathetic speech, he related *Arnaud's* generous treatment; and they stood astonished that such noble sentiments should reside in the breast of an infidel. *Topal* distributed the presents which *Arnaud* brought amongst the sultan, the sultana mother, and the kisler-aga; but told *Arnaud* in private, that so many eyes were upon him, he could not act as he desired; and, "that a pasha is lord and master in his own province; but that a grand-vizier at *Constantinople* has a master." Notwithstanding this reason, he made *Arnaud* several very generous presents; and indulged him in some privileges of trade which brought him in a considerable profit.

The morals of the *Othmans*, at this time, were degenerated beyond all conception, to the disregard, not only of civil and military discipline, but of industry and manufactures of all kinds; so that the common people could not be supplied even with the necessaries of life. *Topal* applied himself, with vast assiduity and fortitude, to reform the people; and had amazing success: but the severities he was obliged to inflict, formed a party at court against him, and his dismissal was resolved on. This being signified to him by order of the sultan, he repaired in person to court, and delivered up the seals of his office. Upon his returning home, perceiving his friends to be disconsolate, he thanked God for his dismissal, as being one of the most favourable circumstances of his life. But, though *Topal* was dismissed, he was not disgraced. As he had always taken the opinion of the musti, before he put any one to death, his enemies could fix nothing upon his conduct; and the sultan expressed so high an esteem for his person, that he appointed him to be pasha of *Trebefond*; but he detained his son at *Constantinople*, and declared that he would take care of his fortune. In a few days, the son presented to the sultan the present which his father had intended to make him at the bayram; which was a horse with furniture to the value of fifty thousand crowns. Soon after, the father was ordered to take upon himself the command of the army that was to act upon the frontiers of *Persia*. He discharged his duty as a general with great abilities; but he sunk under the genius of *Thamas Kculi Khan*. Upon his death, which shall be mentioned hereafter, though the sultan raised his son to the high post of beglerbeg of *Romania*, yet he had the meanness to strip him of all his father's personal estate.

Though every thing was now quiet on the side of *Europe*, yet that was far from being the case in *Asia*; where the *Persians*, taking advantage of the tumults that had been raised at *Constantinople*, and the defeat of the *Turks* near *Tauris*, attacked the *Othman* empire in 1730; but, by the good conduct of the *Turkish* seraskier, who commanded against them, they were brought to terms of accommodation. In the year 1732,

Thamas

Thamas Kouli Khan being then absolute in *Persia*, resolved to break with the *Turks*, in the manner we have already described. It is sufficient here to say, that, among the other pretexts for declaring war, one was, that the treaty had been extorted by the *Turks*; and he demanded, in the name of the infant sopher of *Persia*, that all the places ceded by that peace, should be given up. The answer of the porte being as haughty as the demand of the *Persian*, hostilities commenced; and *Kouli Khan* not only recovered all the provinces and places ceded by the late treaty, but great part of the antient dominions of *Persia*. *Topal Osman* was sent to command against him with eighty thousand men. By this time, *Kouli Khan* had formed the siege of *Baghdad* itself. *Topal Osman* had orders to risk all to raise the siege; which he did, after fighting a bloody battle with *Kouli Khan*, who was at the head of seventy thousand men, each army losing thirty thousand. The *Turkish* general having collected together an army of one hundred thousand men, again opposed *Kouli Khan*, who had made an irruption into another part of the *Othman* dominions; in which the latter was again defeated, on the twenty-fifth of *October*; and the *Turks*, in general, imagined, that, in this battle, *Kouli Khan* was killed; but, before the end of the campaign, some accounts say the very next day, he attacked *Topal Osman's* army with so much intrepidity, that the *Othmans* were totally routed, with the loss of forty thousand men and their excellent commander, besides their military chest and all their baggage. It killed in was happy for the *Turks*, that the state of affairs in *Persia* the war was too unsettled for him to pursue this blow that year; but with *Persia* he afterwards defeated an army of one hundred and sixty thousand *Othmans*, commanded by *Kioprili*, who is said to have left half that number dead on the field; and then the conqueror retook the important city of *Erivan*, which completed the conquest of all the *Persian* dominions that had been dismembered by the *Turks*.

That great general and politician having become sopher of *Persia*, by the death of the infant above-mentioned, thought that he could not do better than to make peace with the *Turks*, upon condition of their guarantying his title, and that of his family, to the throne of *Persia*, and their solemnly recognizing him as sopher. Though he was then in the height of a prosperous war, he found means to insinuate to the porte, that they might have peace, provided those points were settled as preliminaries. He likewise hinted, that he would abolish, amongst his own subjects, many of those religious distinctions which had so long kept them and the *Turks* at irreconcilable variance. Those condescensions were more than sufficient to induce the *Turks* to enter into the negotiation; which was concluded at *Constantinople*, in *September*, 1736, on the following conditions: That the sultan should formally acknowledge *Thamas Kouli Khan's* right to the

the throne of *Persia*, and guaranty his and his family's succession to the same; that the *Persians* shall have liberty to visit the tomb of *Mohammed*; that prisoners should be delivered up on both sides; and, to prevent the use of the disagreeable word "cession," it was agreed, in general, that the limits of the two empires should be fixed as in the time of *Morad I.*

War with Both the emperor and the czarina had, at that time, some the porte, apprehensions from the preparations of the *Turks*; and had *Russia*, and entered into engagements to assist each other, which afterwards ended in an offensive and defensive alliance; and each power was to furnish the other with forty thousand men. Both of them had depended greatly upon the diversion which they expected would be given to the *Othmans* by *Thamas Kouli Khan*; but the late treaty, concluded at *Constantinople*, put an end to all expectations of that kind. A congress had been opened at *Nemerow*, in *Poland*, for accommodating the differences between the czarina and the porte, on account of the injuries her subjects had suffered from the *Tartars*; but those conferences proving ineffectual, the emperor ordered his minister at the porte to declare, that, if satisfaction was not given to his sister, the czarina, he would join her in war against the sultan. The porte was surprized at this declaration, because, upon the expiration of the treaty of *Pasfarrowitz*, the imperial minister at the porte had declared his master's readiness to renew the same. It must be acknowledged, that, on this occasion, the good faith of the emperor towards the *Othmans* was very questionable. The sultan's ministers had received, from the *French*, information of the engagements entered into between the emperor and the czarina; and several divans had been held upon the expediency of declaring war against the *Germans*; and the *French* influence at the porte was so strong, that it was generally believed the decision would have been in the affirmative. This being communicated by the *Dutch* and *British* ambassadors to their respective principals, they received orders to counteract the *French*; which they did so successfully, that the porte resolved to continue the pacific system; and his *Britannic* majesty actually received the emperor's thanks on that account. It is therefore no wonder if the *Othman* ministry received the imperial declaration with great indignation.

They treated it with indifference at the same time, but proceeded in the most vigorous preparations for war. A grand divan being held, it was there resolved to act offensively on the side of *Germany*, and defensively only on that of *Russia*. On the other hand, the allies agreed upon the operations of the war; that the imperialists, under count *Seckendorf*, should attack *Widin*, in *Servia*; and that the *Russians*, under count *Munich*, should penetrate into the *Ukraine*, and besiege *Oczakow*, on the *Boristhenes*, the bulwark of the *Turkish* frontiers on that side, and garrisoned by twenty thousand of the bravest of the *Othman* troops; while count *Lascy*, another

Russian

Russian general, should penetrate, with another army, into the *Krim*; by which the *Russians* would become masters of all the *Black-Sea*.

Those latter operations were carried on with vigour and The *Russians* take proportionable success. Though *Oczakow*, besides its strong *garrison*, was defended by eighteen galleys, yet the attacks of *Oczakow*. *Munich* were conducted with so much judgment and intrepidity, that the place must have been taken by storm, had it not capitulated. In this siege, the famous field-marshal *Keith*, the same who was afterwards killed in the service of the king of *Prussia*, bore a distinguished part. But the acquisition cost the *Russians* so many men, that *Munich* was disabled from farther pursuing his conquests that campaign. In the mean while, *Lacy* had marched towards *Precep*, and took up his winter-quarters in the *Krim*. But matters were far from being so successful on the part of the *Germans*.

The duke of *Lorrain*, who that year succeeded to the Unfortunate duchy of *Tuscany*, had the nominal command of the imperial troops; but the acting general was count *Seckendorf*, an old man, and a protestant; and, being a favourite of the diet of the empire, to which the emperor had applied for assistance, this command was, out of compliment to that body, conferred upon him. We have already mentioned, that *Seckendorf* was first to attack *Widin*. This he attempted, but found it impracticable to succeed without the assistance of a body of ships upon the *Danube*; and therefore he suddenly fell upon *Nissa*, which he took, though it was then thought to be one of the strongest forts upon the *Turkish* frontiers: but this was the only successful operation of the campaign. *Seckendorf*, who never had been an enterprising general, besides the caution incident to old age, had the misfortune of being hated by the *Roman-catholics* and *Jesuits*, who had the chief direction of the imperial court; and therefore he was never properly supplied with either men, artillery, or money.

Having reduced *Nissa*, he formed the blockade of *Widin*; but the heats, and the unwholesome dampness of the soil, destroyed vast numbers of his troops; and he was forced to abandon the blockade with some loss from the enemy. The baron *de Raunach*, another imperial general, by this time, had penetrated, with six thousand men, into *Croacia*, where he was entirely defeated; as was the prince of *Saxhilburg-hausen*, who had formed the siege of *Bagnalac* with fourteen thousand men, most of whom were cut off by a superior body of *Turks*, who attacked the posts of the imperialists upon the *Danube*, took the fort of *Padudil*, and burnt the town of *Ilas*, in *Walachia*; besides plundering the country. But the greatest blow the imperialists met with, was the retaking *Nissa*; which was surrendered to the *Turks* by general *Doxat*, who was tried by a council of war, and lost his head on that account;

account; though it was thought, by those who were best informed, that the misfortune was owing to the imperial court itself not having sufficiently provided him with the means of defence. As to count *Seckendorf*, he was accused of having wasted a fine army in marches and counter-marches, without doing any thing of importance but the taking of *Nissa*, which had been as suddenly retaken. He was therefore sent for home, to give an account of his conduct. A court-martial was appointed to try him; and it was with difficulty that he escaped with life, after long and severe imprisonment.

Notwithstanding the *Turks* were thus successful in *Hungary*, *Bosnia*, and *Servia*, yet they seemed, all the while, willing to renew the conferences for peace; and those of *Nemerow* were again opened: but they proved ineffectual by the *Russians* absolutely refusing to part with the possession of *Asoph* and *Oczakow*. Next year, the diet of the empire granted a subsidy of fifty *Roman* months to the emperor, that he might take the field the more early; but this liberality produced little effect. *Ragotski*, waywod of *Transylvania*, declared himself against the house of *Austria*, and put himself under the protection of the sultan with a considerable army; for which he was proclaimed a rebel by the court of *Vienna*. The *Turks* took the field more early than the imperialists, and, after reducing the forts of *Usitza* and *Meadia*, they formed the siege of *Orsova*; but abandoned it upon the approach of the grand-duke of *Tuscany* and count *Konigseg*. Being afterwards reinforced, they attacked the imperialists, and were repulsed; but the latter not being able to stand their ground, repassed the *Danube*.

Ragotski's
terms with
the *Turks*,

Those disgraces were not owing so much to the incapacity or misconduct of the imperial generals, as to the indigence and mismanagement of their court; who either would not, or could not, supply their wants. This brought them into infinite contempt, and the porte concluded a treaty with prince *Ragotski*; by which he was to be acknowledged free sovereign of *Hungary* and *Transylvania*; that his *Christian* subjects should have free exercise of their religion all over the *Othman* empire; that the election of his successors should be free, and only directed by the laws of the country; but that both he and they were to be ready, with a large body of men, to assist the *Turks*, in case of war with the *Germans*. Sir *Everard Fawkner* and *Villeneuve* were then residing at the porte, on the part of their *Britannic* and most *Christian* majesties, in the quality of mediators; and therefore refused to receive a copy of this treaty: but *Calkoen*, the *Dutch* ambassador, accepted of it when tendered by *Ragotski's* minister; for which he was severely reprimanded by his masters.

The *Turks* then attacked *Meadia*; which, though untenable, made a gallant resistance, and repulsed the besiegers, till the

the governor received an order from *Vienna* to deliver up the place, to avoid being put to the sword with all the garrison. The imperial army, at this time, had not taken the field; and the *Turks* had laid siege to *Orsova*.

On the twenty-third of *June*, the imperial army, being now assembled, attacked the *Turks* near *Meadia*, and routed them after a sharp dispute. Upon this, *Meadia* surrendered to the imperialists on the first summons, and the *Turks* raised the siege of *Orsova*, leaving behind them thirty pieces of cannon, with other warlike stores and large quantities of provisions, which they are said to have poisoned. The grand-duke of *Tuscany* narrowly escaped being taken or killed in the above battle. The *Othmans* broke the left wing and center of his army, and penetrated to his tent, where they cut off his surgeon's head.

This, and some other, advantages, rendered the imperial court so inhuman, that one colonel *Heisrich* was sent to *Almas*, with a detachment of the duke of *Tuscany*'s regiment of foot, with orders to butcher all the inhabitants, without regard to age, sex, or other distinction, for having favoured the *Othmans*. Notwithstanding their boasted victories, the *Austrians* were obliged to march back towards the *Danube*; upon which the *Turks* retook *Meadia*, and a grand army laid siege to *Orsova*.

By this time, the court of *Petersburgh*, sensible of the *Austrian* inability to fulfil their engagements, hinted to *Fahya*, the seraskier of *Oczakow*, who was a prisoner in their camp, that they would not be averse to treat of peace. The seraskier, upon this, sent a messenger to the grand-vizier for full powers to treat. "Tell *Fahya*," answered that minister, "that his sublime highness is not accustomed to treat of peace by means of slaves or prisoners."

On the twenty-sixth of *July*, general *Lacy* forced the amazing lines of *Precop*, which were defended by forty thousand *Turks* and *Tartars*, commanded by *Soltan Galga*. He then took the fortress itself, in which he found eighty brass cannon; the garrison, consisting of two thousand men, surrendering themselves, with their commander, prisoners of war. Soon after, his van-guard, which was formed of *Ukraine* cossaks, was in danger of being cut off by thirty thousand *Turks*, most of them spahis; but, being supported by some battalions of regulars, the *Othmans* were, at last, defeated, with the loss of above three thousand men.

Count *Munich* had now passed the *Bog*, in his march to *Bender*, but was surrounded, near that river, by a numerous body of *Turks*; whom he defeated after an engagement of five hours. In like manner, he was opposed by another body on the banks of the *Savrana*; which he likewise defeated with great slaughter: but, upon the whole, those victories were of little more importance than that he thereby saved his army from being cut in pieces, as the event of the campaign

campaign discovered ; for the *Neister* proved an insurmountable barrier to his fortune. The *Tartars* in those parts have an irreconcilable aversion to the *Russians* and their *coffaks* ; and live free and happy under the protection, rather than the government, of the *Turks*. Their numbers are inexhaustible, and seemed to encrease as *Munich* advanced. He gained a third victory when he was within a few leagues from the *Neister* ; in which the prince of *Wolfenbuttle*, and the earl of *Crawford*, greatly distinguished themselves.

On the twenty-sixth of *July*, he arrived within two leagues of that river, between the *Molokisch* and the *Bielocz*. Here the sultan of *Bialogrod*, the chief of the *Budziac Tartars*, resolved to make his principal stand ; and, being reinforced by a considerable body of *Turks*, he fell upon the *Russians* with prodigious fury, and continued the engagement for six or seven hours before he was repulsed. *Munich* then took up his camp upon the borders of the *Neister*. After some cannonading, he found the *Othmans* entirely masters of the river, the banks of which they had strongly fortified. In short, he saw it impracticable to pass ; and, on the twenty-ninth, he drew off towards the *Bielocz*. In his retreat he was harrassed by a body of twenty-five thousand janisaries, besides the *Tartar* army ; but, according to his account, he obtained over them a fifth victory. Thus *Munich* was covered with laurels as a hero, but baffled as a general. At first, he gave out that he would undertake the siege of *Choczim*, but declined it on pretence that the country round about it was infected ; and returned, by another way than he had advanced, to his old winter-quarters in the *Ukraine*.

and that
of *Lacy*,
unsuccess-
ful in the
main.

Lacy's fortune was pretty similar to that of count *Munich*. After he had taken *Precop*, and laid all the *Krim* open to an invasion, he found his army in danger of being famished by the superiority which the *Turkish* fleet had over that of the *Russians* under *Bredal*, which was to have furnished him with provisions. *Bredal* perceiving his inferiority, ran his transports into creeks ; but the kapudan-pasha landed his men, and, according to the *Turkish* accounts, which appear most probable, he took and destroyed eighty vessels, with their stores and crews, notwithstanding the batteries that had been erected to defend them. This obliged *Lacy* to blow up the fortifications of *Or*, and other places he had taken, and to demolish the lines of *Precop* ; which seems to have put an end to the campaign in that quarter ; for *Lacy* was obliged, after that, to evacuate the country. It cannot, therefore, be denied, that the *Turks* had manifestly the advantage of the *Russians*, as well as of the *Germans*, in this war. Had their accounts of the two last campaigns been published, instead of those of their enemies, we might have, perhaps, entertained very different ideas of the *Russian* operations and victories. What makes this the more probable, is, that before count *Munich* arrived in the *Ukraine*, he sent the baron

Stoffelen

Stoffelen to demolish the fortifications of *Oczakow* and *Kimburn*; and we are even told that the baron left the artillery of those forts behind him.

The town of *New Orsova*, in *Hungary*, still continued to *Orsova* hold bravely out; and the *Turks* are said to have lost a great number of men before it. On the tenth of *July*, a battle was fought, between the imperialists and them, near *Media*; in which the latter pretended to have the advantage: but the imperialists, finding it impossible to subsist in that country, retired to *Karansebes*; and the siege of *New Orsova* went on. The grand-vizier, for some time, remained inactive, on pretence that he waited for the event of the *Russian* operations; but, all of a sudden, it was known, by authority, that that important fortress was taken; and that count *Cornberg*, the governor, had been arrested, and was to be tried for giving up the place, in which the imperialists lost two hundred and fifty cannon and mortars.

The consequence was, that the imperial army was obliged to withdraw within the lines of *Belgrade*; that the *Turks* took *Semendria*, *Vipalanka*, and many other places; but the pasha of *Bosnia* was obliged to raise the siege of *Ratcha* upon the approach of some *Saxon* and *Bavarian* troops. The grand-vizier led his army back to *Nissa*; and the bannat of *Temeswar*, being now open to the infidels, was most unmercifully ravaged. Those losses entirely dispirited the court of *Vienna*, who employed every art to bring about a separate peace with the *Othmans*, notwithstanding the severe remonstrances of the czarina, who offered to lend the emperor thirty thousand men. But we are now to attend operations of another kind.

Sare Bey Oglu was son of an officer supposed to be the History of richest in the *Othman* dominions; and, upon his death, the *Oglu*, the sultan seized all his effects, and shut up his daughter in his head of raglio. *Oglu's* mother exhorted him to revenge these wrongs; the *Turkiss* and he, having still a considerable real estate in *Natolia*, re-banditti. tired, with some malecontents, to the mountains of *Bosdag* and *Diogli Bogasse*, where they chose him their head; his chief residence being an old castle in a very strong situation. At first, he affected great courtesy to travellers, especially caravans, and sent a formal account to the grand-vizier of his situation, with a peremptory demand of an equivalent for his father's effects. This demand was rejected with great indignation; and one of the kye-haya's was strangled for corresponding with him. *Oglu* then plundered the estates of the sultan and his courtiers, wherever he could reach them. At last, he found himself obliged to lay the towns and villages under contribution, and to rifle the caravans which he had before protected. The porte was informed of his proceedings; but, being engaged in other wars, no measures were taken for suppressing him.

One of his parties appeared before the gates of *Smyrna*, one of the most considerable cities in the *Othman* dominions, rich, large, populous, and defended by a citadel. The *Europeans*, who had immense magazines of effects there, hurried all they could on board their ships, excepting the *Dutch* consul, who fortified his house, armed his countrymen, kept a patrolle all night on the watch, and had a vessel ready to carry him and his effects off in case of necessity. As to the other inhabitants, their consternation was inexpressible.

In the morning, *Oglu's* lieutenant, who commanded the party, demanded an interview with the magistrates, to settle their contribution; that their city, which contained forty thousand men fit to bear arms, might not be plundered. This demand, so astonishingly impudent, was complied with. The banditti-chief, who had with him no more than eight hundred armed men, entered the city, received fifteen thousand crowns contribution-money, besides presents, and returned in safety. On his departure, the citizens being somewhat recovered from their consternation, were ashamed to look one another in the face; and it was owing to the instances of the *British*, and other *European* ministers at the porte, that two thousand troops were sent to protect the city.

He is defeated and put to death.

While they lay within two leagues of it, a new alarm was spread, that the banditti were within sight. This threw the inhabitants into a fresh consternation, which was spread to their guards, and they retired with precipitation within the cannon of the citadel. Next day, it was known that this was a false alarm, raised by the neighbouring boors, that they might plunder the *Turkish* camp; which they had begun to do, when the regulars returned, and impaled some of them for their presumption. The main-body of the banditti were, at this time, in the neighbourhood of *Ephesus*; and the *Othmans*, being reinforced with some fresh battallions and artillery, overtook, and, having defeated them, sent the heads of the slain to *Constantinople*; where they were publicly exposed as trophies of a victory. It does not appear whether *Oglu* was present at this battle or not; but it is certain he was obliged, with no more than four hundred men, to abandon his castle; and, being closely pursued, he was overtaken, and his head being cut off, it was sent to *Constantinople*.

Great preparations of the *Turks*, and their terms.

The winter of the year 1738 was spent in various negotiations; but the *Othman* ministers continued firm to their own terms; and, while they were treating, orders were given for raising an army of two hundred thousand fighting men. The *French* ambassador interposed with great earnestness; but the *Turks* were so much the more determined, as they knew that the *Poles* had refused to grant a passage through their country to thirty thousand auxiliaries which the czarina proposed to send to the emperor. The terms which the *Othmans* insisted upon

upon, as an indispensable basis for a negotiation, were, That the court of *Vienna* should absolutely give up the imperial *Wallachia*, *Orsova*, and its dependencies, and that part of *Servia* which lies between the *Morava* and the *Timock*. With regard to *Russia*, they demanded the restitution of *Asoph* and *Oczakow*, and that the treaty of *Pruth* should be carried into full execution. To shew that they were in earnest, *Wali Pasha*, seraskier of *Bender*, three pashas who commanded in *Hungary*, and two on the *Niester*, lost their heads, for misbehaving in the last campaign; and the troops had orders to provide themselves with bayonets; in the use of which they were to be instructed according to the *European* exercise. Before the campaign opened, the grand-vizier repaired, with the usual ceremonies, to the temple of *St. Sophia*; from whence he took the standard of *Mohammed*, as a sign that he was resolved to make the campaign decisive.

The imperialists knew not how either to accept or refuse the terms prescribed by the *Turks*; but, at last, pride and obstinacy determined them upon another campaign. As to the empress of *Russia*, she, without any hesitation, resolved that *Munich* should recommence his operations on the *Nei-ster*, and *Lacy* his in the *Krim*. The campaign began early. A body of *Tartars* made an irruption first into the *Ukraine*, where they were repulsed; and then into *Poland*, where they committed most dreadful ravages, and carried off three thousand nine hundred *Poles* into slavery; but a good understanding then subsisting between the porte and that republic, the sultan of *Bialogrod* set them at liberty, and undertook to make good the damages that it had sustained. In the mean while, the *Turks* were busied in repairing the fortifications of *Oczakow* and *Kimburn*, and rendering them much stronger than ever.

Before the campaign opened, the sultan, perceiving that Grand-the grand-vizier *Jahya* had made himself disagreeable to the vizier de-janilaries, by his unpopular behaviour, thought proper to depose and banish him to an island in the *Archipelago*; and to send the seal of his office to *Ayvas Mehemed*, seraskier of *Widin*, who was a favourite with the army. On the other hand, the court of *Vienna* made its utmost efforts to assemble an army of eighty thousand men. under count *Wallis* at *Belgrade*. The sultan of the *Calmuk Tartars*, who are tributary to the *Russians*, beat the *Cuban Tartars*, who are subject to the *Turks*; count *Munich* took up his camp in the neighbourhood of *Kiow*; and the czarina purposed to carry on the campaign with great warmth, though she had reason to apprehend that the court of *Vienna* was meditating a separate peace, and that the *Swedes* were arming against her in *Finland*.

On the fifth of *June*, count *Munich* left *Kiow*, at the head of seventy-five thousand men, including *Tartars* and *Calmuks*; and, in two days, arrived at *Berduczow*, on the frontiers of *Poland*, with intention to besiege *Choczim*: after which he

was to attempt the conquest of all *Moldavia*, by the assistance of the imperial troops, who were to join him from *Transylvania*. *Munich* soon found reason to alter this plan, and he pushed on to *Transylvania*, in hopes of being joined by prince *Lobkowitz*. *Lacy*, according to order, again entered the *Krim*, repaired the lines of *Precof*, and the other fortifications of that country; and, as the khan had laid it waste, upon the approach of his army, it was agreed that he should be supplied with provisions from *Asoph*. *Munich* continued his march with incredible constancy; and, having passed the river *Bokitna*, he found himself opposed by a *Turkish* seraskier, at the head of twenty thousand spahis and sixty thousand *Tartars*, who retired towards *Choczim* at his approach, where they took up a strong camp, in hopes that the *Russians*, having no magazines, or means of subsistence, would be obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

and conquests of *Munich*.

The dispositions of the seraskier were such as to force *Munich* to come to the desperate resolution of attacking his enemies in their camp; which he did with so much resolution, that, though the janisaries made a brave resistance, the *Othmans* were defeated, and the *Russians* took possession of their camp; in which they found nineteen cannon, four brass mortars, with all kind of military stores, and, what was still more agreeable, plenty of provision and forage. The consequence was, that *Choczim* immediately surrendered on condition that the garrison should obtain quarter for life. Here the *Russians* found very rich magazines, and one hundred and thirty-eight pieces of cannon. *Yassi*, the capital of *Moldavia*, opened its gates to the conqueror, as did *Bender*; and then the sultan of *Bialogrod*, and the *Budzian Tartars*, submitted likewise.

The *Russians* were equally fortunate on the side of the *Krim*, where the *Turks* had formed, by means of their superiority at sea, a design upon *Asoph*; but their fleet being almost destroyed in a storm, *Lacy* remained master of the country, and his army was plentifully supplied by *Bredal*, the *Russian* admiral. But we are now to attend the operations in *Hungary*.

In *August*, the *Turkish* army rendezvoused at *Ravna*, with an intention to pass the *Morava*; but they left strong encampments at *Semendria* and *Grotfca*, which last place they were fortifying. Upon this intelligence, marshal *Wallis* sent for general *Nieperg*, to join him with the troops under his command; but, in the mean while, it was judged necessary to attack the *Turks*, before they completed their fortifications at *Grotfca*. We shall, in the history of *Germany*, have an opportunity of describing this unfortunate battle. It is sufficient here to say, that, though the attack was made with prodigious courage and resolution, the *Germans* were entirely defeated, and *Wallis* was obliged, next day, to shelter himself within the lines of *Belgrade*. The *Othmans*, soon after this

this, received a severe check at *Kabouka*; but that did not hinder the grand-vizier from carrying on the siege of *Belgrade*, which he was preparing to storm, when it was known that a negotiation of peace was far advanced, under the mediation of the *French* ambassador at *Constantinople*.

The *Turks*, and perhaps the czarina likewise, were not a little influenced to this step by the prodigious progress which the *Kouli Kan*, the *Persian* sopher, was making in *India*; where he had amassed a treasure superior to all that the *Turkish* and *Russian* empires contained. The *French* ambassador came from *Constantinople* to the vizier's camp before *Belgrade*, to which count *Nieperg* repaired likewise as plenipotentiary; and, on the first of *September*, 1739, the treaty was signed. The terms were, That the emperor should abandon *Belgrade* and *Servia* to the grand-signior, as well as *Orsova*; that the *Danube* and the *Saave* should, for the future, form the limits of the two empires; that the bannat of *Temeswar*, and the town of that name, should remain in the possession of his imperial majesty, with the territory thereupon dependent, comprehending therein *Meadia*; that *Orsova* should continue in the condition it was then in; but, that the fortifications of *Belgrade* should be demolished. Those terms were so humiliating to the court of *Vienna*, that the emperor thought fit to disown what had been done, and to put both *Nieperg* and *Wallis* under arrest; and, at the same time; he emitted a manifesto, disapproving of their conduct, and pretending that count *Nieperg* had exceeded his powers: notwithstanding all which, he ratified the articles. The public knew the character of the house of *Austria* too well, not to be sensible of the emperor's motives for this scandalous proceeding; which was meant to gratify his own pride by saving some kind of appearances. We are not, therefore, with some authors, to imagine, that he published this manifesto, with a view of appeasing the resentment of the czarina, who sent an officer, on purpose, to the *Turkish* camp, to prevent, if possible, a separate peace.

It was owing to the vast successes of *Munich*, that the czarina obtained so good a peace as she did; for the porte had always been obstinate in excluding her from the negotiation. The certainty of *Munich's* progress having been notified to the *Turks*, a new negotiation was begun between them and the *Russians*, before the camp at *Belgrade* broke up; and the following preliminaries were agreed to: viz. That *Asoph* should remain to *Russia*, but be demolished, and its territory laid desert, to form a barrier between the two empires; that *Russia* might build a fortress on this side of the *Don*, and the porte another on their side of the river; but the city of *Taganrock*, built by *Peter the Great*, on the sea of *Asoph*, should not be restored; that the *Russians* should have no vessels on that or the *Black-sea*, but should use the *Turkish* ships in their

commerce in those seas; that the limits of the two empires, west of the *Nieper*, should be the same as regulated in 1706, *Kudack* remaining to the porte; and the limits to the east of the *Nieper* to be settled by a new convention. Upon the conclusion of those preliminaries, count *Munich* evacuated *Moldavia*, with his army; and returned, through the *Polish* territories, to the *Ukraine*. He carried with him numbers of *Greeks* and natives who, upon his first irruption, had joined him; and who, no provision having been made in their favour by the convention, could expect no mercy under an *Othman* government. It was computed that, in this expedition, he took from the *Turks* eight hundred pieces of brass cannon; and, that the booty carried off with him amounted to above seven hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Good faith of the *Turks*. It is to the honour of the *Othman* government that we mention the good faith with which both the above treaties was kept on their part, notwithstanding all the instances made, on the part of *France*, to prevail with them to break them. But the sultan was, at this time, apprehensive of a revolt in *Egypt*; where *Kouli Kan*, who was not yet returned from his *Indian* expedition, had a great party; and it was known that his late successes had elated him so, that he was resolved to break with the porte. It is hard to say what provocations he might have received from the *Turkish* pashas and seraskiers, or what the consequence must have been, had he not lost the greatest part of his army and treasures in his return homewards.

Soon after the conclusion of the convention with *Russia*, the porte very wisely entered into a defensive one with *Sweden*, for mutually supporting each other if attacked by the *Russians*; and the porte engaged, that the governments of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli*, should conform themselves to the same. Scarcely was this negotiation ended, when, through the ravages committed, during the late war, all provisions grew so dear at *Constantinople*, that many insurrections happened, which were soon quelled. But the grand-vizier being no friend to the clergy, the sultan was informed by them, that, if he expected to keep his throne in peace, he must part with his minister. The sultan was obliged so far to comply, as to deprive him of his post; but he made him governor of *Gedda*, and suffered him to keep all his treasure and effects. This, perhaps, would not have satisfied the populace, had not the cession of *Belgrade* been proclaimed, and the imperial ambassador made a most magnificent entry into *Constantinople*. This reconciled the people so well to the late measures, that the sultan ventured to exact a new oath of fidelity from the janisaries; and all foreigners who had resided four years in that capital, without marrying, were obliged to leave it. The revolutions which happened at the court of *Russia*, about this time, occasioned some motions of
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the *Othman Tartars* on the frontiers of that empire; and a divan was held concerning a new war: but the *English* ambassador, who had great credit at the porte, informed the *Turkish* ministers so minutely concerning the state of affairs in *Europe*, that a resolution was taken to observe the treaties of *Belgrade*; and the *Russian* ambassadors received assurances accordingly.

A peace was the more necessary at this time, as *Kouli Kan* had now returned from his *Indian* expedition, and was still threatening to invade the *Othman* dominions. For this purpose, he had sent a most magnificent embassy to prevail with the *Russians* to declare against the porte; and, a war then raging between *Russia* and *Sweden*, the ambassador of the latter, at *Constantinople*, demanded from the porte the assistance stipulated by the late treaty; but the grand-vizier drily answered, That his master must previously examine, whether *Russia* or *Sweden* was the aggressor.

About this time, an ambassador from *Kouli Khan* had an audience at the porte; in which, besides many other claims, he insisted upon his master having the same authority at *Meca* with the *Othman* emperor. This demand being denied him, he invaded the *Turkish* dominions, and proceeded as far as *Erzerum*; but was obliged to desist by the rebellious commotions which broke out in *Persia* under his own son; who was thought to have been instigated thereto by the *Othmans*. After this, the sultan enjoyed some repose; which he employed in cultivating the arts of peace, and in putting his fleets and armies on a respectable footing. His turbulent subjects could not bear with his pacific dispositions; and, in *May*, 1742, they forced him to depose his grand-vizier *Mehmed Pasha*; and to raise to the viziership *Ali Pasha Kekim Oglou*, a professed enemy to the *Christians*. This change seems to have quieted the minds of the people for some time.

Kouli Khan, now called *Nadir Shah*, had never laid aside his ambitious designs; and, having achieved the conquest of the *Mogul*, he meditated that of the *Turkish* empire. For this purpose, he had entered into a close friendship and correspondence with the empress of *Russia*; but so faithfully had the porte kept its engagements, that they could find no subject for a quarrel with it but religion. The reader, from the foregoing part of this history, may perceive that religion was always the true prerogative of the *Mohammedan* sovereigns; and to have yielded a point of precedency in that, was more dangerous than the loss of a province. *Nadir Shah* had done all he could to extinguish those ridiculous notions among his subjects, but without effect; for he perceived an invincible disposition in many of the inhabitants of the provinces he had acquired, or conquered, in favour of the *Othman* emperors, on the foolish supposition of their being the descendants of the antient califs.

After some arrogant demands of having his pretensions to an equality in this respect settled, he desired that some *Turkish* doctors should be sent to his court. This was refused; and, in the beginning of the year 1743, he sent to acquaint the sultan, that, as his ministers refused to gratify his request, in sending the doctors to instruct him, he was resolved to come in person to the frontiers of *Turkey*, that he might be more near at hand to have his doubts cleared up. To this message the grand-vizier facetiously answered, That the doctors were just setting out to wait on his highness, and that they only stayed for an escorte of thirty thousand janisaries and some other troops. *Nadir Shah* soon invaded the *Othman* dominions, destroyed one of their frontier towns, and directed his march to *Baghdad*. The news of this arriving at *Constantinople*, the horse-tail was erected at the gates of the seraglio, as a signal for assembling a great army; but the people were so much alarmed, that it was with difficulty the grand-vizier escaped with his life in an insurrection, and the levies went slowly on.

Under this disability to oppose a great conqueror, the *Othman* court, which had of late changed several viziers, set up a young man as a descendant from the antient sophis of *Persia*, who pretended that he had escaped from the common calamity of his family, and taken refuge in an island of the *Archipelago*. Him they declared shah of *Persia*, and gave him an army to oppose *Shah Nadir*, who continued still to make a formidable progress in the *Othman* empire. His demands were, To have all the provinces, that ever had been dismembered from *Persia* by the *Othmans*, restored to his crown; which must have included a most valuable part of the *Turkish* empire. He took *Kirkut*, put all its garrison to the sword, and defeated an army of the *Turks* who came to raise the siege; but was repulsed at *Mosul*, after having blocked up *Baghdad*. The news of an insurrection in his own dominions prevented his farther progress, and he offered to treat. The *Othmans* knew the difficulty he was under, and sent supplies to *Shah Rhade*, the sophi they had set up, who lay encamped between *Erzerum* and *Kars*. The seraskier *Abmed Pasha*, who had the actual command of the *Turkish* army, was defeated, and obliged to take refuge under the cannon of *Kars*; where *Nadir Shah* attacked him, but was defeated in his turn. The *Turkish* ministers, who had carefully concealed from the people all the defeats and disgraces their arms had received from the *Persians*, made the most extravagant rejoicings on this occasion; and, though we have no authentic account of that war, but what they are pleased to transmit, it seems to be very certain, that *Nadir Shah*, at this time, failed in his invasion.

The progress he had made, and the contradictory accounts published by the ministry, but, above all, the vast number of *Othman* subjects whom *Shah Nadir* had driven to *Constantinople*,

ple, created such uneasiness in the minds of the inhabitants of that capital, that daily tumults happened, and great debates were held in the divan, whether the strength of the empire should be directed against *Shah Nadir*, or against the *Christian* powers. The famous renegade count *Bonneval*, who assisted at those divans, under the title of the pasha *Osmán*, was of the latter opinion; but the former prevailed. In the mean while, an account arrived, that *Ahmed Pasha* had revolted, and made himself master of *Baghdad*, and had been acknowledged sovereign of that city, and all *Mesopotamia*, by *Nadir Shah*. *Ahmed* was then eighty years of age, and without children, but had a nephew who was a very gallant officer, and the shah engaged to support him with thirty thousand *Persians*. At this time, the war, which was raging in christendom, was the subject of many serious considerations at the porte; where it was firmly believed that the *Russians*, and the queen of *Hungary*, had spirited up *Nadir Shah* to invade the *Othman* dominions. This induced Grand- the grand-signior to act a part very different from the policy signior of his ancestors, by offering his mediation to the powers at offers his war, on pretence that their dissensions ruined the trade of mediation his subjects in the *Levant*. His vizier had a conference on to the the same head with the *Austrian* ambassador, but neither of *Christians*. them found any encouragement to proceed in their offer of mediation. About this time, a most dreadful fire broke out at *Constantinople*; which raged for five days, and destroyed the arsenal: and, to complete the mortification of the *Turks*, they received several very severe checks from the *Persians* in the year 1745.

Ridiculous as the late offer of the sultan's mediation was, Accepted the *French* took advantage of it; for, on the fifteenth of *De-* by the *cember*, that year, their ambassador had a most magnificent *French*. audience of the sultan; and informed him, that his master had, with great pleasure, accepted of his mediation. This procured him a very gracious dismissal; and the sultan, to shew his pacific disposition, recognized the consort of the queen of *Hungary*, as emperor of *Germany*. Soon after this, a peace was proposed between the porte and *Nadir Shah*, whose situation at home rendered that measure necessary. He demanded that the grand-signior should deliver up the pretender to his throne, and give one of the princesses of the *Othman* blood in marriage to his grandson, with one of the principal frontier towns towards *Persia* for her dowry, and liberty for the *Persians* to visit the tomb of *Mecca* on the same footing with their own subjects. The sultan had too much honour to agree to the first demand; but, after some negotiations, peace was concluded: by which the limits of the two empires were to stand as they were settled in the reign of *Morad IV.* and the *Persians* were to enjoy equal privileges at *Mecca* with the *Othmans*. Upon the conclusion of this important treaty, the sultan renewed his treaties with the courts

courts of *Vienna* and *Russia* ; by all which steps, peace was not only restored, but secured, to his dominions. Soon after, the *Othman* empire was delivered from its greatest scourge by the assassination of *Kouli Khan*.

Affairs of
Persia,

The *Turkish* history, after this, is barren of any great events till the second of *May*, 1748 ; when an ambassador from the new sopher of *Persia* had an audience at the porte : in which he confirmed the late treaty between the two empires. A time of profound peace with foreign powers is always dangerous to the internal repose of the *Othman* empire, and we now find several seditions prevailing at *Constantinople* ; by which some of the great officers of the empire lost their lives, and the sultan himself was obliged to fly to *Adrianople*. There he assembled his army, and, at the head of the janisaries, he attacked the insurgents with great vigour, and, at first, with some success. Next day, the insurrection grew to such a height, that the sultan was obliged to depose his grand-vizier, and soon after to declare his brother's son, *Ibrahim*, who was looked upon to be an enemy to the *Christians*, his successor in the empire. Those concessions restored the public tranquillity ; to which the unsettled state of affairs in *Persia* greatly contributed. This, however, was interrupted in 1749, by the revolt of the pasha of *Bassora* ; who attacked *Baghdad*, and five seraskiers were employed to reduce him ; which they did with some difficulty.

At this juncture, we find Mr. *Porter*, who was ambassador from *England*, complaining of some engagements the porte had entered into with certain northern powers, to the prejudice of the empress of *Russia* ; but the grand-vizier, whose name was *Abdallah Pasha*, assured him that the report was groundless ; and that the sultan had only renewed his defensive alliance with *Sweden*. On the twenty-third of *December*, 1749, this vizier was deposed, and his seal given to *Mehemed Pasha*, his kyeayah, whose sentiments were as pacific as those of his predecessor. About this time, a project was set on foot for erecting a woollen manufactory near *Constantinople*.

and Bar-
bary.

In the beginning of the year 1759, the states of *Barbary* implored the protection of the grand-signior ; who cautioned them not to provoke the maritime powers ; but, at the same time, recommended to the latter, that they would use their utmost endeavours to prevent their subjects from coming wilfully to any disagreement with the regencies of *Barbary*. *Constantinople* was, at this period, infested with a number of wretches who set fire to different quarters of the city, partly for the sake of plunder, and partly to bring about a revolution ; in which they must have succeeded, had it not been for the presence and prudence of the sultan, who quelled the janisaries. It appears as if the government of the porte, notwithstanding their pacific dispositions, was this year obliged to keep the people in temper, by ordering their ar-
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mies to make several marches and counter-marches, as if they had been on the eve of a war with the two empires of *Russia* and *Germany*. Notwithstanding this, the government had the art to keep the janisaries on their side; and, the plague breaking out, the public tranquillity continued during the year 1751, in an almost unexampled manner, if we consider the general dispositions of the people towards a war. In July, 1752, the people became uneasy with the state of affairs at court, and obliged the sultan to banish both the grand-vizier and the aga of the janisaries, and to strike off the head of the chief eunuch; whose wealth amounted to the immense sum of ten millions sterling, including his jewels and diamonds. The only crime charged upon those unhappy delinquents, was their love of peace; and even the mufti was put to death on the same account. It is hard to say what prevented the grand-signior from gratifying his people in this respect, especially as the *European* powers were but just recovering from a long and bloody war.

His preservation, at this time, probably was owing partly Earth- to the earthquakes, plagues, and other calamities which then quakes, afflicted the empire, and made impressions on the minds of fires, and the superstitious *Othmans*; and partly to the address of the insurrec- aga of the janisaries, who, by the prevailing assistance of tions. proper donatives, kept that formidable body quiet. In the beginning of the next year, the authority of the sultan was so well re-established, that he ventured to banish twenty-two members of the divan to different places, because they had declared for war. This severity renewed the murmurs of the janisaries; upon which a resolution was taken to assemble a body of fifty thousand men to oppose the progress of prince *Heraclius*, who had become very powerful in *Persia*; and, that a body of janisaries should march to quell the *Tartars* of *Oczakow*, who had mutinied. About the same time, a vast number of distant pashas were summoned to the divan at *Constantinople*, to deliberate on the operations of the ensuing campaign. The ministers of *Great-Britain*, *Vienna*, and *Russia*, demanded the reasons of the vast armaments making throughout the empire; but they received no satisfaction: and three seraskiers being sent to command in the *Krim*, the *Russians* made no doubt of the storm falling upon them; and prepared themselves accordingly. Nothing, however, was more foreign than a war to the intentions of the sultan. All he did, was to subdue some rebellious mountaineers on the frontiers of *Persia*, and to give orders for marching and counter-marching his troops. As a proof of his pacific disposition, when a *Maltese* renegade, who had been an engineer on that island, presented him with a plan of its fortifications, he threw it into the fire; and, in a short time, the warlike humour of the people blowing over, the public tranquillity returned, and the emperor refused to receive any proposals for breaking

breaking it. He thought proper, however, to give orders that his troops should be held to a strict discipline, and frequently exercised.

Pacific
disposi-
tions of
the sultan.

Towards the end of the year 1753, the *British* and *Russian* ministers had an audience of the grand-vizier on the affairs of *Europe*; and that minister assured them, that his master did not intend to interfere in any differences among *Christian* princes which did not affect the glory or prosperity of the *Othman* empire. On the sixteenth of *March*, next year, on a report of the grand signior's health declining, some commotions happened among the janisaries; but they were appeased by the punishment of the ring-leaders, and, upon the recovery of the sultan, all was quiet. On the sixteenth of *September*, the same year, a most dreadful earthquake was felt all over the *Othman* empire; which did incredible damage, the shocks being repeated for several days. Three minarets, or towers, were thrown down at *Constantinople*, for which the *Othmans* had a particular reverence, on account of a tradition, that, when they fell, their empire was near an end. The consternation of the people, on this occasion, was so great, that the sultan was obliged to come to *Constantinople*, from a country-seat, to encourage and reassure them.

His death,

On the thirteenth of *December* following, the grand-signior, sultan *Mohammed*, died suddenly of a fit of an asthma, about one o'clock; and, at three the same morning, his brother, *Osman* III. notwithstanding the former appointment, was proclaimed his successor from the minarets of the mosques; and the *British* ambassador was the first foreign minister who was admitted to congratulate him after his inauguration.

and cha-
racter.

The deceased sultan appears to have been a prince of uncommon qualifications and address in managing the turbulent spirit of his people, which had been fatal to so many of his ancestors; and his reign, upon the whole, must be considered as happy and glorious; and himself was one of the most fortunate princes, especially during his last years, that had ever filled the *Othman* throne; and *Osman*, sensible of the disadvantages he was under in succeeding so great a prince, began his reign by distributing immense treasures among the janisaries and the army, and by giving the ministers of the *Christian* powers the strongest assurances that he would maintain his brother's pacific system.

Osman III.

SULTAN Osman, according to public report, was the Accession son of sultan *Mostafa*, by a young *Hungarian* lady, who of *Osman* had been presented to him by pasha *Heken*, one of his gene- III. rals in that country ; and who being alive at the time of his accession, was, for that reason, preferred to the viziership ; from which, however, he was soon deposed ; though, among the sultan's first measures, he had degraded and banished his grand-vizier *Mostafa Pasha*, who before appeared to be his favourite ; but, notwithstanding four bankers were tortured to make them discover where he had placed his riches, no more than fifty thousand chequins could be discovered.

About the beginning of this sultan's reign, no fewer than fifteen thousand houses were destroyed at *Constantinople*, and upwards of one thousand persons perished in the flames. Very little interesting matter appears during the remainder of sultan *Osman*'s reign, which seems to have been employed in preserving the tranquility of his empire by martial appearances, to keep his people in temper ; which was the more easy, as the *European* powers were so far from shewing any dispositions to provoke him, that they treated him with all the deference which the *Othman* pride expects or requires. *Osman* III. died on the twenty-eighth of *October*, 1757, in the fifty-ninth year of his age ; and he was succeeded by his brother *Mostafa* III. who was born in 1723. Having no sons, succeeded the people began to be very uneasy about the succession ; by *Mosta-* and so dangerous a ferment arose in *Constantinople*, that a re- *fa* III. volution was apprehended ; especially when his brother *Bajazet* produced a son whom he said he had by a woman during his confinement. As this was pointing out to the emperor a successor, he gave orders for his brother's head to be taken off ; but the latter was befriended, not only by the populace, but the great officers of state, and the execution was prevented.

In this reign, a *Turkish* ship of the line, called *The Ottoman Crown*, being mastered by the *Christian* slaves on board, was carried into *Malta*, where the prize was divided among the captors. This was complained of by the sultan, as being a most lawless insult upon his flag ; and he made such preparations for war as indicated that he was resolved to extirpate the order. This alarmed the empress-queen so much, that, for fear of embroiling herself with the porte, she gave orders, that none of her subjects, who were knights of *Malta*, should repair to the defence of that island. Other *Christian* powers thought themselves equally interested not to provoke his sublime highness ; and it is probable that the knights must have been left to defend themselves, had not the *French* king, with great prudence and delicacy, bought the ship, and sent it to *Constantinople* guarded by *British* cruizers, His quar-
rel with
the
knights of
Malta.

cruizers, as a present to the sultan, who declared himself satisfied with that attonement.

Conclu-
sion.

Since then, the *Othman* empire has afforded no matter of history ; the present emperor invariably pursues the pacific system of his two immediate predecessors, and the *Turkish* government seems to be sensible, that their troops, by a long disuse of arms, must be a very unequal match either for the *Russians* or the *Germans* ; and, of late, they have been at great pains to cultivate a friendship with the king of *Prussia*, as a proper ballance against the house of *Austria*. For that purpose, towards the end of the year 1763, they sent an ambassador, under the title of internuncio, to his *Prussian* majesty, who received and entertained him with the highest marks of distinction ; nor, indeed, can he have a more natural ally than the *Othman* porte, should his differences be renewed with the house of *Austria*. Upon the whole, the *Othmans* seem now to be emerging from barbarity, particularly in the cruel executions of the successors to their empire, and many other ridiculous customs.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
G E R M A N Y.

GREAT part of that tract which is now called *Germany*, was included in the antient *Gaul*; and, in the former part of this history, the reader will find the various vicissitudes it underwent during its government under the *Romans*. *Germany* pretends to the glory of giving to *Europe* its present system of liberty; but whether it is properly of *German* extraction, is justly to be questioned. The *Gothic* constitution may be traced to countries far north of *Germany*, and to ages long before the *Germanic* empire had an existence. *Germany* was the intermediate spot between the seats of the barbarous nations, as they are called, and *Italy*, when they over-ran it; and the *Goths* and *Vandals*, most of them the ancestors of the modern *Tartars*, with a mixture of the *Danes*, *Swedes*, and *Pomeranians*, and the inhabitants of the country now called *Mecklenburgh*, or *Wandalia*, imported their laws and constitutions into *Italy*, and other southern countries; where they flourished till they were choaked up by the papal power. The emperors of *Germany*, as will be illustrated in the succeeding history, long resisted that execrable tyranny over the temporal, as well as spiritual, interests of mankind; and therefore their *Gothic* constitutions remain more pure than any on the continent. As to the time when they took place, it cannot be traced; for it reached as high as the existence of the *Celts*, when history ends in fable. It is certain that the *Romans* themselves had many forms of proceedings, particularly in the case of juries, exactly corresponding to the *Gothic* (or what is sometimes called the *Saxon*) constitutions; which, at this very time, form the basis of the laws of *England*; and that the *Romans* could have them only from the *Celts*. If they remain more pure in *England* than even in *Germany* itself, it is owing to its situation as an island.

It would be idle and unentertaining for us to give a particular history of *Germany* from the most early ages, because we have nothing to trust to for its veracity, but what is to be found in *Greek* and *Roman* writers. It is necessary for us, however, to connect it slightly with that of the *Roman* empire. After *Constantine* had transferred the seat of his government from *Rome* to *Byzantium*, or *Constantinople*, he di-
vided

vided his empire under the denominations of Eastern and Western ; which were often governed by different princes, as may be seen in the former parts of this history. Before his death, which happened in the year 337, he left the former to his son *Constantine*, and the latter to his other son *Constantius*.

Constantine invaded his brother's dominions, and lost his life at the battle of *Aquileia*. *Constantius* then finding himself sole emperor of the western empire, assumed that title, but lost his life by *Magnentius*. He was defeated by *Constans*, the only surviving son of the great *Constantine*, who thereby became the heir of his father's undivided empire. From this time, to the year 397, the western and eastern empires were often separated, but were reunited under *Theodosius*, who divided them before his death between his two sons, *Arcadius* and *Honorius* : to the former was allotted the eastern empire, and to the latter the western. The irruption of the northern nations extinguished the race of the *Cæsars* in the western empire ; and *Pepin*, king of *France*, having reduced to his power the various leaders (or, as they are called, kings) separated himself entirely from any dependence on the eastern empire ; so that the heads of it were rather dependents upon him ; and he left his dominions to his son *Charles the Great*, who succeeded, in time, to the power of the western emperors ; and we shall therefore consider him as the first emperor of *Germany*.

The Reign of Charles the Great, emperor of the West.

PEPIN, king of *France*, divided his kingdom between his sons *Charles* and *Carloman*. *Charles*, at the time of his father's death, was twenty-five years of age, and, in every respect, an extraordinary man. Though his father, from the lowness of his stature, was called *the Little*, *Charles* was seven feet high, well proportioned, strong, and his person fitted to bear all the fatigues of the field. It is doubtful whether his ruling passion was ambition or religion ; but he had the art to make each in its turn subservient to the other. He was brave, magnanimous, and politic beyond any prince of his age ; but he seems to have been endowed with those qualities for the ruin of mankind ; because he was superstitious and ignorant, though he is supposed to have been one of the most learned, not only of the princes, but men, of that age. By the death of *Carloman*, *Charles* became the sole master of the *French* monarchy, which included a great part of *Germany*, though his brother left a son, whose mother carried him, for protection, to the court of *Desiderius*, king of *Lombardy*. All the northern part of *Germany* was then called

Saxony,

Saxony, and the *Saxons* were idolaters in the most gross sense of the word. Their country comprehended a vast extent of territory; being bounded, on the west, by the *German Ocean*; on the east, by *Bohemia*; by the sea on the north; and, on the south, by *French Germany*. The part that lay towards the seas was called *Westphalia*; the *Eastphalians* had their habitations on the borders of *Bohemia*, in the countries now called *Misnia*, *Lusatia*, and *Silesia*; and the *Angrians* inhabited the countries that bordered upon *France*. The government of those *Saxons* subjected them and their neighbours to infinite inconveniencies. Their territory was divided into separate dukedoms, marquisesates, and counties; but without any principle of union against a common enemy: for every chief was independent. *Charles* pretended that the *Saxons* owed him tribute, as sovereign of *French Germany*. The *Saxons* resolved to live free, and, though they had none of the improvements of life, unless the feeding their flocks may be deemed one, they preferred their barbarous idolatry to *Charles's* more savage *Christianity*; upon which he entered their country with a powerful army; and his history, as emperor of *Germany*, commences at this period.

Witikind was the chief prince of the *Saxons*, and the ancestor of most of the princes who now govern the northern parts of *Germany*; but, though he is stiled, in general, duke of *Saxony*, yet he only possessed a large portion of that country; and all his pre-eminence arose from his martial endowments; which induced the *Saxons*, in time of war, to make him their commander in chief. The *Abodrites*, a nation of *Saxons*, then held the dutchy of *Meclenburgh*, and its adjacent territories, and were governed by a king of their own, who, having submitted themselves to pay tribute to *Pepin* and *Charles*, proved useful allies to the latter; and he sometimes presided in their meetings, and even brought them to promise not to molest the missionaries he should send amongst them.

In 770, *Charles* passed his *Christmas* at *Mentz*, and his *Easter* at *Heristal*; circumstances that, unimportant as they seem, form distinguished æras in the histories of those times; because, on such occasions, the sovereign prince appeared in all the grandeur of his royalty; was surrounded by his nobles, who then paid him their homage; and, if any one was absent, he was immediately suspected of disaffection: for which reason such meetings were called Plenary-courts. *Charles*, at that time, was powerfully solicited by the pope, and some of the *Italian* states, to pass into *Italy*, and to deliver them from the tyranny of *Desiderius*, or *Didier*, king of *Lombardy*; the same who had given refuge to his brother's wife and son. Though *Charles*, for that, and other, reasons, which shall be mentioned, was extremely intent upon this expedition, yet he thought it impolitic to undertake it before he had chastized the *Saxons*, and consummated a marriage

which had been proposed to him, with *Hildegade*; daughter to *Hildebrand*, duke of *Suabia*.

In the year 772, *Charles* entered the country of the *Saxons* with a powerful army, in consequence of what had been resolved on in the diet of *Worms*; and, at first, defeated his enemies in several encounters: but a most dreadful drought happening, he durst not venture to leave the river *Lippa* behind him; and there he halted for three days: but, according to the superstitious authors of that time, a miraculous supply of water fell from the mountains; and then upon his advancing towards the *Wefer*, the *Saxons* were so astonished at the warlike appearance of his army, that they offered to submit to him: but nothing less would content *Charles* than the abolition of their idolatry; and he marched to *Eresburg*, near *Paderborn*, where they were strongly entrenched, though without walls to defend them, or such as were very slight.

Here was the temple of *Irminful*, or, as others say, of the goddess *Tanfana*, mentioned by *Tacitus*. The *Saxons* defended this post with great obstinacy, and *Charles* lost a considerable number of men in forcing it; but having gained it, he most barbarously put all the inhabitants to the sword, and slew the priests of their idols upon their own altars. It is said that *Charles's* army was, for three days, employed in destroying this temple; which was as sacred among the *Saxons* as that of *Jerusalem* was among the *Jews*; and, that there was found within it an immense treasure in gold and silver. He then advanced towards the *Wefer*; and the *Saxons*, seeing it in vain to resist, submitted to give him twelve hostages for their future obedience. It is more than probable, that *Charles* would not have accepted of this submission, had not the state of his affairs in *Italy* absolutely required his presence there; but, before he left their country, he gave strict orders for erecting certain forts to bridle the inhabitants.

Didier, next to *Charles*, was the most powerful prince then in *Europe*, and *Charles* had married his daughter *Hermengard*. As religion, perfidy, and treachery, in that age, went hand in hand, *Charles* no sooner heard that *Didier* had humanity enough to protect his brother's widow and orphan, than he repudiated his queen, on pretence of her having an hereditary leprosy; a ridiculous charge that had been suggested to him by the pope. *Charles* found some difficulty in persuading his nobility, then the most free of any in the world, to enter into an *Italian* war; but having made an offer of accommodating matters amicably with *Didier*, who rejected all his advances, he persuaded them that he was forced into the war. This he did in a general assembly which he held at *Geneva*, where he complained so pathetically of the pope's oppressions by *Didier*, and the haughtiness of the latter, that his nobles unanimously concurred in his passing the

Alps at the head of a powerful army. *Didier* continued to persecute the popes, and *Adrian I.* had been shut up by him within the walls of *Rome*, after *Didier* had stripped him of all his other dominions. The latter was not insensible of *Charles's* power and military character, but he trusted to the unwillingness of the *French* to pass the *Alps* and the places which he had fortified in the mountains, by which he hoped to retard the march of *Charles* till he could completely extinguish the papal power.

Charles divided his army into two columns; the one was commanded by himself, and the other by duke *Bernard*, the natural son of *Charles Martel*, who forced the passage of *Mount St. Bernard*, whilst *Charles* penetrated into *Lombardy* by *Mount Cenis*. This was not done without prodigious difficulty; and, had not a panic seized *Didier's* army, *Charles* must have been obliged to return. While *Charles* was descending into the plains of *Lombardy*, *Didier* shut himself up in *Pavia*, as his son *Adalgise* did in *Verona*. *Charles*, understanding that duke *Hunalde*, of *Aquitain*, his old enemy, was with *Didier* in *Pavia*, and that the widow of *Carloman* and her sons were with *Adalgise* in *Verona*, laid siege to both places. Each of them made a noble defence; but *Adalgise*, despairing at last of being succoured, made his escape in the night-time to *Constantinople*. The unhappy widow of *Carloman*, with her two sons, fell into the hands of the conqueror, and were never more heard of.

Pavia continued to hold out; and *Charles*, after giving orders for continuing the blockade, or siege, of that city, marched to *Rome* with a strong detachment of his troops. The pope would willingly have dispensed with his visit, but the artful behaviour of *Charles*, and the vast appearance of devotion which he assumed, captivated all ranks of the *Romans* to such a degree, that the pope's senate and the people are said to have joined in offering to him the same sovereign power as the former emperors had over them and their city, and to have confirmed it by a solemn decree published by *Adrian*. *Charles*, however, was contented with the title of king of *Italy* and patrician of *Rome*, which had been assumed by the kings of *Lombardy*; and he not only confirmed, but enlarged, his father's donation to the pope.

This visit, the particulars of which are variously represented, being over, *Charles* returned to the siege of *Pavia*; which, during his absence from it, had made but a very small progress: but the plague raging within the place, *Didier*, after a siege of six months, was obliged to give it up. The only favour he could obtain was the preservation of his own life; and he died a monk at *Corbie*, or, as others say, at *Liege*; but some affirm that he was beheaded. Be this as it will, it is certain that in him ended the kingdom of the *Lombards*; and *Charles* caused himself to be crowned at *Pavia* king of *Italy*, with the iron crown which was used by them,

them, and is still preserved at *Monfa*, a little town near that city. In all other respects, *Charles* behaved like the deliverer of *Italy* from the power of the *Lombards*; but subjected the people to what was, perhaps, a worse tyranny; the papal dominion; which may be said to date its greatness from that æra. He emancipated the old *Italian* nobility from their subjection to all the *Lombard* government; and, excepting the provinces which he restored to the pope, he invested them with as much independency as his own superiority could admit of.

The *Sax-*
ons revolt,

His moderation was, perhaps, greatly owing to the accounts he had received from *Germany* of the dispositions the *Saxon* princes were making for re-asserting their independency, which obliged him to return to *Germany*. They had already made incursions into his *French* dominions, and were preparing to retake *Eresburg*; which they actually effected before he returned from his *Italian* expedition. They likewise took and demolished the fort which he had erected there, and carried a very great booty from his subjects in the neighbourhood; but abandoned *Eresburg*, on hearing of the approach of *Charles* and his army. The news of this revolt exasperated *Charles* so much, that he entered *Saxony* at three different places, and, as usual, butchered the defenceless inhabitants.

Historians, in general, say, that, when he returned, his army was laden with plunder; but, at the same time, they have represented the country as being void of every thing that could incite either avarice or ambition for any purpose but that of conquest.

In *May*, 774, he held an assembly of his nobles at *Duren*; where it was agreed to prosecute, to the utmost, the *Saxon* war. He then passed the *Rhine*, and again took possession of *Eresburg*, and other strong posts in the country; and passing the *Weser*, he completely defeated the *Saxons*, who were drawn up on the opposite banks. One division of his army, however, was cut off by those barbarians; and a revolution which was threatened in *Italy* determined him once more to accept of their submission, after he had built a new, but stronger, fortress at *Eresburg*. Not satisfied with this, he transported into *France* and *Italy* about twenty thousand of the chief *Saxon* families; and obliged the remainder to swear that they would renounce idolatry and receive *Christian* missionaries.

By this time, the *Italian* princes began to cabal for independency; in which they were encouraged by *Adalgise*, who still resided at *Constantinople*, where he afterwards died. The archbishop of *Ravenna* quarrelled with the pope about the temporalities; the great feudatories whom *Charles* had left in *Italy*, set up claims of sovereignty; and the duke of *Friuli* was in the field at the head of an army. The vast expedition of *Charles* in his marches, broke in pieces all their schemes.

The

The duke of *Friuli* was defeated and put to death ; the authority of *Charles* reconciled all differences between the pope and the archbishop of *Ravenna* ; and, having put the *French* garrisons into the chief fortresses of *Italy*, he returned to *Germany*, in the year 776, after an absence of no more than four months.

A zeal for idolatry, and a love of liberty, continued to and are animate the *Saxons*, who recovered *Eresburg* and laid siege to subdued *Sigebourg*. That place was strong, and its garrison numerous ; so that the *Saxons* were obliged to raise the siege with great loss, just at the time when *Charles* arrived in *Germany*. The certainty of his arrival being known, the *Saxons* again submitted ; and *Charles*, after ordering new forts to be raised, and fresh precautions to be taken, passed the winter at *Heristal*. On the return of the spring, he again entered into the heart of *Saxony*, where *Witikind* had made fresh efforts to recover the liberties of his country ; and he ordered the *Saxon* leaders to meet him at *Paderborn*, in *Westphalia* ; which many of them did, and there renewed their submission to *Charles* in the most solemn manner ; but *Witikind* fled to *Denmark*. *Charles* then ordered the fortress of *Eresburg* to be rebuilt, and bridled all the country of the *Saxons* with forts and garrisons.

Charles very properly affected great splendor in his pacific appearances among the *Saxons* ; and, when he held his diet at *Paderborn*, which he did through necessity, perhaps, rather than conveniency, a *Moslem* emir, who is dignified in the *European* histories with the title of count *Ibinalarabi*, and was governor of *Saragossa*, repaired thither with a large retinue, imploring his protection, in his own name and those of his friends, against *Abderame*, the *Moorish*, or rather the *Moslem*, king of *Spain*. *Charles's* ambition was flattered by this application. He granted the *Moslem's* request, and marched into *Spain* at the head of an army. One division of it entered into *Roussillon*, while he himself, marching by the way of *Navarre*, took *Pampelona* and *Saragossa*, and received the homages of many *Moslem* emirs and governors, whom he reinstated in their posts.

In repassing the *Pyrenees*, the rear of his army was attacked who is and defeated ; and the vast plunder he and his army had acquired, fell into the hands of the *Gascons*, his enemies. This in his defeat, which is so famous both in romance and history, happened near *Roncevaux*, and was fatal to *Roland*, or *Orlando* ; *Spain*. who is said to have been related to *Charles*, and was incomparably the greatest of modern legendary heroes. Notwithstanding this great loss, in which many of his bravest officers were cut off, he continued his march to *France* ; where he quelled some commotions that had happened during his absence ; and then, once more, set out for *Saxony*, where all was again in confusion. *Witikind* returning from *Denmark* had

Legisla-
tion and
policy of
Charles.

headed a general insurrection ; expelled the bishop and the *Christians* from *Bremen* ; and, if we are to believe the historians of *Charles*, had been guilty of many barbarities. It was no wonder if those naked pagans, without arms or discipline, retreated before *Charles's* well-armed veterans. He pursued them, came up with them, defeated and butchered them ; for he ordered his troops to give them no quarter. He then held a diet at *Heristal* ; where his nobility (for he now affected the dominion of all *Gaul* and *Germany*, in their utmost extent) made a most splendid appearance. Here he enacted several laws, still to be found in his capitularies ; and, indeed, if we consider the education of *Charles*, his ambition, his cruelties, and the genius of the people he had to deal with, his legislation, in general, is admirable. After this, he took a tour through great part of *Saxony*, and once more received the homage of the natives ; whom he obliged to give hostages for the safety of the *Christian* missionaries he was to send among them.

It is unjust to believe that mere motives of religion stimulated *Charles* to those horrid barbarities which he inflicted upon the unhappy pagans. He was resolved to be their sovereign, and knew no other way of humanizing them, or bringing them into the habits of civil life, but by making them *Christians* ; so that, in fact, introducing *Christianity* among the *Saxons* by *Charles*, was no more than his enforcing a police that was to render them peaceable and useful subjects ; and the massacres he committed, he looked upon as only cutting off so many brutes, who were incapable of submitting to civil-government. Having settled his affairs in *Saxony*, he returned to *Franconia* ; where he made preparations for another expedition into *Italy*, which was again in confusion through the intrigues of *Adalgise*, who still remained at *Constantinople*.

The *Greek* emperor, in 780, still held the kingdom of *Naples*, where he had a governor who joined some of the great *Lombards* in opposing pope *Adrian*. *Charles* marched to the relief of the pope, and took with him his wife *Hildegade*, with his two younger sons, *Pepin* and *Lewis* ; who being baptized by the pope, *Pepin* was crowned king of *Lombardy*, and *Lewis* of *Aquitain*. The reputation of *Charles* was then so high, that all divisions and factions sunk before him ; and the *Lombard* lords outvied one another in their professions of loyalty. *Charles* dissembled with all ; passed his winter at *Pavia* ; and, upon his return to *France*, he left his son *Pepin*, with a council to assist him, at *Pavia*, in his kingdom. Before his departure, he concluded a treaty with the *Greek* empress *Irene* ; promised his eldest daughter in marriage to the emperor *Constantine VI.* reconciled *Adrian* and the governor of *Naples* ; and left the *Italians*, to all appearance an united people.

Upon

Upon his return to *France*, he settled his other son, *Lewis*, Duke of *Orleans*; and summoned *Tassilon*, duke of *Bavaria*, to pay *Bavaria* homage to himself and the young king; which *Tassilon*, tho' submits to much against his nature, was obliged to comply with. *Charles*, in imagination, now enjoyed security for himself and family; and resolved once more to visit the *Saxons* in person, but at the head of an army. Having passed the *Lippe*, he was waited upon by the kings of the *Normans*, or *Danes*, as they are now called; the *Huns*, and the *Abodrites*; and *Charles* readily promised them his friendship, provided they refrained from all hostilities on his subjects. Returning to *France*, *Witikind* again appeared among the *Saxons*; whom he persuaded, with very little difficulty, that *Christianity* and slavery were the same; and, in an instant, those barbarians were in the field with such arms as they could procure. *Witikind* gave out, that this was to repel an inroad of the *Sclavonians*. This pretext being soon detected, *Charles* sent four generals against the *Saxons*; but three of them being jealous of count *Thieri*, the fourth, rashly attacked the enemy and was defeated. To repair this misfortune, *Charles* advanced with a fifth army, and joining that under *Thieri*, which was intrenched on the banks of the *Wefer*, he marched into the heart of *Saxony*, and the *Saxons* again submitted to him, laying all the blame of the rebellion upon *Witikind*, who, they said, was fled to *Denmark*. *Charles*, on this occasion, was guilty of unparalleled barbarity. "If *Witikind* is fled," said His he, "his accomplices are here;" and, immediately sur-butchery rounding the *Saxons*, he ordered four thousand five hundred of the of them to be seized, and their heads to be cut off, in cold *Saxons*. blood, before his face.

This butchery is the more remarkable as it happened after *Charles* began to cultivate a connection with *Alcuin*, archbishop of *York*, *Willebrod*, probably a *Scotch* or *Englishman*, and several other learned divines and scholars of that age, and valued himself upon the progress he made in letters. The barbarity he had committed did not answer his purpose, for, in the year 783, the rebellion of the *Saxons*, if it can be so called, became more general and more obstinate than ever. This year, his second wife, *Hildegade*, died in *April*. *Charles*, after celebrating her funeral, put himself at the head of a fresh army, and made his head-quarters at the fort of *Eresburg*; while the *Saxons*, under *Witikind*, and another chief, who is called *Albion* in history, were divided into two bodies; one posted at *Ticmel*, in *Westphalia*, and the other near the river *Hafis*.

The campaigns during this and the two following years, present but one continued scene of butchery. *Charles* advanced with his two eldest sons, at the head of his army, into the heart of the *Saxon* country, mowing down the inhabitants wherever he went, but without converting them; and he

soon saw himself in danger of being a sovereign without subjects.

He spends three years in subduing them. In the winter of the first campaign, he married *Fastrade*, daughter to the duke of *Franconia*; and next year he recommenced his barbarities in *Thuringia*, but not with the same success as before, as the barbarians were now become more cautious, and did not venture to attack him, as before, in great bodies. *Charles* having some intimations of a conspiracy being formed against him in *Thuringia*, returned to *Erfourg*, and gave the command of his army in *Westphalia* to his son *Charles*. His name being less formidable than that of his father, he was attacked by a great army of the *Saxons*, of whom he killed seventeen thousand, and completely defeated them.

The history of *Charles*, at this period, is somewhat dark; nor do we clearly perceive the nature of the dangers with which he is said to have been surrounded, by conspiracies and other machinations. It seems, however, to be pretty certain, that he was either tired of the war, or apprehended himself to be in danger; and that he resolved to alter his atrocious conduct. He sent for some of the chief of the *Saxon* prisoners, and, after soothing them in terms of great affection for themselves and their countrymen, they agreed to find out *Witiking* and *Albion*, and to persuade them to appear in person before *Charles*, who, they said, was ready to take them into his protection and friendship. The chiefs demanded hostages for their safety; and *Charles*, who was then holding a diet at *Paderborn*, sent *Almasin*, one of his chief ministers, with the hostages that were demanded; and furnished them with the proper arguments to persuade the *Saxons* to embrace *Christianity*.

Witiking and *Albion* submit to him. This negotiation seems to have taken up some time; for *Charles*, during its dependence, had returned to *France*; where, at *Attigni sur l'Aine*, the two *Saxon* chiefs (*Albion* is called duke of *Friesland*) presented themselves before him. *Charles* received them with great politeness, and, even, appearance of affection; commended their patriotism and love of liberty, and assured them of his friendship and protection. In short, the chiefs were converted and baptized; and *Witiking* never again gave *Charles* any disquiet. It is said that he returned to *Saxony*, where he was highly instrumental in converting his countrymen to *Christianity*.

Charles rebuilds *Florence*. *Saxony* being thus quieted, *Charles* had leisure to reduce his open and secret enemies both in *France* and *Germany*; and, passing into *Italy*, he ordered the walls of *Florence* to be rebuilt; and was everywhere received, by the common-people, as the father and deliverer of the *Italian* states. Very different were the sentiments of the pope and the great feudatories, who perceived now that they had a superior, who was in a condition to make them answer for their horrid oppressions and

and abuse of power. They endeavoured to dissemble their disquiet; but *Charles* saw through all their intrigues. *Aregise*, duke of *Apulia* and *Benevento*; and *Tassilon*, duke of *Bavaria*; had married the two sisters of *Adalgise*, who was still protected by *Irene*; and, by his means, they had been able to form a secret confederacy of the *Italian* princes against *Charles*; to which even pope *Adrian* and the *Romans* were privately not averse. *Charles* was perfectly well apprised of this; and, being possessed of proper proofs, he laid the whole before the senate of *Rome*, and desired the members to advise him how he was to proceed. The most guilty were for the severest measures, and the duke of *Apulia*, at last, was forced to implore the pardon of *Charles*; which he granted, on condition of his sending his two sons as hostages for his fidelity: and this the duke was obliged to comply with. But *Charles* generously sent back the eldest son to his father, and gave the younger an education suitable to his birth; but, at the same time, he obliged the inhabitants of *Benevento* to take an oath of homage to his ambassadors. During the whole of this transaction, the pope, and the other great feudatories, were continually soliciting *Charles* for favour to the duke of *Bavaria*.

Charles, upon his return to *Germany*, assembled a diet at *Conspir-Worms*, after refusing to give his daughter in marriage to the racy *Greek* emperor. He perceived that the confederacy against him reached farther than he, at first, apprehended; and that him, it extended over great part of *Germany*, as far as the banks of the *Danube* and the *Drave*; where the *Huns*, and the other northern nations who had been so terrible to *Rome*, were then settled. His danger seemed to encrease his activity. He advanced with his army to the bank of the *Lech*, and ordered the *Austrians*, the *Saxons*, and the *Lombards*, to enter the territories of the confederates by different quarters; so that *Tassilon*, finding himself hemmed in on all sides, privately repaired to *Charles's* camp, threw himself at his feet, and, upon professing his repentance, was again pardoned. Soon after, he relapsed, by entering into new intrigues with the *Huns* and *Adalgise*; but they were discovered to *Charles*, who gave orders for him and his son to be arrested; and they were, by the diet, condemned to lose their heads: but that sentence was remitted, and they were shut up, during their lives, in a convent.

The detection and punishment of *Tassilon* did not extin- in Ger-
guish the conspiracy. The *Huns*, the *Sclavonians*, and the many de-
other barbarians in the confederacy, armed against *Charles*; feated.
and were by him twice defeated with prodigious slaughter.
Grimoald, the second son of *Aregise*, was then a hostage with
Charles; while his father had joined *Adalgise*, who was at the
head of an army in *Italy*. Here *Charles* exhibited a noble proof
of his magnanimity. He gave the command of the first divi-
sion of his army to *Grimoald*, on the supposition that he would
be

Tranqui-
lity of
Charles,

grateful for the vast benefits he had received from him, tho' it was well known that the young prince's mother had a great sway over his affections; and, at the same time, he gave him his father's forfeited estate and title. It was in vain that the friends of *Charles* endeavoured to dissuade him from giving *Grimoald* so important a command, which the sequel, however, proved him to deserve. *Adelgise*, chiefly thro' his valour, was entirely defeated in *Calabria*; and all hopes of reviving the *Lombard* kingdom were dropped. *Charles* receiving the news of this defeat, returned immediately into *Bavaria*; and now, for the first time, he breathed, after the toils of war were over, the sweets of peace; and employed his leisure in laying the foundations of civil empire; in modelling the constitutions, the manners and government of the various nations over whom he ruled, and, above all, in impressing his subjects with a sense of religion, and giving his courtiers, generals, and statesmen, a taste for literature. For this purpose, he allotted the greatest part of his time to the company and conversation of the most learned men that the age produced, whom he spared no pains or expence to bring to his court; and whom he employed in making the necessary extracts and compilations for the schemes of his civil and legislative policy. But the truth is, *Charles* appears to have had a genius far superior to the most learned and intelligent men about his court; whom he employed chiefly in instructing him in matters of antiquity, till he should acquire (which he in time did) sufficient knowledge in the dead languages to judge for himself.

disturbed.

Some commotions broke in upon the tranquility of *Charles's* government at this glorious and happy period of his reign. The *Arabs*, or, as they are called, the *Saracens*, the greatest and the most polished people then in the world, made irruptions into *France*; and the *Saxon* pagans renewed their commotions: but all of them were easily quieted by *Charles*; who gave the government of *Bavaria* to count *Gerald*, a prince of great virtue, and brother to his second wife *Hildegard*. Part of the numerous nations that are distinguished, in general, by the name of *Northern*, and more particularly under those of *Huns*, *Sclavonians*, *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Abodrites*, *Abares*, and many other distinctions, acknowledged *Charles* for their master; possibly because he was best able to protect them from the resentments of the others, who mortally hated them for becoming *Christians*. This resentment carried the barbarians to incredible extremes; nor could all the massacres which *Charles*, whose dominions now reached to the *Baltic*, committed amongst them, keep them in subjection. He endeavoured to form a kind of a militia of the natives who acknowledged themselves to be his subjects, by which he might counteract the other barbarians; but, as most of them were still pagans in their hearts, this expedient seems to have proved ineffectual. He, at the same time, con-

structed

fructed bridges upon the *Elbe*, and other great rivers, for penetrating into their country; but no sooner did he return home, than they were again in arms.

Of all those nations, the *Huns* were the most determined His eight enemies of *Charles*; and they acted with a degree of enthusiasm in defence of their country; for they more than once obliged *Charles* to repass the *Rhine*, and to return to *Ratisbonne*; where he held the chief seat of his government in *Germany*. Eight whole years, from 790, were employed in those wars. *Charles*, or his generals, every summer entered the countries of the barbarians, and put numbers of them to the sword. Sometimes they made a shew of submission, but winter no sooner came on, than they were again in the field, and recovered all they had lost. In the campaign of 792, *Charles* pursued them as far as *Raab*, upon the *Danube*; but diseases breaking out among his troops through their fatigues, he was obliged to return to *Ratisbonne*, and to leave the barbarians in possession of all the country he had overrun.

In 793, he ordered his favourite general, *Thiery*, who the last campaign had commanded one of the divisions of the army, and was assigned as tutor in the art of war to young *Pepin*, *Charles*'s eldest son, to take the field at the head of an army of *Frisons* and loyal *Saxons*, against the *Abares* and the *Huns*, the inhabitants of the modern *Austria* and *Hungary*. *Thiery* found that the progress of *Charles*, during the preceding year, instead of daunting, had exasperated the barbarians.

As we are now writing the history of *Germany*, we shall, as far as possible, confine our narrative to that country. The enemies of *Charles* (perhaps because they were so) are everywhere represented as lawless barbarians; but whatever advantages the troops of *Charles* might have over them in armour and discipline, it seems to be certain that they made a glorious stand in defence of their liberties. As they were the descendants of the antient *Celts*, they retained the manner of fortifying their country which was practised by their ancestors; in cutting ditches, and forming lines, to a most amazing extent; which they fortified with prodigious beams of timber, as described by *Cæsar*, and other historians, to have been in use amongst the antient *Britons*. With regard to the civil arts of life, all we know particularly in that respect is, that they had amongst them a jurisprudence, courts of justice, and different forms of succession, according to the different constitutions of their several tribes; but we know of no confusion or wars that this diversity occasioned; for every tribe appears to have been unmolested in the enjoyment of their modes of property and freedom. We are not, at the same time, to forget that their country is one of the finest and most fruitful in *Europe*; that they were in possession

sion of the spoils of the *Roman* empire; and, that they consequently were possessed of vast riches, not only in coin and bullion, but in plates and the most precious moveables. In short, before the invasion of *Charles*, they were thought to be the most contented and happy people in the world. But they were pagans, and therefore they were to be plundered, enslaved, and massacred.

who defeat his armies, but are subdued.

Thiery, as we have hinted before, found them in arms; and they were so well prepared to receive him, that they defeated and destroyed his army. The news of this disaster arrived at the time when *Charles* had just received accounts that his affairs in *Spain* and *Italy* were in the utmost confusion; but having sent proper orders to his sons and generals there, he applied all his cares to quell the *Germans* and *Huns*. He entered their country with fresh troops, and the virtue of the barbarians proved their scourge; for *Charles* declared that they were so brave a people, it was an act of devotion to force them to be *Christians*. The resistance they made was brave, but ineffectual; they were unequal to regular troops and generals who were animated by enthusiasm, as they were by liberty; and, at last, a decisive battle was fought at *Ra-ab*, in *Hungary*; where *Charles* lost two of his best generals; *Henry*, duke of *Friuli*; and *Gerard*, governor of *Bavaria*; but obtained a complete victory. Above sixty thousand barbarians, as they are called, were killed, besides chiefs and generals; and *Charles* remained absolute master of their country. The spoils he got are said to have been immense, and he settled the finest part of their lands upon churches and religious foundations, without forgetting the officers and soldiers who had served in the expedition.

While *Charles* was thus victorious in one part of *Germany*, *Godofred*, the king of *Denmark*, and several other leaders, instigated by the *Saxons*, who never had been reconciled to his government, broke into *Friezeland* and the *Lower Saxony*. Their progress was such, that it is hard to say what would have been the event, had not the son of *Godofred* conspired with some of his father's domestics, who strangled him, to revenge his having repudiated the prince's mother. Upon his death, *Charles* easily recovered the countries he had overrun.

A plot against *Charles* discovered.

About this time, or, perhaps, a little before, a natural son of *Charles*, called *Pepin the Humpback*, conspired in *Italy* with some *French* and *Germans*; but the plot being discovered, some of the conspirators were put to death; and *Pepin* was, by his father's order, shaved, and shut up in a monastery. This is said to have been discovered by a priest at *Ratisbonne*; and some say it was discovered by *Arnold*, a *Lombard* prince. The rest of the year 794, and part of 795, was spent by *Charles* in introducing into *Germany* great numbers of *Frank* families, to be incorporated with his new pagan subjects, whom he pardoned on condition of their admitting *Christian* missionaries

missionaries to convert them, and giving hostages for their future good behaviour, and that he should be at liberty to dispose as he pleased of one third of their army.

This convention was in force no longer than the terror of his arms hung over their heads. The hatred they had for the *Abodrites*, who professed themselves to be *Christians*, and who were employed by *Charles* to subdue them; his introduction of *Frank* colonies to take possession of their country; the massacres and plundering his armies had committed; all conspired to revive the struggles of those pagans for their liberties, and to revenge the barbarities of *Charles*. He there- He depopulates
fore gave them up to the swords of his soldiers, commanded by his son *Pepin*, king of *Italy*, who cut in pieces above *Germany*, thirty thousand of the *Abares*. Upon the whole, there is not in history an instance of a more inhuman tyrant than this military propagator of *Christianity*, who had all the great qualities of a *Jenghiz Khan*, a *Tamerlan*, and the other illustrious monsters mentioned in the foregoing parts of this history; and was equally inhuman towards those who were of a different faith, or who valued their freedom above their lives. Even the *Christian* historians, who have been at the greatest pains to blazon his virtues, have never been able to transmit any justifiable grounds for the massacres he committed: and, from relations, favourable as they are, which they have left us, there is reason to believe, that *Germany* has not, to this day, recovered the depopulations his army made in that country.

All the time that *Charles* was thus butchering his contemporaries, he was busy in providing for the happiness of posterity. He now chose for his residence *Aquis-Granum*, since called *Aix-la-chapelle*; which he most magnificently rebuilt or repaired. He formed the noble project of uniting the *Danube* and the *Rhine*, and of intersecting the inland parts of *Germany* by canals, for the benefit of commerce and the conveniency of travelling. But the business of ambition did not suffer him to put those glorious projects into execution; and none of his successors in the *German* empire have had either the genius or the power of pursuing them. In his religious character, he was as despicable as he was dreadful in his military, and great in his civil, capacity. He kept four hundred bishops sitting in a council, bare-footed, to dispute upon ridiculous points of faith; he opposed, with warmth, the empress *Irene* in the points of image-worship, and rejected all alliance with her, though she offered him her person and empire. But the conduct of *Charles* towards the see of *Rome* was entirely unaccountable, and shews his weakest side.

Though, upon the dissolution of the *Lombard* government, he had affected, under the title of patrician, to be absolute lord of *Rome*, to which he was encouraged by the *Romans* themselves, who had been disgusted by the *Greck* emperor; and,

Death of
the pope.

and, though he even was proud of that dignity ; yet *Charles* laid the real foundations of the papal power, which afterwards proved so fatal to his posterity. Having established pope *Adrian* in his dignity, he admitted his legates to the first seats in the council of *Nicea*, which *Charles* himself had called ; he omitted no opportunity of contributing to his greatness ; and, when that pope died, in 795, *Charles* is said to have honoured his memory by composing some *Latin* verses in his praise.

Leo III. succeeded *Adrian*, and gave notice of his election to *Charles* ; who, in the letter he wrote in answer, commended him for his obedience and fidelity. *Leo*, at the same time, presented him with the city standard ; and desired him to send a proper minister, in his name, to receive homage of the *Romans*. This was disagreeable to them ; and they had, in a tumult raised on that account, almost murdered his holiness, whom they scarcely looked upon as a private citizen. He escaped their fury by what was looked upon as a miracle, and he fled to *Charles* at *Paderborn*. Though the latter was then employed in the most important concerns, he seems to have postponed every consideration to give satisfaction to his holiness.

Charles
marches
into *Italy*,

Upon some new commotions of the *Saxons*, he had sent for his son king *Pepin* out of *Lombardy*, and put him at the head of his armies. At the same time, he held a dyet of his vassals and great nobility on the *Elbe* ; and the king of the *Abodrites*, who was a vassal to *Charles*, was murdered by the pagans as he was repairing to it. *Charles*, upon this, charged his son to give the rebels no quarter ; and they were next to exterminated. All who remained were, by *Charles*, planted upon the maritime coasts of *Holland* and *Flanders* ; where they did him excellent service against the *Norman* pirates, who then infested the *European* seas. Immediately after this, he made an hasty settlement of his affairs in *Spain* and *France*, and, having sent back *Leo* under a guard to *Rome*, in 799, he called a dyet, or assembly, at *Mentz* ; where he concerted measures for a grand expedition into *Italy* ; and then, as the summit of his ambition, he intended to assume the authority and title of emperor of *Rome*.

where he
is crowned
emperor.

It was easy for such a prince as *Charles*, backed by a numerous party amongst the *Romans* themselves, and by a still more numerous army, to succeed in this. Upon his arrival at *Rome*, he held an assembly of all the principal nobility and inhabitants, who cleared the pope of all the charges that had been brought against him ; and then he was, with vast pomp and formality, crowned, by the appellations of *Charles Augustus*, emperor of the *Romans*. *Charles*, who well knew the impression which exteriors make upon a people, omitted no piece either of civil or sacred pageantry upon this occasion. He was saluted, and acknowledged as, emperor by the pope and all his nobility ; his picture was exposed in public ;

to *Augustus* he joined the title of *Cæsar*; he wore not only the dress, but the badges, of the antient *Roman* emperors, even to the taking an eagle for his devise, or armorial bearing; but to this eagle he gave two heads; intimating that he, in fact, considered himself as the head of the eastern, as well as of the western empire; but the two heads were disused by some of his successors. Amidst all this profusion of grandeur, *Charles* affected a singular modesty, and even to decline the honour that was done him; pretending, that, had he known what was designed, he would not have appeared in public. Notwithstanding this self-denial, it is certain that *Charles* was so fond of this dignity, that he never would suffer it to be omitted in his titles; and, ever after, he insisted upon its being bestowed upon him; and, that he should be considered as being upon an equality with the *Greek* emperor. If we examine his right to that great honour, we shall find it to be founded upon conquest and the consent of the *Roman* people, who, being no longer under the protection of the *Greek* emperors, were at liberty to chuse *Charles* to defend and govern them. As to the power of the pope to confer such a dignity, it is justly to be despised; it not being his to confer: and he acted, in the whole transaction, only as the head agent of the people.

Charles, however, was as kind to the pope as if he had been solely indebted to him for his new dignity. He confirmed to him his father *Pepin's* gift of the exarchate and see of *Ancona*, to which he added various other territories; but still with a reservation of the imperial sovereignty to himself and his successors.

Upon the return of *Charles* to *France*, he found there an assembly of ambassadors sent from various states and princes to congratulate him upon his new dignity: particularly from *Scotland*, *Morocco*, *Persia*, and *Constantinople* itself; from whence the eastern emperor, *Nicephorus*, sent him a cession of the titles of emperor of the west, *Cæsar*, and *Augustus*. As we are now writing the history of *Charles* only as the head of the *Germanic* empire, we shall omit what relates to him as king of *France*. His power seems to have been confirmed by his new dignity; for he was, in a manner, all powerful on the continent of *Europe*, from *Benevento* in *Italy*, to *Bavaria* in *Germany*. But, while he was thus at the summit of his glory, and forming his empire, by his laws and institutions, to peace, order, and regularity, the *Danes*, *Normans*, and *Saxons*, took arms against him, about the year 803. This war carried *Charles*, for the eighth time, at the head of an army, into the country of the *Saxons*; where, instead of putting them to the sword, as usual, he transplanted vast numbers of them to *Flanders*, *Provence*, *Switzerland*, *Italy*, and even *Rome* itself; and settled the *Abodrites*, who had been faithful to him, in the *Saxon* country. This expedient proved successful, and the *Saxons* ever after continued quiet.

Charles

Charles then advanced with his army towards the *Elbe*, to oppose *Godfrey*, king of *Denmark*, who had got together a large fleet to invade *Charles's* dominions. This war ended in a treaty of mutual forbearance and friendship.

Deaths of
the chil-
dren of
Charles.

About this time, two of *Charles's* sons, *Pepin* and *Charles*, died; the one at *Milan*, the other in *Bavaria*. Their deaths, with that of a beloved daughter, sunk deep into the spirit of *Charles*; and, in a few years after, *Godfrey*, king of *Denmark*, who proved to be the most dangerous enemy *Charles* ever had to deal with, broke into the country of the *Abodrites*, which he conquered, and hung up one of their princes; but retired in the winter to make preparations for renewing his invasions in the spring. *Charles* was then at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and, being well acquainted with *Godfrey's* martial abilities and vast power, he gave way to another treaty being set on foot. That proving abortive, *Godfrey* threatened to lead his arms to the gates of *Aix-la-Chapelle*; but he was prevented by the diversion which the generals of *Charles* gave him across the *Elbe*; where they gained many advantages, and carried the war to his frontiers. *Godfrey*, in the mean time, was not idle. Leaving a large army to support the *Sclavonians* in their revolt against *Charles*, he embarked a great body of land-troops on board a fleet of two hundred sail; by which, all of a sudden, he reduced the islands on the coast of *Friesland*: from thence he invaded the continent, where he carried all before him.

Charles, who was then at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, raised a numerous army, with which he marched to oppose *Godfrey*; who being assassinated by one of his guards, was succeeded by his son, a person of less turbulent temper; and a cessation of arms being agreed upon, the *Danes* reembarked on board their ships.

who
makes
Bernard
king of
Italy.

In the year 810, *Charles*, with consent of his son *Lewis*, king of *Aquitain*, declared *Bernard*, the infant son of *Pepin*, king of *Italy*, though illegitimate, his father's successor in that kingdom. He had, at this time, three great armies on foot; one of which lay on the other side of the *Elbe* to watch the motions of the northern nations; while another acted against the barbarians on the side of *Pannonia*, or *Hungary*; and a third in *Britany*.

He pro-
vides a
marine.

Being sensible of the defenceless state of his sea-coasts, he gave orders for fortifying them. The multiplicity of his affairs, and fatigues (notwithstanding the incredible vigour of his constitution) and the age of 70, had brought infirmities upon him; for which reason he associated with himself into government his son *Lewis* at *Aix-la-Chapelle*. This was done in a most magnificent assembly of those nobles whom he consulted on all great occasions, and whose consent gave a sanction to his laws. To them he declared his son *Lewis*, and his heirs, his successors in the imperial dignity; and he was recognized accordingly, and proclaimed emperor. After
entering

entering upon the exercise of that high office, he returned to *France*, where his presence was necessary; while his father applied himself to settle the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of his vast dominions, which were enlarged two thirds since his father's death. He gave the city of *Ulm* to the monks, and settled all his temporal concerns in *Germany* with great equity.

He had, by this time, provided a sufficient marine to oppose that of the northern nations; and he had stationed a fleet at *Boulogne*; but, about the middle of *January*, 814, he felt himself feverish; and his disorder turned to a pleurisy, which carried him off on the twenty-seventh of the same month, aged seventy-eight years; having reigned, in *France*, forty-eight years, four months, and four days; in *Italy*, about forty years; and fourteen in the empire. He had made his will some time before his death; in which he stiled himself *Charles*, emperor, *Cæsar*, the most invincible king of the *Franks*. He left his son *Lewis* all the countries from *Spain* to the *Rhine*: *Italy* and *Bavaria* to *Pepin*: and *France*, from the *Loire* to *Ingolstadt*; and *Austria*, from the *Schelde* to the confines of *Brandenburgh*; to his son *Charles*: but the two last princes died before himself. This will was made some years before his death, and it is said he made another much more in favour of *Lewis*. He was buried at *Aix* (where he had built a chapel, from which it is now called *Aix-la-Chapelle*) with great funeral-pomp. When he died, he left many noble plans unfinished; particularly with regard to his marine; which, however, he had very considerably improved.

Authors have been greatly divided with regard to the character of *Charles the Great*, for such he certainly was. All agree that he had an uncommon genius both for arms and government; and nature pointed him out, by his endowments both of body and mind, as the master of that great empire which he inherited or acquired; but, in other respects, his character is doubtful. Though he was the author, not only of the civil, but the ecclesiastical, government of his dominions; it is not easy to defend him with regard to his brother's widow and family. When he married his wife *Desiderata*, daughter to *Dedier*, king of the *Lombards*, he is said to have had another wife alive; a practice not uncommon in those days: and his repudiating that lady, on account of the humanity her father shewed to the widow and children of his brother *Carloman*, is an indelible stain upon his memory; especially as, without any regard to their rights, he caused himself, on *Carloman's* death, to be crowned king of *Austrasia*. No encomiums can be made on the chastity of *Charles*; for, besides wives, he entertained an abundance of concubines; or, according to the rude *Christianity* that prevailed in those days, and some remains of which still subsist in *Germany*, wives of an inferior order. It is therefore a difficult matter

to ascertain the number, or rank, either of his wives or concubines; and, consequently, of his legitimate or illegitimate issue; for it is certain he gave the same education to both. He was, as we have already hinted, passionately fond of learned men and learning; in which, if we believe his historians, and consider the rudeness of that age, with his own avocations to war and business, he made a very surprising progress. There is too much reason to believe that *Charles*, according to the barbarous bigotry of the times, thought that all crimes might be atoned for by an unbounded liberality to the church and churchmen; which he accordingly exercised.

In his private deportment towards his ministers, courtiers, and his own family, he was amiable beyond description. In his nature he was open, generous, and unsuspecting. Though a great œconomist, he appeared, on solemn occasions, with prodigious magnificence and splendor; so that the princes of the continent, some of whom had great territories, took a kind of pride at appearing in his parliaments or diets, and in being ranked among his vassals. Though affable, he knew how to maintain state to the full. His application to business of every kind was excessive, and he was grateful for all services done him; but it was remarked that he seldom bestowed different offices on the same person. He is justly accused of inhumanity towards the *Saxons* and pagans, whom he sought to convert to *Christianity* by the power of the sword. If an apology can be made for him, on this head, it must arise from the woful prepossessions of the times of ignorance and bigotry in which he lived; and which often rendered the extinction of the human species, who refused to be *Christians*, meritorious in his eyes. But we shall have farther opportunities of mentioning this great man.

2. Lewis the Debonnair.

Accession
and first
acts of
Lewis.

THIS prince was in *Aquitain* when he heard of his father's death, but he immediately hastened to *Aix-la-Chapelle*. During his father's life-time, he had behaved so well towards his subjects, and established so wonderful a reformation among them, that *Charles* was often heard to thank God for having given him such a son. He was born in the year 778; and he had married *Ermengarde*, the daughter of *Enguerand*, count of *Hesbai*, in the diocese of *Leige*. In other respects, he was thought to resemble his father in all the accomplishments of body and mind, and to be but little his inferior in either. Upon his accession, his empire was bounded, on the north, by the *Baltic* and *Denmark*; on the west, by the *Ocean*; on the south, by the *Mediterranean*, the *Adriatic*,

Adriatic, and the *Pyrenean* mountains ; and, on the east, by the *Vistula* and the *Teisse* : so that he succeeded to a much greater extent of territory than any prince since his time has ever possessed in *Europe*.

Upon his accession, being apprehensive that his nephew, *Bernard*, king of *Italy*, would create him some trouble, he dispatched an army, under the command of his generals *Baldener*, *Waldener*, *Landbrecht*, and *Jungbrecht* ; who were to take possession of *Aix-la-Chapelle* till his arrival. They were opposed by *Hatwin*, mayor of the palace in the late reign ; who killed one of the generals, but was himself defeated and killed in his turn. *Lewis* arrived at *Aix* thirty days after, and soon began to discover symptoms of a disposition very different from what the world thought him possessed of.

After he had been again proclaimed emperor, and given audience to the ambassadors of foreign princes, he received the homage of the duke of *Benevento* ; who was to pay him annually seven thousand crowns of gold, as a tribute for his dutchy : and then he ordered his nephew *Bernard* to appear before him, to do him homage for the kingdom of *Italy*. In the mean time, he sent his son, *Pepin*, to govern *Aquitain* ; and *Lothair*, *Bavaria* ; and kept his third son, *Lewis*, about his own person. After which, he severely punished the accomplices of *Hatwin* in the late insurrection. *Bernard*, upon his arrival at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, found that many of his friends had, under that pretence, been put to death, or proscribed ; but the emperor having confirmed him in his kingdom, he stifled his indignation at that time. *Lewis*, under pretence of reforming his court, and providing better for his sisters, shut them up in convents, and sent their male-favourites to prison.

He then assembled a diet at *Paderborn*, where he received intelligence of a conspiracy, against the life of pope *Leo*, at *Rome* ; which being discovered, the pope had, by his own authority, put some of the ring-leaders to death ; and this action of his holiness was resented by *Lewis* as being an invasion upon his sovereignty. He ordered *Bernard* to repair from *Paderborn* to *Rome*, and to settle affairs there. In the mean while, pope *Leo* died, after making his submission for what had happened ; and *Stephen V.* who succeeded him, immediately upon his election, set out for *France*, where *Lewis* was, and crowned him emperor at *Rheims* ; the emperor, for this mark of respect, forgiving all that had happened, though the pontif had taken upon himself to act as pope, without waiting for the imperial confirmation.

Lewis had penetration enough to see the power of the church every day encreasing in his dominions, and that obliged churchmen not only affected to be independent of his government, but, in right of their fiefs and abbeyes confirmed by the late emperor, they headed armies of their own tenants

in the field, sometimes to the amount of ten thousand; and they lived with all the temporal pomp of the greatest princes. *Lewis* assembled a diet at *Aix* for regulating all kinds of abuses, both ecclesiastical and civil; and especially to inhibit ecclesiastics from meddling in temporal affairs, and wearing gold, silver, and jewels upon their ordinary cloaths. This proposal, though reasonable in itself, produced a kind of combination against *Lewis* among the ecclesiastics; which went so far as even to form a design for deposing him, and to substitute another emperor in his stead. The *Italian* clergy were the chiefs of this conspiracy, and they chose *Bernard*, king of *Italy*, for their head.

Rebellion
and death
of *Ber-*
nard, king
of *Italy*.

About this time, he convened the states of his empire; and, in imitation of his father, who was very fond of seeing his sons sovereigns in his life-time, he associated his eldest son, *Lothair*, in the empire; made his second son, *Pepin*, king of *Aquitain*; and his third, *Lewis*, king of *Bavaria*. *Bernard*, king of *Italy*, had now made such a progress in the schemes he had undertaken, that he had persuaded most of the cities and states in the kingdom to throw off their dependency upon the empire; and being, as we have already seen, backed by a powerful body of the clergy, he obliged them to take an oath of fidelity to himself. *Bernard*, in this, did not follow the dictates of his own ambition singly; the *Italians*, in general, affected independency upon all *German* connections, and wanted a prince only of power and spirit to head them. *Bernard* offered them his best services for that purpose, and raised an army, but they were afraid to support him. The emperor, *Lewis*, prepared to pass the *Alps* with an army far superior to that of his nephew; who was so terrified, that he disbanded his forces, and, passing the *Alps*, threw himself at the emperor's feet. *Lewis* refused to determine his fate, and referred him, and the chief of his accomplices who surrendered themselves at the same time, to the next meeting of parliament at *Aix*. There they were tried. *Bernard* and the bishop of *Orleans*, with others of the ring-leaders of the rebellion, as it was called, were condemned to suffer death. Others, less culpable, lost their eyes, or were imprisoned for life. *Bernard's* sentence was commuted to the loss of his eyes, but the operation being performed by an unskilful hand, he died three days after it.

Other re-
bellions in
Germany,

Other rebellions broke out at the same time. The *Abodrites*, who had hitherto been so faithful to the house of *Charlemagne*, revolted; and *Morman*, the count *de Bretagne*, a vassal of the empire, declared himself an independent king. *Lewis* raised an army, and, marching into their country, *Morman's* subjects murdered him. *Lewis*, upon this, declared *Nomenon* count of *Britany*.

Soon after, as he was returning back to *Germany*, his empress, *Hermengrade*, died; and, proceeding to *Heristul*, he found his *German* and *Italian* affairs in great disorder. One

Sigon

Sigon had murdered *Grimoald*, and made himself duke of *Benvento*; but was pardoned and confirmed by *Lewis*, on account of the rich presents he made him. *Linderif*, the leader of the *Huns*, complained of the duke of *Friuli*; but received no satisfaction from *Lewis*. The count of *Gascony* revolted, but was defeated by the king of *Aquitain*; and *Sclaomir*, formerly the prince, or leader, of the *Abodrites*, having called in the *Normans* to his assistance against the imperial deputy, was likewise defeated; and, both these rebels being taken, were, by the diet of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, sentenced to die; but *Lewis* converted their sentence into exile.

About this time, *Lewis* was so much affected by the death of his wife, that he fell into a state of melancholy, and appeared desirous of retiring to a convent. With some difficulty, he was persuaded to marry *Judith*, the daughter of *Guelph*, count of *Ravensburg* and *Aldorf*; and a lady of such perfections both in mind and body, that she obtained a complete ascendancy over her husband. About the time of this marriage, *Pepin*, the emperor's son, king of *Aquitain*, died.

Lindevit, already mentioned, whom some call duke of and *Hungary*. *Slavonia*, and who had large territories in *Hungary*, despairing of making his peace with *Lewis*, for having cut off a part of the imperial troops in their march to *Italy*, was, at this time, in rebellion; but was defeated by the duke of *Friuli*; and, being hunted from place to place, he was, at last, put to death by a *Dalmatian* lord, with whom he had taken refuge.

In the year 820, the emperor held a parliament of the *French* and *German* nobility at *Thionville*; where his son *Lothair* was married to *Ermengarde*, the daughter of a *German* count. About this time, *Lewis* exhibited many proofs of weakness, if not insanity. Though devout, even to superstition, he quarrelled with the bishops about their non-residence; and he took into his confidence *Adelard*, abbot of *Corbie*, who had been the chief prompter of *Bernard's* rebellion; and was elder brother to *Walla*, one of the wisest men in the empire, and a favourite with *Charles the Great*; but who, being disgraced, had turned monk. *Adelard* not only got from *Lewis* the pardon of all his associates in the rebellion of *Bernard*, but prevailed with him to submit to public penance for the death of *Bernard*, and the severity with which he had treated his natural brothers, whom he had banished to *Bavaria*. The emperor suffered *Paschal I.* to impose so far upon his good-nature, that he exercised the papal function without being confirmed by him; but pretending to be independent of the imperial authority, he thereby roused *Lewis* from his lethargy; who sent his son *Lothair* into *Italy* with an army which over-run *Paschal*, who invited him to *Rome*, where he crowned him emperor, and humbly retracted all his arrogant pretensions. Upon the departure of *Lothair*, how-

ever, from *Rome*, two noble *Roman* ecclesiastics, *Theodore* and *Leo*, great sticklers for the imperial interest, had their eyes put out, and were beheaded in the pope's palace. When the emperor was preparing to punish this flagrant insult upon his authority, the pope purged himself by oath from all knowledge of the murder, and the emperor was satisfied.

Affairs of
Italy.

Eugene II. succeeded *Paschal*; and the *Roman* clergy, as well as the people, were, at that time, so abandoned and irregular, that the emperor *Lothair* was obliged, once more, to take a journey to *Rome*; where he again confirmed the imperial authority, and re-established the tranquility of the public. About this time, *Germany* was visited by many natural calamities; such as earthquakes, inundations, and the like; which swept off half the inhabitants of the empire. A diet, in the year 825, was assembled at *Nimeguen*, upon the affairs of *Brittany*, which was still in arms; but, by the vigour of the diet, those commotions were quelled; and *Lothair*, having settled affairs at *Rome*, met his father at *Aix*; where, by the states, he was declared his successor to the empire; and then sent, by his father, back to *Italy*. The emperor now added to the kingdom of *Bavaria*, which he had given to his son *Lewis*, *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, *Hungary*, and *Vindmarch*; but he lost *Catalonia* to the *Moors*, and *Navarre* by an insurrection of the natives; and *Heriolt*, a *Christian* king, whom he had imposed upon *Denmark*, was driven out of his kingdom by a rebellion of his subjects. The successes of the *Moors* were chiefly attributed to the misconduct of *Lothair* and *Pepin* on the side of *Spain*.

Charles
the Bald
born.

By this time, *Judith*, the emperor's beloved wife, had brought him a son, who was baptized *Charles*. *Lewis* having disposed of all his dominions, the empress found great difficulty in providing for her son; which, at last, was effected out of *Lothair's* territories; and the latter was obliged to swear that he would be the child's guardian and protector. Afterwards he bestowed upon the young *Charles* all that part of *Germany* which is situated between the *Maine*, the *Rhine*, the *Neckar*, and the *Danube*; together with the countries that now form the republics of *Geneva* and *Switzerland*; so that *Charles*, in effect, was now king of *Germany*, and the emperor was entirely governed by his wife.

Distrac-
tions of
the em-
pire.

The affairs of the empire, through the mismanagement of the emperor's sons, especially *Lothair* and *Pepin*, were, at this time, in the utmost disorder; and the emperor was himself obliged, for the reformation of his empire, to establish a court of enquiry; the members of which were called *missi dominici*, and *Walla* was at its head. It appears that the empire was then divided into two parties. The one consisted of the emperor's sons by his former marriage, who resented the dismembering their dominions to provide for young *Charles*. The other party was headed by the empress *Judith*. *Walla* having made a very unfavourable report from
the

the court of enquiry, concerning the emperor and his government, *Judith* prevailed with her husband to send him back to his cell; and to employ *Bernard*, count of *Barcelona*, as his first minister, whom she was said to be in love with, as he was with her, to the great scandal of the public. Be this as it will, it is certain that *Bernard*, who was a man of great courage and abilities, under colour of subduing the *Bretons*, raised an army, and summoned *Lewis*, king of *Bavaria*, and *Pepin*, king of *Aquitain*, to join it; but both of them united with the malecontents against their father. *Lewis* was no match for this rebellion. His wife fled to a monastery, and *Bernard* obtained leave to retire to his government of *Catalonia*. The empress was drawn from her convent by *Pepin*; and she promised, not only to become a recluse, but to persuade her husband to turn monk. *Judith* then went to her husband, and, by her advice (his army having abandoned him) he demanded a conference with the nobles of his empire. An assembly was accordingly held at *Compeigne*, where he behaved with great appearance of contrition, and promised that his wife should turn nun. *Adelard* was at the head of this rebellion, but both he and *Pepin* were disappointed, for they imagined that the emperor would resign his throne to *Pepin*; for, instead of that, the assembly was so much affected by the appearance of distressed majesty, that he was desired to resume it.

Soon after, *Lothair*, upon whom the malecontents chiefly depended for support, arrived with his army; and, though he did not insist upon his father resigning his empire, he prevailed upon his person certain monks, who were instructed against his to persuade him to quit the world. *Pepin* and *Lewis*, seeing that *Lothair* aimed at being sole emperor, retired with disgust to their own dominions; and *Gombaud*, one of the monks who had been placed about the old emperor's person, being gained over by him, succeeded so well, in exciting the public indignation at the imprisonment of *Lewis*, that the *Germans* took his part against his sons, and delivered him from his confinement. A general diet was held at *Nimeguen*, where the sense of the public was so much in favour of *Lewis*, that the heads of the malecontents were obliged to abscond; and *Lothair* himself, not only made his submission, but gave up the chiefs of his party; who, in a subsequent diet, held at *Aix*, were punished as their crimes deserved; some by being beheaded, some by excæcation, and some by being drowned. *Lewis* then sent for his empress, but she had taken the veil; and some dispute was held, whether she could quit it without leave of the pope; who declared that she might, as she had taken it against her will.

The empire was then in a woful condition; the emperor's sons, who were as weak, but far more wicked, than their father, were at the head of all public treason. The church was every day gaining ground in power and territories,

ries ; so that *Germany* seemed to be no better than an ecclesiastical aristocracy ; and, in *Italy*, the papal power had almost extinguished the imperial. The emperor, by his wife's advice, did the best he could to oblige his sons to return to their duty, and to unite among themselves ; but with little effect. She had recalled count *Bernard* to court, and had been obliged to take an oath that nothing criminal had passed between them.

who again
rebel.

The recall of *Bernard* added to the court intrigues. *Pepin* and *Lewis* were disgusted afresh, as was also *Gombaud* the monk at not being made first minister. The empress and her favourite held the reins of the empire with a firm hand. They obliged all who were concerned in the late commotions, to subscribe to the partition of the empire in favour of young *Charles*. *Lothair* was deposed from being emperor, but allowed to keep the empty title of king of *Italy* ; and was obliged to promise to do nothing without his father's allowance.

About this time, a breach happened between count *Bernard* and the empress *Judith* ; and he privately reconciled himself to *Pepin*, who had been detained at court as a kind of prisoner ; but he now escaped to his kingdom of *Aquitain*, where he raised an army, and the three sons again united to dethrone their father. *Lewis* raised an army, and summoned his nobility to assemble at *Orleans* ; but he no sooner set out on his march, than he heard that his son *Lewis*, king of *Bavaria*, had revolted likewise ; which obliged the emperor to change the place of the diet to *Mentz*. *Lewis* was not supported in his rebellion, and he threw himself at his father's feet, who exacted from him an oath of future obedience. *Lothair* seeing their treasons thus disconcerted, reconciled himself to his father at *Frankfort* ; and then the emperor marched against *Pepin*, who, being in no condition to stand his ground, surrendered himself, and was sent prisoner to *Treves*, the emperor taking his kingdom of *Aquitain* into his own hands, and settling it upon his youngest son *Charles*, who was then about nine years of age.

Lothair had now returned to *Italy*, and, perceiving that the attachment of the *Germans*, by means of the ecclesiastics, was every day growing stronger towards the papal see, he found means, by the most abject submission, to gain over the pope, *Gregory IV.* to his interest ; and even to prevail with him to accompany him to *Germany* ; where he was in hopes the very name of a pope would create a general insurrection in his favour, which it actually did ; for the *German* ecclesiastics, with *Walla*, who was now abbot of *Corbie*, at their head, declared for the rebels. Some of the *German* bishops however (among whom was *Dreux*, bishop of *Mentz*, the emperor's natural brother) kept firm to their allegiance, and reproached the pope, in the most bitter terms, for abetting so unnatural a rebellion.

Lothair,

Lothair, at first, pretended he was come at the head of his army to oppose *Pepin*, who had escaped from his guards and was again in arms; and the pope, the better to deceive the emperor, had presented himself as a mediator between him and his sons. This intercourse proved fatal to the emperor *Lewis*; for the pope found means, during the negotiation, to debauch the imperial army to the side of the filial rebels, on pretence of his being excommunicated. The emperor was weak enough, from the ridiculous reverence he had for the pontif, to contribute towards his own deposition; for, instead of fighting the rebels, he threw himself into their hands. He was confined in their camp; his empress was sent a prisoner to *Tortona*, and his youngest son, *Charles*, to a castle in the forest of *Ardenne*.

Matters being brought to this pass, the three brothers began to disagree in dividing the spoils of the empire; and *Lewis* and *Pepin* retired to their respective dominions. *Lothair*, who pretended to succeed his father as sole emperor, summoned together a parliament, of which the greatest part was composed of ecclesiastics, at *Soissons*, in *France*; where one *Ebbon*, an archbishop of *Rheims*, whom *Lewis* had elevated from the lowest station to that dignity, was appointed to degrade his sovereign from the exercise of royalty. This ceremony was performed with circumstances that disgrace human nature. *Lewis* was obliged to kneel upon a hair-cloth spread before the altar, after he had, by the archbishop's orders, surrendered up his sword, its belt, and his royal habit, and cloathed himself in penitential robes. A list of his misdemeanours was then produced, and he was obliged to read and acknowledge them. Among many other articles charged against him, was his having set out on a march on *Ash-Wednesday*, and summoning a parliament on *Holy-Thursday*. The emperor performed his penance with the greatest meekness; nor did those haughty ecclesiastics, or his unnatural son, in the process they made out against him, deign to give him even the appellation of emperor.

This infamous ceremony being over, *Lothair* ascended the imperial throne, and shut his father up, without either the comforts or necessaries of life, a prisoner in the abbey of *St. Medard*. A thousand stratagems were employed to induce him to turn monk; but he bore all his mortifications with so resigned a firmness, that the public were touched with his misfortunes. This, perhaps, was not a little owing to the weakness of *Lothair*, and the ill use which he made of his power. Even the monks exclaimed against him; and the bishop of *Mentz*, together with count *Bernard*, at last, prevailed with the king of *Bavaria* to take his father's part. An army was soon raised by the *Bavarian*, and it was joined by the *Saxons*. *Lothair* was so much detested, that few of the *Germans* joined him; and *Pepin* added his forces to those of *Lewis* of *Bavaria*. *Lothair* committed his father and brother

Charles

who re-
mounts
his throne.

Charles to the abbey of *St. Dennis*, and retired to *Burgundy*. The father was re-established on the imperial throne, but not before he was reconsecrated by the bishops; and all the punishment the traitor *Ebbon* met with, was the deprivation of his see, and his making a public recantation.

During those tumultuous transactions, the northern nations, or *Normans*, as they were called, piratically infested the coasts of the empire; burnt *Hamburg*, and plundered *Friesland*; and obliged the *Germans* to buy their absence by a sum of money. In all other respects, the empire might have been said to be without any form of government. To remedy this, the emperor issued out a commission of reformation and resumption of his usurped rights.

Intrigues
of the em-
press,

Lothair, who still continued in *Burgundy*, seemed, at first, well disposed towards his father's re-establishment on the throne; and threw all the blame of his sufferings upon the ecclesiastics. But those appearances vanished when he was himself supported by the *French* and *Italian* nobility, who hated the *Germans*. He retired to *Burgundy*, kept his army on foot, and more than once defeated his father's generals. The empress *Judith* was, by this time, returned to court; and, notwithstanding all that she and her family had suffered, she renewed her intrigues. Finding the kings of *Bavaria* and *Aquitain* not very inclinable to enter into her views, for the aggrandizement of her son *Charles*, she applied herself to *Lothair*, who had been defeated in *Burgundy* by the imperial troops, and had thrown himself at his father's feet, by whom he was received and pardoned with tears of joy.

At this time, the emperor *Lewis* seemed, more than ever, to be confirmed in the imperial throne. He had returned, with his sons *Lewis* and *Pepin*, to *Aix-la-Chapelle*; and held a parliament, with great splendor, at *Thionville*; where the accomplices of *Lothair*, in his rebellion, had been severely censured and punished. *Lothair* made no resistance to those proceedings, but secretly strengthened his interest, while he was treating with the empress *Judith*. In this his power clashed with that of the pope, who had on his side many of the *Italian* nobility, and they carried their complaints to the emperor against *Lothair's* encroachments. The emperor promised them redress, and proposed marching to *Italy* with an army; but he was diverted from this design by a fresh invasion of his dominions by the *Normans*, which he soon suppressed.

who is op-
posed by
the king
of *Bava-*
ria.

The treaty between the empress and *Lothair* being now at an end, she had recourse to her power over her husband; and, no good understanding subsisting among his sons, he ventured to declare his son *Charles*, who was then about fourteen, king of *Neustria*; which comprehended *Upper Burgundy*, *Alsace*, *Switzerland*, and *Suabia*; *Lewis*, king of *Bavaria*, subscribing the declaration. The death of *Pepin*, king

king of *Aquitain*, who left two sons, *Pepin* and *Charles*, gave a new turn to the affairs of the empire. *Judith* used her influence with the emperor, her husband, to call a diet at *Worms*, to deprive his grandson, *Pepin*, of his father's kingdom of *Aquitain*. *Lothair* was invited to this diet, where he came with a very bad grace; but the empress pretended that she was his friend, and offered her interest towards procuring him some of *Pepin's* dominions. In short, a fresh partition of *Lewis's* empire was made. The king of *Bavaria* opposed this project, and raised an army, as his father did another, with which he advanced within four leagues of *Frankfort*. The king of *Bavaria*, or, as he is sometimes called, of *Germany*, finding his authority weakened by the presence of his father, submitted; to the great disgust of his nobility, who refused to agree to the ambitious schemes of the empress, or to any partition of power that was to render them more dependent than they were. The emperor and the king of *Bavaria* struck up an agreement that matters should continue on the same footing with regard to the kingdom of *Germany*.

Fresh troubles now started up in *Aquitain*, where many of the nobility were disgusted at the injustice done to the young *Pepin*; but the emperor over-ruled them, though *Pepin's* party refused to deliver up that prince to his grandfather. The emperor passed his winter at *Frankfort*, his Lent at *Coblentz*, his Easter at *Constance*; and, in *May*, he went to *Worms*, where he was waited upon by his son *Lothair*; and here the last partition of his dominions was made. It was agreed, that *Lothair* should be master of all *Italy*, and of the country from the *Maese* to the *Alps*; *Lewis* was to retain the kingdom of *Bavaria*; and *Charles* was to possess all that lies between the *Loire*, the *Rhone*, the *Maese*, and the *Ocean*.

In the mean while, the nobility of *Aquitain* chose young *Pepin* for their sovereign; but the emperor sent him prisoner to *Metz*, and forced them to accept of his son *Charles*. *Lewis* of *Bavaria* resented the late partition, and again put himself and his subjects in arms. *Lewis*, though now aged and infirm, took the field, to crush this unnatural-son, who had created him so many disquietudes. In his march, he was attacked by a defluxion upon his lungs; and an eclipse happening, it had such an effect upon his spirits, that he was carried, for his recovery, to an island in the *Rhine*; a spot which was thought to be peculiarly healthful. From thence he sent for his brother, the archbishop of *Mentz*, and other ecclesiastics; while the king of *Bavaria*, not daring to keep the field against his father, had retired to his own dominions. *Lewis*, by his will, divided his treasures and rich moveables among his family, ecclesiastics, and the poor. He confirmed the donations of *Pepin* and *Charles the Great* to the church of *Rome*; and expired, partly by old age and disease, and partly through

through heart-break at the behaviour of his son *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, on the twenty-first of *June*, 840.

and character of *Lewis*.

From a review of his life, we may pronounce, that no sovereign prince ever went through a greater variety of fortunes than *Lewis* did ; or had a greater variety of ingredients in his personal disposition. Though he is called *the Weak* by some authors, yet, when left to himself, he acted with great prudence and steadiness, even during his most bitter reverses of fortune. He was a brave man, and an accomplished general ; and his misfortunes were owing to his superstition and the religious weaknesses of the times, which rendered him the reverse of what he was by nature. His following the example of his father, in parcelling out his dominions among his younger children, was the source of all his calamities ; from which his patience, firmness, and natural courage, more than once delivered him : nor do we find that any of his rebellious sons or subjects were ever equal to him in the field. From the gracefulness of his person, and manner, he was stiled *the Debonnair*.

3. Lothair.

Accession of *Lothair*.

LOTHAIR was surrounded with the enemies of his father's government at the time of his accession to the imperial dignity. He arrived at *Aix*, and, by his proceedings, he soon shewed to the world, that, as eldest son, he was resolved to be sole heir to his father's dominions. Having forced the states of *Germany* to swear obedience to him, his two brothers (*Lewis* of *Bavaria*, and *Charles the Bald*, king of *France*) began to make remonstrances upon his precipitate conduct. He told them, that he had, in his father's life-time, been raised to the empire ; that he was determined to maintain the right of his birth ; but he would so far condescend, as to suffer his brother *Lewis* to possess *Bavaria*, or *Germany* ; and his other brother, *Charles*, to hold *France* ; but both of them as vassals to his empire. The two brothers rejected that condition ; upon which *Lothair* seized *Worms*, and advanced with his army towards *Frankfort*. *Lewis*, the *Bavarian*, having now no longer the authority of a father to contend with, offered him battle ; but a three month's truce was concluded on.

His wars with his brothers.

Lothair made use of this small interval in practising upon the subjects of his brother *Charles* ; and in making young *Pepin*, his nephew, son to the deceased *Pepin*, of *Aquitain*, subservient to his purposes. *Charles* saw through his schemes, and endeavoured to divert him from pursuing them. He was assisted by some of his nobility ; but *Pepin*, the son of *Bernard*, king of *Italy*, declared against him, and besieged *Bourges*,

Bourges, where the empress *Judith* resided. *Charles* raised the siege and defeated *Pepin*. A negotiation succeeded; and it was agreed, that all differences between *Charles* and *Lothair* should be settled in a diet that was to be held at *Attigni*; but that, in the mean time, the truce with the king of *Bavaria* should be prolonged. *Lothair* made a most insidious use of this interval, by attempting to surprize the king of *Bavaria*, whom he found provided to resist him; and, in the mean time, *Charles*, having passed the *Seine*, obliged *Lothair* to march back into *France*, where he endeavoured to debauch the officers belonging to *Charles*. The latter was soon joined by his brother *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, who had defeated the troops *Lothair* had left near the *Rhine*; and then advanced to join *Charles*.

The junction being effected, *Lothair* having made up matters with *Pepin*, the nominal king of *Aquitain*, left every thing to the decision of a battle; which was fought in the neighbourhood of *Fontenoy*, on the twenty-third of *June*, 842. This battle lasted from seven in the morning till night, and is thought to have been one of the most bloody that had been fought for a long time in *Europe*. About one hundred thousand men on both sides were killed on the spot, but *Lothair* and *Pepin* were defeated. *Lothair* escaped with great difficulty; and, being a prince fruitful in expedients, he raised a new army, and once more invaded *Neustria*. *Lewis*, at this time, had precipitately returned to *Bavaria*; and *Charles* was pursuing *Pepin* into *Aquitain*: so that *Lothair* invaded *Neustria* with great advantage. His irresolution, and the swelling of the *Seine*, hindered him from following his good fortune. *Charles* once more joined his brother of *Bavaria* with his army, and *Lothair* was obliged to abandon *Austrasia* and part of *Burgundy*.

In this situation both parties applied to the clergy, who readily undertook the arbitration, and a kind of process was instituted, by which *Lothair*, from his repeated breaches of faith, was declared to have forfeited all title to his dominions. This seems to have been an expedient intended only to render him the more pliable; for, at length, they entered into a compromise; by which an equal partition was to be made of the empire. The kingdoms of *Italy*, *Aquitain*, and *Bavaria*, were to be divided, as nearly as could be judged, into three equal portions; of which *Lothair* was to have his choice, and the two brothers were to possess the other two. Forty commissioners were named by each of the princes, and twelve months were spent before the divisions could be settled.

It was, at last, agreed, that *Lothair* should possess *Italy* and *Origin of Rome*, with the titles of emperor and *Augustus*, and all the the king-territory lying within the *Rhone*, *Rhine*, *Saone*, *Meuse*, and dom of *Scheld*. In short, this kingdom was called *Royaume Lothari-Lorrain*.
enne,

enne ; whence, corruptly, we have *Lorrain* ; a dutchy which is but a very small part of that vast kingdom.

Pope *Gregory* and the empress *Judith* were now dead ; and *Sergius II.* being elected pope, took possession of his see without any application for the emperor's leave. *Lothair*, upon this, sent his son *Lewis* into *Italy* ; where he brought the pope to a sense of his duty, and was crowned king of the *Lombards*. In the mean while, the empire was attacked by the *Huns*, the *Normans*, and the *Bohemians* ; and universal confusion prevailed in the dominions of *Lewis*, *Charles*, and *Lothair*. The clergy was at the head of many insurrections ; the *Normans* ravaged the coasts of *France*, and *Charles the Bald* purchased his peace with them, by paying them fourteen thousand silver marks ; while *Lothair* was obliged to yield *Friesland* to them.

Such was the state of this unhappy empire when *Lothair* made his last will, by which he ordained his eldest son *Lewis* his successor in the empire. He gave his second son, *Charles*, who died without issue, in 862, the kingdoms of *Provence* and *Austrasia*, with one part of *Burgandy* ; and bequeathed the other part, together with *Lorrain*, to his third son, *Lothair* ; who likewise died without issue, in the year 869.

Death of
Lothair.

This emperor being a widower, by the death of his wife *Ermengrade* in 851, retired to the abbey of *Prum* ; where he lived as a monk, and died, in the year 855, with a most contemptible character.

4. Lewis II.

Accession
of *Lewis*
II.

THIS prince was unfortunate through the juncture in which he acceded to the crown ; for his two uncles (*Lewis*, king of *Bavaria* ; and *Charles the Bald*, king of *France*) aggrandized themselves at his expence ; nor did he enjoy above one ninth part of the dominions left him by *Charles the Great*. He was a prince of great natural endowments as well as virtues. He drove the *Saracens*, or *Moors*, of *Africa* from the coasts of *Italy*, and retook *Benevento*, which had revolted.

Some passages of this emperor's life are unworthy to be transmitted by history, as they turn upon the amours of his kinsmen, particularly the king of *Lorrain*, and the incredible authority assumed by the popes in granting them dispensations for divorces and marriages.

The pope declared the marriage of *Lothair* with his concubine *Waldrade* to be unlawful ; and excommunicated the archbishop of *Treves* and *Cologne*, together with the senate who had pronounced it to be lawful. The emperor called

Lothair

Lothair into *Italy* to assist him against the *Saracens*; and there the pope made him swear, even at the altar, to a palpable untruth, that he had had no communication with his wife.

Young *Pepin*, the great-grandson of *Charles the Great*, and His death. son of *Pepin*, king of *Aquitain*, during all this time, led a most miserable life; and was driven to such despair that he renounced *Christianity*; but, being taken prisoner, he died shut up in a convent. The king of *Lorrain*, soon after, abjuring his mistress, died; but left *Lorrain* to a bastard, who never enjoyed it; his kingdom being divided between *Lewis*, called *the Germanic*, and *Charles the Bald*. The reader is to observe, that the emperor, *Lewis II.* of whom we treat, resided chiefly in *Italy*, and had very little interest in *Germany*. Pope *John VIII.* during the life-time of the emperor, sold the reversion of the empire to *Charles the Bald*; but the emperor *Lewis* had always the spirit to oppose the papal pretensions; and died, in 875, at *Milan*. He is mentioned in history as being the only descendant, then alive, of *Charles the Great*, who inherited any of that prince's spirit.

5. Charles the Bald.

UPON the death of *Lewis II.* his two uncles (*Lewis*, Reign of king of *Germany*; and *Charles the Bald*) disputed his *Charles* succession. *Charles* being more politic and active than his *the Bald*, competitor, passed the *Alps*; gained over pope *John VIII.* and was crowned emperor on *Christmas-day*, 875, in defiance of the *salic-law*; which, undoubtedly, must have decreed the empire to the eldest branch of *Lewis the Germanic*. Whoever consults the history of that time, must perceive that the popes were now arrived to such a pitch of insolence, that they arrogated to themselves the right of bestowing the imperial dignity, which *Charles* was mean enough to purchase from them, and thereby set a precedent which proved fatal to posterity.

Lewis, king of *Germany*, intended to have gone to assert his right at *Rome*; but he died at *Frankfort*, on the twenty-eighth of *August*, 876. He left three sons by his wife *Emma*; *Carloman*, *Lewis*, and *Charles*; among whom, according to the pernicious practice of those times, the father's dominions were divided. *Carloman* inherited *Bavaria*, *Austria*, *Bohemia*, and *Moravia*. *Lewis* possessed *Saxony*, *Thuringia*, *Friesland*, *Franconia*, and that part of *Lorrain* which had been dismembered at the death of *Lothair*. The younger son, *Charles*, surnamed *the Grass*, had *Suabia* for his inheritance.

Charles the Bald died, after a short reign of two years and who is two months, on the sixth of *October*, 877, of poison, as is poisoned said, administered to him by his physician, one *Zedechias*, a by his Jew. physician.

Jew. His first wife was *Richilda*, daughter of a count of *Altorf*, in *Swabia*. By his second wife, who was *Hermantrade*, sister to *Boson*, king of *Provence*, he had issue *Lewis*, surnamed *the Stammerer*, who succeeded him; *Lothair*, *Charles*, *Carloman*, and a daughter named *Judith*.

6. Lewis III. or the Stammerer.

Accession
of *Lewis*
the Stam-
merer.

THE reader may perceive that, properly speaking, we are not writing the history of *Germany*, but of the *German* emperors, who retained that title with scarce any *German* dominions; and resided, for the most part, in *Italy*. It must be acknowledged, that, during the time of *Charles the Bald*, the governmental system of *Europe* underwent many material alterations.

Alterations in the
system of
Europe.

The great land-holders rendered themselves, in some degree, independent of the emperor in point of property, by his accepting of their services in the field as an acknowledgment for their possessions; and hence arose the code of feudal government. Some of the most powerful of those landholders rendered even their military offices hereditary, and the distinctions of nobility then took place. The leader of an army was called a duke, and his sons inherited the same title. A warden of the marches was called a margrave, and that title became hereditary in his family; and a courtier who attended the person of an emperor, or king, and had lands in a particular district, was created the count of that district. The title of baron was entirely territorial; and, on the continent, it was swallowed up in the titles we have already mentioned; but in *England* it still subsists. The invasions of the *Saracens* contributed greatly towards those alterations; as the emperors and kings on the continent of *Europe* could not, without such concessions, have made head against those infidels.

Lewis the Stammerer was so called from a hesitation in his speech, and it is with very little propriety that his name stands in the list of the emperors of *Germany*; for that title was always disputed with him by *Carloman*, the eldest son of *Lewis the Germanic*, whose right to it, undoubtedly, was preferable to that of *Lewis*. The latter, however, was crowned king of *France*, in the year 877; and emperor, on the seventh of *September*, 878. Numbers of the *German* and *Italian* princes adhered to *Carloman*. They seized upon the city of *Rome*, and even upon the person of the pope, whom they accused of injustice for suffering *Lewis* to be proclaimed emperor. In short, *Carloman* would probably have dethroned his competitor, had he not been struck with the palsy, and then he resigned all his right to the empire to his youngest brother

brother to *Charles the Gross*. He himself retired to *Oetingen*, where he died, in the year 880, without any lawful issue. As to *Lewis the Stammerer*, he undertook a journey into *Germany*, to settle some differences he had with the king of *Bavaria*; but, upon his return to *France*, he died, in 872, at *Compeigne*, leaving his eldest son to the care of the count of *Bourges* and *Auvergne*, the marquis of *Nevers*, and *Thierry*, count of *Maçon*. His other son was about fourteen years of age at the time of his death.

7. Charles the Gross.

CARLOMAN had no more right to appoint *Charles the Gross* his successor in the empire, than *Lewis the Stammerer* had to supplant *Carloman*. But the principles of hereditary right were, in those days, arbitrarily set aside by the popes, who most unaccountably found means to render all titles venal; nor was there a prince in *Europe* who had the spirit to oppose them. *Charles the Gross*, upon the death of *Lewis the Stammerer*, went to *Italy*; where he was, by pope *John VIII.* crowned emperor, after having secured to himself *Lombardy*. His coronation, as emperor, was on the twenty-fifth of *December*, 880. The pope, at this time, actually put up the imperial dignity to auction; and had so little regard to the right of succession, that he declared he would bestow it upon that prince who should first come to his assistance against the *Mahometans*.

Lewis of Germany was set up as emperor in competition with *Charles the Gross*; and *Boson*, king of *Arles*, likewise claimed the empire. *Charles* and *Lewis* confederated against *Boson*, but *Lewis* dying in the year 882, without issue, *Charles the Gross* became the heir of his dominions; and, had it not been for the interruption he met with from the *Normans*, he must have been almost as powerful a prince as *Charles the Great*. Those barbarians penetrated as far as *Metz*; destroyed *Aix-la-Chapelle*; and obliged *Charles the Gross* to purchase his quiet by an immense sum of money; which, in fact, was no other than leaving them at liberty to renew their incursions.

The papal authority had, by this time, set at naught that of the emperor; and pope *Martin II.* who was successor to *John VIII.* published an order, by which the *Romish* clergy were no longer to wait for the imperial permission to elect a pope. In the mean while, a chieftain, called *Zwentibold*, at the head of the *Moravian* pagans, laid *Germany* waste; and the emperor was obliged to purchase peace from them, as he had done from the *Normans*. The sons of *Lewis the Stammerer* dying without issue, *Charles the Gross* succeeded to their dominions; and thereby became, by far, the most powerful

prince in *Europe*: but he was unhappy in his constitution both of body and mind. This, however, was not observed till towards the latter part of his reign; and was attributed to an accidental cut which he had received in his head, and which impaired his intellects.

The first blow his dignity met with, came from *Hugues*, the abbot of *St. Dennis*, who was a bastard of *Lothair*, and claimed *Lorrain* for his patrimony: *Charles the Gross* defeated this pretender, though he was supported by the *Normans*, and put out his eyes. We are not here to follow the history of *Charles the Gross*, as king of *France*; and, therefore, we must omit the many mortifications he received from the *Normans*; whom he was again obliged to buy off at a shameful price, and thereby raised the siege of *Paris*.

who is de-
posed,

Charles the Gross returned to *Germany*, where his insanity became so manifest, that, in a diet held there by the *Thuringians*, *Saxons*, and *Bavarians*, he was deprived of the empire; and reduced to so much misery, that, it is said, he must have died of hunger, had it not been for the compassion of an archbishop of *Mentz*, who gave him a scanty subsistence. He died on the twelfth of *January*, 883, after divorcing his wife *Richarda*, whom he shut up in a convent.

8. Arnold.

and suc-
ceeded by
Arnold, a
bastard.

THIS prince was natural son to *Carloman*, king of *Bavaria*; and therefore utterly destitute of any legal pretence to the imperial crown, but what arose from the affection of the *German* princes, who were desirous to see their countryman their emperor. He had served with reputation under *Charles the Gross*, in his wars against the *Normans*; and, by his father's will, he inherited the provinces of *Carinthia* and *Stiria*. When the late emperor's incapacity for government became too evident to be longer concealed, *Arnold* was chosen, by an assembly of the *German* princes at *Frankfort*, to succeed him; though in prejudice to *Charles the Simple*, the younger son of *Lewis the Stammerer*, but a minor. Their excuse for this injustice was, that the empire wanted a man of courage and capacity to defend it against the ravages of the *Normans*, the *Danes*, and other northern nations.

Though the name of emperor was, at this time, little better than a phantom, yet *Arnold* proved himself worthy of the imperial dignity. He repelled the barbarians, and gave them a great defeat near *Louvain*; where, it is said, he killed one hundred thousand of them: but this did not happen till they had committed most dreadful ravages upon the empire. *Zwentibold*, who assumed the title of duke of *Moravia*, was now so powerful, that he obliged *Arnold* to yield

to

to him *Bohemia*; which *Zwentibold* pretended to hold as an allodial fief, without any dependence upon the empire. *Arnold*, upon this, applied to the dukes of *Hungary* and *Poland*; who assisted him in reducing *Zwentibold* to his duty, and to deliver up his son as a pledge for his fidelity.

Arnold then went to *Italy*, where he crushed the factions of *Guy*, duke of *Spoletto*, and his son *Lambert*, who, because they were *Italians*, pretended to the imperial dignity, and disputed the right of the *Germans* to chuse an emperor. Upon the return of *Arnold* to *Germany*, he made his son *Zwentibold* king of *Lorraine*; and held a diet at *Worms*; where he raised troops and money. He then marched back to *Italy*, the greatest part of which he held; and, with great difficulty, he got himself crowned emperor by pope *Formosus* I. in the year 896.

Though *Arnold* appears to have been a brave and worthy prince, yet he reigned no otherwise than as a substitute to the see of *Rome* and other ecclesiastics. It is said that a lady, one *Agiltrude*, mother to *Guy* of *Spoletto*, sent him a poisoned draught, when he was besieging her in the city of *Fermo*, which he drank; and, though it did not kill him, yet it made a very disadvantageous impression upon his health and intellects. It is certain that he raised the siege, and returned, with a disorder upon him, to *Germany*; where, during his absence in *Italy*, his rights had been invaded, without his having any remedy. The churchmen, who were then all-powerful, erected themselves into temporal princes, and had other princes subordinate to them. *Arnold* lost all spirit His death; at finding this to be the situation of his affairs after his return to *Germany*; and is said to have died of the lousy disease, at *Oetingen*, in the year 899.

9. Lewis IV.

THE *Germans* had so great a sense of *Arnold's* merits, that Accession, they chose for their emperor his son *Lewis* IV. though he was, at the time of his election, no more than seven years of age; *Hatto*, archbishop of *Mentz*, and *Otho*, duke of *Saxony*, being appointed his governors. When he grew up, he waged war with his brother *Zwentibold*, king of *Lorraine*, whom he defeated and killed. About the year 900, the *Hungarians*, who were in the possession of *Transylvania*, by the cession of the late emperor, invaded *Bavaria* with great cruelty. The duke of *Bavaria* raised an army to oppose them, and, indeed, defeated them; but not following his blow, in five years after, they renewed their invasions with the same barbarity as before. The emperor then took arms, but he was defeated at *Augsburg* by the barbarians, and lost the duke of

of *Bavaria*, who was one of his generals. A scene of intestine misery to *Germany* followed this. The counts of *Bamberg*, *Franconia*, *Hesse*, and the bishop of *Wurtzburg*, were at perpetual war with one another; and did more mischief to their native country than ever had been done by the barbarians, whom their dissensions invited to return. The emperor was young, and had not sufficient authority to suppress the insurgents. He therefore, by a stratagem, decoyed *Albert*, of *Bamberg*, by means of *Hatto*, archbishop of *Mentz*, and death, into his power, and beheaded him. This treachery rendered *Lewis* hateful to the *Germans*, and his dominions were invaded by the *Normans*, who defeated him in two great battles; which had such an effect upon him, that he died of a fever, on the twenty-first of *January*, 912, without any lawful male-issue.

and death,
of *Lewis*
IV.

The empire, at the death of *Lewis IV.* who was the last of the male-line descended from *Charles the Great*, comprehended *Franconia*, the province of *Bamberg*, *Swabia*, *Constance*, *Basil*, *Berne*, *Lausanne*, *Besançon*, *Lorrain*, *Metz*, *Liege*, *Cambray*, *Arras*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, *Bologn*, *Trèves*, *Mentz*, *Worms*, *Spires*, *Strasbourg*, *Friesland*, *Saxony*, *Hesse*, *Westphalia*, *Thuringia*, *Wetteravia*, *Misnia*, the marquisate of *Brandenbourg*, *Pomerania*, *Rugen*, *Stetin*, *Holstein*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Poland*, *Bohemia*, *Austria*, *Carinthia*, *Stiria*, *Tirol*, and the *Grisons*, with all the countries dependent upon those provinces. The kingdom of *Burgundy*, as it was called, likewise belonged to the empire; as did *Rome*, *Italy*, *Lombardy*, and their fiefs.

Reflec-
tions on
his suc-
cession.

This mighty empire departed from the descendants of *Charles the Great* through his own mistaken policy. His fondness to divide his dominions among his sons, descended to the other princes of his race, who imitated his example, till the title of emperor was torn from the kings of *France*, who were, in general, but weak men. The truth is, the imperial power, at the decease of *Lewis IV.* who was but twenty years of age when he died, was little better than a shadow; and the great fiefs of the empire were held, in reality, independent of his authority. A principle of union, however, was necessary, on account of the invasions of the barbarians, and the continual quarrels that happened among the *Germans*; and this principle naturally fell upon the emperor.

It is in vain for the *French* writers to pretend that the empire could not be lawfully transferred from the kings of *France*; those kings were unable to protect their dominions, and their great subjects therefore had a right to protect themselves. Add to this, that *Charlemagne*, and his descendants, had consulted them, and obtained their consent, in all the family dispositions they made; and thereby they obtained a right to look upon themselves as parties, whose approbation and election were absolutely necessary to constitute a right to the

the empire; the electors having a reciprocal right of being elected: and, upon this principle, rests the foundation of the *Germanic* constitution. Who those electors were, or what right or title they acted under, is uncertain. Most probably, popularity and power gave them authority. Their ancestors, the antient *Germans*, by what we learn from *Tacitus*, and the best authors, had no other system of government.

Had hereditary right taken place, the empire must, indisputably, have fallen to the share of *Charles the Simple*, king of *France*: but that prince was unable to assert his title; and the great *German* lords paid no regard to it, but assembled at *Worms* to chuse themselves a head. *Otho*, duke of *Saxony*, by whom we are to understand, a prince who, by his valour, without any other consideration, had raised himself to that title, (though the extent of his dominions is, at this time, undetermined) would have been chosen, but he declined the honour on account of his great age; and recommended to their choice *Conrade*, duke of *Franconia* and *Hesse*, though he was his enemy. There is some reason to believe, from this circumstance, which was not in the character of those times, that the imperial dignity was then a post of danger, rather than of power and emolument.

10. Conrade I.

CONRADE is, properly, the first *German* emperor of *Conrade*, *Germany*; his predecessors being denominated of the the first *Carlowingian* line. It is generally thought that some kind of *German* family-compact had been entered into between him and *Lew-* emperor, is IV. but, be this as it will, it is certain that the empire, with all the dangers and disadvantages attending it, was still a desirable object to a young and vigorous prince, such as *Conrade* was. Some of the nobility of *Lorrain* disclaimed his authority, and adhered to *Charles the Simple*; but *Conrade* marched into their country, and acted with so much prudence and generosity, that he fixed them to his party.

Henry, the son of *Otho*, was then duke of *Saxony*; and so powerful a prince, that *Conrade* refused to him the investiture of *Thuringia* and *Westphalia*. *Henry* leagued himself with *Burchard*, duke of *Swabia*, and *Arnold*, duke of *Bavaria*. *Conrade* found means to detach *Burchard* from the confederacy; and *Arnold* was obliged to return to his dominions, which were invaded by the *Hungarians*, whom he defeated. *Henry* being thus unsupported by his allies, consented to a truce with *Conrade*, who returned into *Franconia*. Here he was opposed by a rebellion of *Erchanger* and *Berthold*, two noblemen who had assisted the duke of *Bavaria* in *Franconia*,
in

in defeating the *Hungarians*, under pretence of their being descended from *Charles the Great*; but they were disarmed by *Conrade*, convicted of treason, and executed. *Arnold*, duke of *Bavaria*, next took the field against *Conrade*; but was defeated and mortally wounded. *Conrade*, at last, had so many enemies on his hands, that he was obliged to purchase a peace with the *Hungarians*, that he might turn his arms against the duke of *Saxony*, by whom he was defeated.

The last will of *Conrade* shews that the imperial crown was lined with thorns while it was upon his head; for, after a restless reign of seven years, he recommended, on his death-bed, his capital enemy, *Henry*, duke of *Saxony*, to be his successor, in preference to his own brother *Everard*, count of *Franconia*; and he is said to have sent to *Henry* the imperial regalia. *Conrade* died in the year 919.

II. Henry I. surnamed the Fowler.

succeeded
by *Henry*
the Fowler.

THIS prince was employed in his favourite diversion of fowling, from which he took his appellation, when he had notice that *Conrade* had nominated him to the empire; and he repaired to *Fritzlar*; where the dukes of *Bavaria*, *Franconia*, *Suabia*, and other powerful *Germans*, with the deputies of the imperial cities, which were now become very independent, confirmed the nomination of *Conrade*, by electing *Henry the Fowler* emperor. Some of the *Italian* nobility had assumed that title; and the pope, to shew his power, offered to confer it on *Henry*, by formally creating him emperor of the *Romans*; but he declared himself satisfied with the right which his election gave him, and applied all his cares to promote the internal unanimity of his empire. In this he succeeded so well, that, when the *Hungarians* invaded it, he assembled an army of his subjects, who joined him as one man, and he killed eighty thousand of them in a battle fought near *Mersbourg*. The empire was next attacked by the *Vandals*; they were likewise defeated by *Henry*, who pursued them into their own country, and is said to have killed one hundred and twenty thousand of them. He had the like success against the *Danes*, *Sclavonians*, and *Dalmatians*. He killed *Gonnen*, a northern king. He took prisoner *Weneflaus*, the king, or duke, of *Bohemia*; but reinstated him in his dominions. He quelled a rebellion of the *Abodrites*, and cleared *Lorrain* and his empire of the adherents to *Charles the Simple*.

That prince was a formidable rival to *Henry*, on account of his descent from *Charles the Great*, which supplied all the defects of his capacity. *Henry* was so sensible of this, that he
gave

gave him a meeting at *Bonn*; and there the famous compact, called *Pactum Bonnenſe*, was drawn up: which was a kind of feeble effort made by *Charles* to aſſert his eventual hereditary right to the empire. An aſſembly of *French* and *German* biſhops, which afterwards met at *Coblentz*, confirmed this treaty.

Henry, being now in full poſſeſſion of *Lorrain*, that is, of His great part of the kingdom of *Lotharingia*, applied himſelf indefatigably to ſtrengthen his empire againſt the invaſions of the barbarians, and the encroachments of his own nobility. He curbed the former, by collecting his people into cities; which repelled their incurſions: and he brought the latter to their duty, by obliging them to contribute, according to their reſpective fees, to the defence of the empire. He built towns and cities in *Bradenburgh*, *Miſnia*, and *Sleſwick*; and erected marquiſates, which he parcelled out among his nobility for their defence againſt the barbarians. Thoſe towns were garriſoned by every ninth perſon of the marquiſate, or diſtrict, to which they belonged; the other eight inhabitants being employed in providing ſubſiſtence for their countrymen who were doing military duty. *Henry* was as zealous in his religious, as he was in his civil, capacity. He perſuaded one of the kings of the *Abodrites* to be baptized, and founded a biſhopric in *Holſtein*. He aſſiſted *Charles the Simple* in his wars againſt his rebellious ſubjects, and eſpecially againſt *Raoul*, duke of *Burgundy*; and *Gifelbert*, duke of *Lorrain*, whom he forced to do him homage, but afterwards gave him his daughter in marriage. He introduced among his ſubjects a taſte for military politeneſs, by inſtituting the practice of joults and tournaments. Thoſe meetings were, in fact, regular aſſemblies of his courtiers and great men, where they exerciſed themſelves in feats of arms; and were rewarded, according to their merit, by the ſmiles of the fair and the favour of the emperor. Till his reign, no regular fortifications had been raiſed in *Germany*; and he aboliſhed the diſgraceful tribute which his predecessors had been forced to pay to the *Hungarians*; by ſending them, when they demanded it, a mangy dog, by way of contempt. He ſuffered none to be admitted, or inrolled, among his nobility, who were defective either in morals or religion; and he kept a catalogue of above a thouſand who enliſted themſelves into the ſervice of his government. *Henry*, however, was not always fortunate; he ſometimes met with checks in *Lorrain*, and was obliged, not only to beſtow that dutchy upon the undutiſul *Gifelbert*, but to publiſh an amneſty in favour of his other rebellious ſubjects.

Germany was, at this time, far from being cleared of paganiſm. *Dragomire*, mother to *Wenceſlaus*, duke of *Bohemia*, was a bigotted pagan; and had incited *Ladiſlaus*, a *Polish* nobleman, to invade her ſon's dominions. The emperor went to his aſſiſtance; and not only forced *Ladiſlaus* to retire, but

established the *Christian* religion in *Bohemia*, and *Wenceslaus* in his dominions. The *Lorrainers* took advantage of his absence to rebel ; but they were soon reduced : and the emperor *Henry*, in the year 929, ordered *Bernard*, duke of *Lunenburg*, and other *German* noblemen, to suppress a confederacy of the barbarians ; but they were defeated. *Henry*, upon this, called together an assembly of the states of his empire ; in which he reformed many abuses, and then put himself at the head of his army to oppose the *Hungarians*, who had invaded his empire to the number of three hundred thousand men ; but they were defeated by the emperor, with the loss of above forty thousand.

Death and
character
of *Henry
the Fowler*.

This defeat of the barbarians restored tranquility to the empire, and *Henry* prepared to march to *Italy*, in order to recover the imperial rights in that country, and to be crowned by the pope. For this purpose, he put himself at the head of a great army ; but was seized with an apoplexy upon his march, and obliged to return to *Mansleben* ; where he named his son *Otho* for his successor ; and died, in the sixtieth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign.

His wife was *Matilda*, daughter of *Theodoric*, count of *Aldenburg* ; and by her he had three sons ; *Otho*, who succeeded him ; *Henry*, and *Bruno*. *Henry the Fowler* was, by far, the greatest prince who had filled the imperial throne since the days of *Charles the Great*, whom he resembled in his political capacity. He brought the government and constitution of the empire, civil, ecclesiastical, and military, to a consistency which it had never known before. He had the art of making pagans and barbarians good subjects ; and, though he is accused of superstition, it is a charge upon which we cannot hastily pronounce. The age had superstition for its distemper. The people were governed by churchmen, whose arms were the abuse and degeneracy of *Christianity* ; and their temporal, was as formidable as their spiritual, authority. Where such an inundation of depravity prevailed, *Henry* must have been endowed with more than human talents to have opposed it ; and therefore he was obliged, at least, to seem to join it. This is the best reason we can give for the acts of enthusiasm and credulity ascribed to him by historians, as the weakness of which they accuse him is utterly incompatible with the great capacity he discovered in the government of his empire.

Otho

12. Otho I. called the Great.

THIS prince, at the time of his accession to the empire, *Otho* inherited, from his father, the dutchy of *Saxon*, *West-phalia*, *Angria*, *Thuringia*, *Hesse*, *Wetteravia*, and the countries situated on the *Weser* adjacent to *Minde*, and those on the *Elbe* towards the confines of *Lunenburg*; the cities of *Wuertemburg*, *Misnia*, and *Lusatia*; the eastern country towards the *Plesse* and the *Ester*; the country of *Northheim*; the dutchy of *Brunswick*, and all the country about the city of *Magdebourg*. His natural endowments corresponded with his great possessions. *Aix-la-Chapelle* had been laid in ashes by the barbarians; but the partiality which *Charles the Great* had shewn towards it, gained the spot a degree of reverence, and a wooden hall was run up to serve as the place of election. Most of the electors were ecclesiastics; among whom were the archbishops of *Mentz*, *Magdebourg*, *Triers* and *Besançon*; the bishops of *Ratisbon*, *Tresingen*, *Augsbourg*, *Constance*, *Eichstet*, *Worms*, *Spire*, *Brixen*, and *Hildesheim*. Besides those, were the abbots of *Fulde*, *Herchfelt*, and *Erbach*. The temporal electors were the king of *Bohemia*, and the dukes of *Saxony*, *Bavaria*, *Austria*, *Moravia*, and *Lorrain*. The ceremony of this election, which is the first regular one we have on record, was very complicated. *Otho* was, indeed, unanimously chosen by the clergy and nobility we have mentioned; but it does not appear that that election was conclusive, even though they swore allegiance to him and did him homage.

They attended him from the throne, on which he had received homage, to the great church, where he was received by *Hildebert*, archbishop of *Mentz*, and his clergy. They presented the emperor to the people, whose assent to his election the archbishop demanded; which being granted, he was anointed, and inaugurated with ceremonies not very different from those made use of at the coronation of a king of *England*; and the admonitions he received from the archbishop were much in the same strain. All the ceremony of election was gone through with a punctuality, that fully indicated, the electors, as well as the elected, were resolved to make it a precedent on all future occasions. The elect was anointed with consecrated oil, and the archbishop of *Mentz* placed the crown upon his head. On his return to his palace, we find the commencements of personal services for great fees. His chief officers of state served him during his dinner, but the prelates sat at his table.

The first storm that fell upon his government was from the *Hungarians*, who invaded the province of *Franconia*, and the *Hungarians* desolated both the *Saxonies*. They were defeated by *Otho*, who fortified *Magdebourg*, and, passing the *Elbe*, checked the incursions

incurfions of other barbarians. He then detached *Efic*, count of *Ascania*, againſt *Bodeſlaus*, who had murdered his brother *Winceſlaus*, duke of *Bohemia*, and taken poſſeſſion of his dominions. This proved a long and a bloody war. *Efic*, tho' victorious at firſt, was totally defeated; and the war laſted for ſeventeen years before *Otho* could oblige *Bodeſlaus* to ſubmit to his authority.

While this *Bohemian* war was depending, another broke out in *Bavaria*. The ſucceſſion of *Arnold*, the laſt duke, was diſputed amongſt three of his ſons, who agreed in nothing but diſowning the ſovereignty of the emperor. He aſſerted it with a very high hand, for he beſtowed the inveſtiture of the dutchy upon *Bertolf*, the brother of the laſt duke, whoſe eldeſt ſon, *Everhard*, was recognized by the pope, *Leo VII.* and he found means to make this inveſtiture good; but *Otho* provided for the young princes in other principalities. The truth is, we know but little of the real hiſtory of the empire at this time. All the accounts tranſmitted to us are, generally, from monks or eccleſiaſtics, who had received favours from the emperors, and were by them raiſed to an impolitic pitch of greatneſs, that they might counterballance the temporal nobility, whom they thought to be leſs manageable.

His ambi-
tious con-
duct

Amongſt the other palatine princes whom *Otho* created, by virtue of his imperial prerogative, was *Everhard*, duke of *Franconia*. He imagined, that, in this quality, he had a right to be independent. A quarrel broke out between him and *Henry*, duke of *Brunſwick*, who was the emperor's brother; which being attended with diſagreeable circumſtances to the latter, *Otho* interpoſed. At firſt, he ſentenced *Henry*, and his oppoſers, each of them to carry a live dog from the place of their habitation to *Magdeburg*. Such was the puniſhment then inflicted in *Germany* upon the diſturbers of public tranquility. *Everhard* was pardoned; but differences ſtill continuing between him and *Henry*, the latter was taken priſoner; and *Everhard* found means to perſuade him that he had a better title to the imperial crown than *Otho*, as having been born after his father was emperor, which *Otho* was not; and they, with *Sigebert*, duke of *Auſtraſia*, confederated together to dethrone *Otho*. At the ſame time, they invited *Lewis the Ultramarine*, king of *France*, to defend their feudal rights; which, they ſaid, were invaded by *Otho*.

Before the confederates could be joined by *Lewis*, *Otho* attacked, and totally defeated, them, on the banks of the *Rhine*; *Everhard*, the general, being killed; *Sigebert* drowned in endeavouring to eſcape; and *Henry* flying to *Mersburg*; where he came to an engagement with his brother, and then with the king of *France*. After this, *Otho* made himſelf maſter of *Briffac*, *Mentz*, and *Cheuremont*, and drove the *French* entirely out of *Lorrain*.

Otho

Otho made an arbitrary use of his victories. He stripped towards *Conrade*, the son of *Everhard*, of the title of count-palatine, the German and gave it to *Herman*, third son to *Arnold*, duke of *Bavaria*, man together with as many towns and lands as laid a foundation princes. for the house of count-palatine of the *Rhine*. The *Sclavonians* having made an irruption into *Bohemia* and *Brandenburgh* about this time, they were entirely defeated by the imperial general, who put to death such of the chiefs as fell into his hands. A great party of the *French* nobility had joined *Otho*, as those of *Germany* had *Lewis*, and for the same reason, to protect them against their sovereign. *Lewis* was driven from *Champagne* to *Burgundy* with great loss; but *Otho* was recalled to *Germany* by fresh conspiracies that had broken out against him. His brother *Henry*, to whom he had given part of *Lorraine*, had leagued with many of the *Saxon* chiefs, and, according to the uncertain histories of those times, they intended to have assassinated *Otho*; but he defeated and punished them, and confined *Henry* to the castle of *Ingelheim*. But, soon after, we find them not only reconciled together at *Franckfort*, but *Otho* bestowing upon this brother *Henry*, who had so often rebelled against him, the duchy of *Bavaria*, in prejudice of its lawful heirs.

The empire seems to have been in great confusion at this time, and the emperor erected a tribunal at *Bonn* for trying all breaches of the public peace. *Ruthbert*, bishop of *Triers*, and *Richard*, bishop of *Tongres*, were tried for felony, upon a charge brought against them by *Conrade*, the new duke of *Lorraine*: but they were admitted to justify themselves upon oath; and the see of *Triers* was erected, in favour of *Ruthbert*, into a sovereign principality, and an archbishopric, with the rights of regality through all his diocese.

Otho, about the year 945, marched, with a numerous army, to the assistance of *Lewis the Ultramarine*, against his marches vassal *Hugh the Great*, duke of the isle of *France*, of whose power the emperor was jealous. *Lewis* was joined by the count of *Flanders* near *Cambray*, and he undertook the siege of *Rouen*; but, by a series of mismanagements, he and his confederates were obliged to raise the siege with great loss; and *Lewis*, being abandoned by the count of *Flanders*, returned home with the shattered remains of his army.

In the year 947, the emperor called together an assembly of his nobles at *Ingelheim*, the king of *France* having resigned the Danes. all his pretensions to *Lorraine*; and there some measures were fixed upon for assisting him against *Hugh the Great*, whom *Otho* procured to be excommunicated by the pope's legate. *Otho* having nominated proper ministers and officers for managing his government in his absence, undertook an expedition against the *Danes*, who had murdered the *Saxon* margrave in the town of *Sleswick*, and put the *German* garrison there to the sword. It is probable, though we have but dark accounts of the particulars, that *Otho* was successful in this
 expe-

expedition; for he re-established the *German* garrison at *Sleswick*, and obliged the *Danes* to tolerate *Christian* missionaries in their country.

Upon *Otho's* return to *Germany*, he procured a reconciliation between *Lewis the Ultramarine* and *Hugh the Great*, who was now tired of war. He then, in person, reduced *Boleslaus*, duke of *Bohemia*, who had renewed his treasons; obliging him to do penance for his brother's murder, and to hold his dukedom as a fief of the empire. In 951, the emperor's son, *Ludolph*, whom he had named his successor in the empire, married *Idda*, daughter and sole heiress of *Herman*, a prince of great power and riches; all which fell to *Ludolph*.

Marches
into *Italy*,
where he
marries
queen
Alix.

Otho had long entertained a design to re-establish the empire of *Charles the Great* in *Italy*; but the *Italian* princes, in general, were now so independent, and so averse to the *Germans*, that he could find no means to effect it, till, this year, *Alix*, or *Alicia* (some call her *Adelaide*) the widow of *Lothair*, king of *Italy*, had been persecuted, and shut up in *Canisse*, by an usurper, *Berengar the Younger*; and had recourse to *Otho* for assistance; being seconded by pope *Agapetus*, who was afraid of the same usurper. *Otho's* empress, *Ethica*, an *English* princess, had left him a widower; and he concluded, that nothing could happen so favourable for his views in *Italy* as a marriage with *Alix*. He accordingly raised a very powerful army, marched to her deliverance, defeated *Berengar*, and married her. *Berengar* threw himself at the emperor's feet, and obtained not only his pardon, but a considerable part of his dominions, and provisions of territory for his brothers.

Otho having made a triumphal entry into *Pavia* with his bride, left *Italy* to preside in a council of ecclesiastics at *Augsburg*; and gave the command of his army to his son-in-law the duke of *Lorrain*; by which he, in a manner, forfeited all the fruits of his *Italian* conquests and marriage. His son *Ludolph* was disobliged, not only at his father having retracted his nomination of him to the empire, but at his marriage with *Alix*; which seems, indeed, to have been disagreeable to the *Germans* in general. *Otho* having deprived *Conrade* of the command of his army, the latter came over to *Ludolph's* party, and was joined by several other powerful princes. The progress of this confederacy was, at first, very alarming; and *Ludolph*, among other cities of importance, seized upon, and fortified *Mentz*; where he took up his head-quarters. The emperor besieging him there, he fled to *Ratisbon*; which finding likewise untenable, he privately departed from the place, in a mournful habit, and threw himself at his father's feet, while the latter was hunting, in so moving a manner, that the old man raised and pardoned him, and even gave him the command of an army; but *Ludolph*, during his rebellion, had invited in the *Huns* and the *Scavonians* to invade the empire. This gave great trouble to

to *Otho*; who, at last, defeated them with a most amazing slaughter.

Otho's character was, at this time, very high in *Europe*. Prosperity He had effectually established the imperial authority through and glory all his dominions, and had gone so far as even to strike off of *Otho*. the hereditary succession to great fiefs, and to give them to those persons who could best perform the feudal services, and were most attached to his own person and government. This arbitrary conduct kept him in perpetual wars with those whom he had disinherited or disobliged; but he generally was conqueror, though he sometimes was hard pressed by the prodigious swarms of barbarians that invaded his dominions, which had no sufficient barrier to defend them. The arts of peace, in those days, in their most flourishing state, under the imperial patronage and encouragement, consisted in the regulation of feudal tenures, and adjusting the various constitutions of the nations of which *Germany* was composed, to some general consistency with the imperial constitutions; to the practice of agriculture and manufacturing of arms. As to the clergy, they were more ignorant and barbarous than the flocks they pretended to instruct. *Otho* was far from being deficient as a legislator, but he was obliged to support his dignity by well-disciplined armies; and this procured him respect and reverence. The *Arabs*, the most polished and powerful people then in the world (if, perhaps, we except the *Chinese*) courted his alliance; and we are told that a queen of *Russia* requested him, by her ambassadors, to send her some *Christian* missionaries for the conversion of her dominions. But the glory of *Otho* was not complete, as he was not, at this time, master of *Italy*, and possessed of all the power of *Charles the Great* there.

Berengar, whom we have already mentioned, had conquered the kingdom of *Lombardy*, and was attempting that of *Rome*; the see of which was held by pope *John XII.* the bastard of a famous strumpet called *Marosia*, and a *Roman* patrician *Alberic*, and no more than eighteen years of age. *Otho* thought the juncture favourable for re-establishing his authority in *Italy*. His son *Ludolph* marched thither at the head of an army, and defeated *Berengar*, but soon after died; some say of the plague, and others of poison, administered to him through the invincible hatred which all *Italians* have of *German* dominion. *Berengar* recovered himself so far, that he assembled another army, and shut up the pope in *Spoleto*, from whence *Otho* received an invitation to come to his assistance. The latter stipulated his terms. He was to be crowned king of *Lombardy* by the archbishop of *Milan*, and emperor of *Rome* by the pope; which being granted, he put himself at the head of an army. Before he began his march, he ordered his young son, *Otho*, by his wife *Alix*, to be elected king of *Germany*, and crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle*;
though

though he was then no more than eight years of age. The emperor's brother *Otho*, archbishop of *Cologne*, performed the ceremony of the coronation.

He is

crowned
king of
Lombardy,

The affairs of *Germany* being properly settled, *Otho* passed the *Alps*, entered *Pavia*, and was crowned king of *Lombardy* with the famous iron crown, at *Monfa*. *Berengar*, unable to stand before him, fled; and the emperor, without resistance, entered *Rome*, where he accordingly was crowned. Here he acted as sovereign master, and, as somewhat more than, the successor of *Charles the Great*. *Adelbert*, the son of *Berengar*, and his associate, would have opposed him; but the *Lombard* nobility, in hatred to the father, would not follow him.

and em-
peror of
the *Ro-*
mans.

In the month of *February*, 962, *Otho*, with great formality and pomp, received the imperial crown from the strippling pope; but he obliged the *Romans* to take an oath of allegiance to him as being their sovereign lord. He forced the pope to take the same oath, on the body of *St. Peter*; and an instrument written in letters of gold, which is said to be still preserved in the castle of *St. Angelo* at *Rome*, was extended; by which, imperial commissaries were re-established at *Rome*, that, without their confirmation, no election of a pope should be deemed valid; and that even the temporal administration of justice should be subject to their controul. The emperor, in return, promised to restore to the church all that had been granted to it by *Pepin* and *Charles the Great*, and made it most magnificent presents.

He sub-

dues *Lom-*
bardy.

Otho having shewn the same spirit for sovereignty in *Italy* as he had done in *Germany*, exhibited a new scene to the papal court; but scarcely had he left *Rome*, in pursuit of *Berengar*, when the pope, reflecting on what he had done, entered into a secret alliance with his greatest enemy, *Adelbert*; and they agreed, not only to drive the *Germans* out of *Italy*, but to invite the *Huns* to invade *Germany*. In the meanwhile, the pope had seized upon the persons of *Berengar* and his wife, and, after being tried, they were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, where they actually died. The pope's treaty with *Adelbert* soon came to *Otho's* ears; and he understood that the pretext of it was, his having invaded the rights of the church. Mutual embassies and defiance passed between both parties; and *Otho*, who had, by this time, completed the conquest of *Lombardy*, marched, with part of his army, to *Rome*; from whence the pope, with *Adelbert*, fled.

He was received by the *Roman* nobles, who renewed their oath of allegiance to him; and he gave orders for a council to meet, to try the pope for crimes of the deepest die. He was accused of having set fire to houses, of rendering his palace a brothel, of having ravished a widow of quality, of having lain with his own father's concubine, of being a
common

common simoniac, and of selling a bishopric to a boy of no more than ten years of age; also of being an assassin, and of various other crimes; some of which seem to have been youthful, but impious, frolics. Though several of those charges were undoubtedly true, yet *John's* chief crime was the league he had made against the emperor. *Otho* himself presided in the assembly, which was very august; and the facts alledged against the pope being proved, the members unanimously pronounced, that he had forfeited the holy see; and his secretary, though a layman, was chosen in his place, and took the name of *Leo VIII.* The new pope was so grateful, that he granted a bull, enlarging the powers over the church that had been granted to *Otho* before; and even bound up himself and his successors from the liberty of consecrating a bishop without the emperor's leave,

It does not precisely appear where pope *John* hid himself. Revolutions at this time; but, however debauched and abandoned he might be in his person, he appears to have been a man of the pope's great spirit and abilities. The *German* noblemen always served him with reluctance in *Italy*; and *John*, before the end of the year 963, found means to raise such a revolt among the *Romans*, that they almost surprized the emperor; who quelled them with some difficulty, and obliged them to give him one hundred hostages for their good behaviour; but these, at the request of pope *Leo*, who sought to be popular in *Rome*, were soon released. New commotions arising in *Italy*, *John*, by means of his intrigues, both amorous and political, got admittance to *Rome*; where he reversed all that had been done, and inflicted some signal punishments upon the heads of the opposite faction; particularly by ordering the right hand of a cardinal to be cut off for writing the sentence of his deposition. He then passed a decree, that an inferior should never have the power of degrading his superior; meaning, that no future emperor should ever sit as judge upon a pope. In short, *John* had the art to unite all parties against the *Germans*; but, while he was in the middle of his arduous enterprizes, he was assassinated by a rival in the arms of one of his mistresses,

Pope *Leo* had taken refuge in the camp of the emperor, who was then besieging *Camerini*; but the *Romans*, instead of recalling him, chose a cardinal deacon in his stead, who assumed the name of *Benedict*. The emperor immediately raised the siege, and marched against the *Romans*, who resolutely shut their gates against him; but famine obliged them to give him admittance. *Benedict* presented himself, with great humility, before a council summoned by pope *Leo*; where he confessed his usurpation; and, at the intercession of the emperor, the pope suffered him to retain his deacon's orders, on condition that he should reside at *Hamburg*.

The

The *Germans* saw the imperial authority thus raised at their expence, and shewed so much reluctance to remain longer in *Italy*, that *Otho* was obliged to return to *Germany*; leaving the affairs of *Italy* in the utmost confusion; but not without compelling the *Roman* nobility to swear, that they never would chuse any other than a *German* for their emperor. He held a diet at *Cologne*, where he confirmed the division of the kingdom of *Lorraine* into two provinces; one of which, bounded by *Luxembourg*, (the foundation of which illustrious family was likewise at this time laid) and *Franche Compté*, was given to *Frederick*, earl of *Bar*; and the other, comprehending the dutchies of *Babant*, *Fuliers*, and *Guelderland*, with many other noble provinces, was assigned to *Brunc*, archbishop of *Cologne*, the emperor's brother. The first of those divisions is now what is properly called *Lorraine*.

By this time, the *Italians* had recalled *Adelbert* from *Corfica*, to which he had fled; and he raised a revolt in *Lombardy*, which cost *Otho* great trouble in suppressing. In 965, pope *Leo* died; and *Otho*, by virtue of his prerogative, sent two deputies to authorize the election of a new pope; which fell upon a bishop who took the name of *John XIII*. He declared for the emperor; for which the *Romans* threw him into prison. Those commotions obliged *Otho* to return to *Italy*, at the head of an army before which all opposition fell. Having punished the authors of the revolt of *Lombardy*, he proceeded to *Rome*, where he ordered a number of the senators to be hanged, and banished the rest; but *Rodred the Perfect*, who was meditating to restore the form of the antient *Roman* government, was ignominiously scourged through the streets of *Rome* on the back of an ass, and then thrown into prison, where he died. Proceedings which sufficiently demonstrated the arbitrary disposition of *Otho*.

Treachery
of the
Greek em-
peror.

After establishing a new police at *Rome*, he caused his son *Otho* to be crowned there, as his associate in the empire. *Nicephorus*, the *Greek* emperor, held still some places in *Calabria* and *Apulia*; and had pretensions to others that were possessed by *Otho*; to whom he sent an ambassador to demand them. *Otho*, in pursuance of his plan to be sole master of *Italy*, refused to deliver them up; but offered to accept of those held by *Nicephorus* in dowry with his daughter *Theophania*, if *Nicephorus* would agree to her marrying his son *Otho*. *Nicephorus* seemed to approve the proposal; and a most magnificent embassy of *Germans* was sent to *Constantinople*, to receive the princess, consisting of his chief nobility; who were all of them treacherously slaughtered in their journey by order of *Nicephorus*, who could not bear that *Otho* should put himself on an equality with a *Greek* emperor. *Otho*, upon this, sent an army to expel the *Greeks* from *Calabria*, under the command of the counts *Gonthar* and *Sigisfrid*.

The

The success of this expedition is somewhat dark in history; all we know is, that the *Germans* got a great booty in fighting against the *Saracens*; and, at last, defeated the *Greeks*; and sent such of them as escaped the sword, to *Constantinople*, with their noses cut off. By this time, *Nicephorus* was dethroned and murdered by the *Greeks*; and his successor, *John Zemisces*, not only released all the *German* prisoners at *Constantinople*, but sent the princess *Theophania*, with a noble retinue, to *Italy*; where she was married to young *Otho*.

In the year 971, *Otho the Great*, having put his *Italian* affairs in better order than they had ever known before, returned victorious to *Germany*; where he spent the remainder of his days in establishing bishoprics; particularly the archbishopric of *Magdeburg*, and the bishoprics of *Merseburg*, *Zell*, *Havelberg*, and *Misnia*; all which he endowed with a profusion of revenues. We are not, however, to forget, that, during his absence in *Italy*, a duke of *Bohemia* found means to deprive him of *Moravia* and to annex it to his own dukedom.

In the year 973, he ordered a general thanksgiving to be put up through all his dominions, for the prosperous state of his affairs; and he died, of an apoplectic fit, at *Merleben*, in *Saxony*, on the seventh of *May*, that same year, after a glorious, but turbulent, reign of thirty years.

Otho resembled *Charles the Great*, the nearest of any of his and his successors, both in his civil and military abilities; and possessed, likewise, many of his defects. The donations he made, and the institutions he formed, constitute great part of the municipal laws both in *Germany* and *Italy*; under which last head we shall often have occasion to mention them. *Otho's* first wife was *Edithe*, daughter to *Edmund*, king of *England*; and his second wife was *Alix*, or *Adelaide*; who, upon his death, retired to a convent.

13. *Otho II. called the Bloody.*

THIS prince having been recognized in his father's lifetime as his successor, dispensed with the forms of an election, and was proclaimed emperor at *Magdeburg*. His cousin *Henry*, duke of *Bavaria*, opposed his promotion, and was proclaimed emperor at *Ratisbon*. His cause was espoused by *Denmark*, *Poland*, and *Bohemia*; which last now aspired to the dignity of a kingdom. Those princes were not in arms time enough to support the *Bavarian*, who was not only defeated, but driven out of his duchy, which *Otho* gave to the duke of *Suabia*. As to the *Bavarian* himself, he was afterwards first imprisoned at *Quidlembourg*, and then banished to *Elrick*, with his friend the bishop of *Augsburg*.

Otho, after that, marched against *Harold*, king of *Denmark*; whom he obliged to promise him an annual tribute, and to give up his son as an hostage for his fidelity. *Otho* then marched against the dukes of *Bohemia* and *Carinthia*, whom he likewise reduced, re-annexed the city of *Passau* to his dominions, and forced the *Bohemians* to accept of a peace. Those wars serve to prove the dread the *Germans* were under from the imperial authority being vested in the house of *Otho*.

His wars
with
France.

Lothair was then king of *France*, which began to recover from its late weakness; and he revived his claims upon *Lorraine* and some of the adjacent provinces. By his conduct, he seems to have intended to enlarge those claims. The lords of *Lorraine* had shewn dispositions to prefer their being feudatories to *France* rather than *Germany*; and some of them, thro' the help of *Hugh Capet*, had recovered, by force of arms, their paternal estates, which had been given away by *Otho I.* The emperor was sensible of this, and offered to give the dutchy of *Lorraine* to *Lothair's* brother, if he would hold it as a fief of the empire. *Lothair* rejected this condition, which, we are told, *Charles* accepted of, to the great scandal of the *French* nation, who looked on the superiority of the emperor as no better than a prosperous usurpation. *Lothair* raised an army, with which he had almost surprized the emperor at *Aix-la-Chapelle*. *Otho* escaped with great difficulty, and, invading *France*, in his turn, he ravaged all *Champagne* and the isle of *France*. Being afraid of having his retreat cut off, he returned towards *Germany*; but lost a great number of men in recrossing the river *Aine*. This gave an opportunity to *Geffrey*, count of *Anjou*, the *French* general, to come up with *Otho*, and to challenge him to single combat, which the emperor declined. Many reasons, notwithstanding the obscurity of history, prove that the emperor had the better in this expedition; for *Lothair* consented, at last, to make peace with him upon the terms he had rejected at first; and his brother *Charles* did homage to *Otho* on his knees, upon his receiving the investiture of *Lorraine*.

He
marches
into *Italy*.

Otho II. retained the imperial, *German*, weakness of thinking they could be masters of *Italy*, without making it the seat of their empire. The *Romans* had already revolted, and had chosen *Boniface VII.* for their pope; and he had offered to be subject to the *Greek*, rather than the *German*, emperor. The *Greeks* of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, with their spirit of hatred to the *Germans*, called the *Moslems* of *Africa* to their assistance; and those two people, in conjunction, became masters of *Naples*. Had it been left to the pope's option, he would have held his see of the *Mohammedans* rather than the *Germans*, as he found the *Greek* emperor too weak to support him singly.

Such was the state of *Italy*, when *Otho*, in 980, having made peace with *Lothair*, entered it with an army. He marched to *Rome*, where his party was strong enough to procure

procure him admittance. Having reinforced his army there by the *Italians* of his party, who obeyed him only out of hatred to the pope, he marched against the *Greeks* and *Saracens*, to whom he gave battle; but being deserted by his troops, he was completely defeated, and, with great difficulty, escaped to the sea-side. There he found a vessel, into which he threw himself. This vessel was taken by the *Saracens*, and the emperor offered the captor a sum of money if he would set him on shore at *Capua*. The pirate was then lying off that place, and, being ignorant of his prisoner's quality, or country, because he spoke good *Greek*, he was musing whether or not he should accept of the offer, when the emperor jumped into the sea and swam ashore. Some writers pretend that he was carried to *Sicily*, and that he purchased his return to *Italy* by money. It is certain that he re-joined the remains of his army, and raised new forces.

By this time, the *Greeks* and *Saracens* had quarrelled; so that they could make no head against *Otho*, who is said to have exterminated them out of *Italy*. The first use he made of his victories, was to chastize the *Beneventines*, who, during the course of the war, had favoured his enemies, by suffering his army to plunder the town for three days, and then to set it on fire. In 983, he declared his son *Otho*, who was no more than ten, or at most twelve, years of age, emperor at *Verona*; and then proceeding to *Rome*, he is said there to have invited the prætor *Cincius*, and the chief nobility of *Rome*, to a banquet; and, in the midst of the festivity, soldiers, by the emperor's order, entered the hall; where they cut the throats of all the guests whom he had devoted to destruction by name; but he entertained the rest with great splendour and politeness. There is some reason for doubting the manner in which this massacre was committed, authors disagreeing as to the time; but that *Otho* put great numbers of the *Romans* to death, is past question; and that he thereby got the epithet of *the Bloody*.

Hearing that the troubles of *Germany* were renewed by the death, irruptions of the *Sclavonians*, he ordered his subjects of *Saxony* and *Thuringia* to make head against them; which they did so successfully, that they defeated and killed thirty-seven thousand of the barbarians. *Otho*, instead of marching against the *Greeks* and *Saracens*, his capital enemies, held a council at *Rome*; where he confirmed the erection of *Hamburgh* and *Bremen* into an archiepiscopal see; and died, on the seventh of *September*, of a wound which, they say, he received from a poisoned arrow in his battle with the *Greeks*; and which festered through the grief he conceived at the exultation of his empress *Theophania* upon the victory her countrymen had got over her husband.

The historians of that age give but an indifferent character and character of this emperor; probably through the aversion he entertained

tained for the *Italians*. It is certain he ordained, by one of his laws, that no *Italian* should be believed upon his oath; and, that, when they were parties in any doubtful point, the affair should be decided by duel.

14. Otho III.

Remarks
on the ac-
cession of
Otho.

THE accession of a boy to the imperial throne was what had not been known before to the *German* empire. *Henry*, duke of *Bavaria*, nephew to *Otho I.* was still in being, and claimed the tutelage of the young prince, whose person he seized at *Cologne*; not with an intention to reserve him to empire, but to remove a rival to his own pretensions till he could make them good. The parties in the disposal of the empire were, at this time, divided into three. The *Italians* chose one of their own countrymen, *Cressentius*, consul and governor of *Rome*; one part of the *Germans* espoused the title of *Henry of Bavaria*; and another, that of young *Otho*; for no other reason but because they thought that his inability to govern would leave to themselves the greater power. The last proved to be the strongest; and *Henry of Bavaria*, upon an assurance given him that he should be re-instated in his dutchy, delivered *Otho* into the hands of his friends, who proclaimed him emperor, with the usual titles, at *Weisemstadt*; and committed the care of his future education to the archbishop of *Mentz* and the bishop of *Heildesheim*. The ceremony was attended by all the usual services. *Henry of Bavaria* acted as his steward; the count-palatine as his cup-bearer; the duke of *Saxony* as his master of the horse; and the dukes, or kings as they are called, of *Bohemia* and *Poland*, had other services allotted them.

The Danes
vanquished.

The king of *France* and the barbarians thought the juncture favourable for their distressing the empire. *Lewis V.* of *France*, son of *Lothair*, was then dead; and *Charles* of *Lorraine*, his uncle, claimed his succession. He was opposed by *Hugh Capet*, who, amongst other things, objected to him the disgraceful homage he had performed to the emperor for the dutchy of *Lorraine*. *Capet* prevailed, and made *Charles* his prisoner. The beginnings of an usurping reign are always favourable to neighbouring powers; and *Verdun*, about this time, reverted to the empire of *Germany*. *Otho*, who is said to have had a pregnant genius, no sooner arrived at the age of fourteen, than he marched in person to the frontiers of his empire, which he cleared of the *Sclavonians* and other barbarians; and, when more advanced in years, he visited the internal parts of his dominions; where he settled many regulations, and won the hearts of the ecclesiastics by his compliances

ances and liberality. He was diverted from this laudable attention by an invasion of the *Danish* fleet in the *Lower Saxony*, with a considerable body of land-forces on board. These, at first, defeated the imperial generals; but, being weakened by sickness, and laden with booty, they were defeated, in their turn, by *Sigefroi*, governor of *Standen*; and *Sveno*, their king, in 989, was obliged to return, with great loss, to his ships. Soon after, *Sveno* was defeated by *Eric*, king of *Sweden*, who made himself master of *Denmark*; and *Otho*, with a right policy, entered into an alliance with *Eric*, to prevent any future depredations of the *Danes* upon his empire.

In the mean while, *Cressentius* had left nothing unessayed to establish his authority as emperor at *Rome*; and, indeed, he seems to have deserved that dignity. He imprisoned pope *John XIV.* for his adherence to the *German* emperor; and his successor, *John XV.* upon his death under his confinement, would have met with the same fate, for the same reason, had he not fled to *Tuscany* and implored *Otho's* protection. The memory of the *German* emperor was so terrible to the *Romans*, that *Cressentius* could not prevent their sending a reconciliatory message to *John*, imploring him to return. *John* accordingly returned; and *Otho* sent his empress, *Theophania*, with an army, under the marquis of *Brandenburg*, into *Italy*, to over-awe the *Romans* and the other states there. This she did for two years, and, leaving the management of the emperor's interest to the marquis, she died at *Nimeguen* on her return to *Germany*. The emperor was then carrying on a war with the *Sclavonians*, who had taken *Brandenburg*; but they were, at last, subdued, and obliged to deliver up all their conquests.

In the year 995, the state of affairs in *Italy* demanded the emperor's presence; but, as *Germany* was to furnish him with the means of carrying on the war, he was obliged to summon a diet at *Magdeburg*. He appeared there attended by the pope's nuncios, and by *Landolph*, archbishop of *Milan*, who had been expelled from his see by the rebels. The diet granted him supplies for his *Italian* expedition, and he marched into *Italy* at the head of an army. He found all *Lombardy* in arms against him. He took *Milan*, and restored the archbishop, who crowned him king of *Lombardy*. The reduction of *Milan* awed the rest of that country into obedience to his will. Hearing that the pope was dead, by his own prerogative, he raised *Bruno*, one of his relations, to a pope. the popedom; and, at the new pope's request, pardoned *Cressentius*.

On his return to *Germany*, he is said to have ordered a count of *Modena* to be beheaded for an attempt upon his wife's chastity. Finding afterwards, by means of the count's wife, who was at the expence of a miracle to prove her veracity, that the count had been sacrificed to the resentment

Affairs of
Italy.

to which
he marches,

His hatred
to the
Italians.

of the empress, who was in love with him, because he refused to comply with her lewdness, he ordered the empress to be burnt, and settled an annuity upon the widow. The credibility of this story is justly questionable. The count, perhaps, was beheaded, and the empress burnt; but the causes assigned for those events are too improbable for belief. Upon *Otho's* return to *Germany*, he found that the barbarians had renewed their ravages in his absence; and he soon received news that his pope had been expelled by *Cressentius*; and that another, under the name of *John XVI.* had been raised to the papal see. The emperor flew again into *Italy* with an army, besieged and took *Rome*, and then the castle of *St. Angelo*, which was bravely defended by *Cressentius*; and ordered the anti-pope, after having his eyes put out, and his nose and ears cut off, to be thrown from its summit. As to *Cressentius*, he is said to have died in arms; others, with greater probability, think that he was put to death by *Otho*, after surrendering himself upon promise of mercy: but the general report is, that he and his accomplices, to the number of twelve, after being most ignominiously scourged and tortured, were gibbeted, as a warning to other rebels. The reason for those differences in opinion, may be accounted for by *Otho* being in love with the beautiful widow of *Cressentius*, whom he took for his mistress; and, it is said, he promised to marry her. It is certain, that, about this time, he performed severe penances for the crimes he had committed.

Before he left *Italy*, he published a decree, importing that the *Germans* alone should have the exclusive right and power of choosing the *Roman* emperors from among their own princes; and, that the pope should have no farther concern in the election than to announce it in public, and to crown the elected whenever he came to *Rome*. Pope *Gregory* confirmed that decree; and, at this time, it is said the basis of the *Germanic* constitution in choosing emperors was fixed; the number of the electors being limited by the pope and the emperor to seven. *Otho*, before he left *Italy*, made many other regulations, which are immaterial here, with regard to its government.

Affairs of
Germany.

Pope *Gregory V.* dying, the emperor bestowed the papacy on *Gerberg*, archbishop of *Rheims*, one of the most learned men of that age, who took the name of *Silvester II.* He then returned to *Germany*, where he quieted some commotions, and gave the title of king to *Boleslaus* of *Bohemia*, who agreed to hold his dominions as a fief of the empire. He afterwards went to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where he ordered the tomb of *Charles the Great* to be opened, and found his body placed on a golden throne, with a sceptre and crown richly adorned with jewels. This discovery is thought, by some, to be far from probable; because the *Normans* were, for some time, in possession of, and pillaged that, city. The fact, however, is too well attested to be destroyed by that suggestion.

gestion. We know not that the *Normans* ever looked for plunder into the repositories of the dead ; or, that they were acquainted with the spot where *Charles the Great* was buried.

Neither their own vows, nor the chastizements of the emperors, could fix the *Italians* in their duty. About the year 1001 (the *Greek* being too weak to keep possession of the kingdom of *Naples*) the *Saracens* were called in by the *Romans*, and the other *Italians*, to support their liberties against their *German* oppressors. *Otho* again passed the *Alps*, drove the infidels out of *Capua* ; suppressed his enemies in *Rome*, where he kept his *Christmas* ; and punished the seditious with most ignominious deaths. As some atonement for his severity, he established a chamber for resurrections all over *Italy*. But nothing could reconcile the natives to his government. The *Tiburtines* revolted ; and, upon his return to *Rome*, it was with difficulty that he was readmitted, with a few troops, into that capital. After residing there for a few days, the *Romans*, by the instigation of a *Tuscan* prince, besieged him in his palace. He was in no condition to resist ; but the duke of *Bavaria*, the governor of *Florence*, amused the insurgents till he and the pope escaped.

He was collecting his army, which had been lately re-formed from *Germany*, and preparing to take a severe revenge for this insult, when he died. The cause of his death is variously related. Some say that his mistress, the widow of *Cressentius*, poisoned him with a pair of gloves, because he would not fulfil his promise of marrying her. Perhaps, the love of her country (a passion not unusual with the ladies of those days) might operate with her resentment of his infidelity. Other authors say that he died of the small-pox at *Paterno*, when he was about thirty years of age, and without issue.

Otho, like his predecessors, was the spiritual slave, and the temporal tyrant, of the church ; to which, it is thought, he and his two predecessors gave two thirds of its ecclesiastical estates in *Germany*. But this opinion is to be received with caution ; for, though they were immeasurably liberal to the church, that liberality is not to be supposed to arise out of their patrimony. Their numerous confiscations of great estates was the main source of their bounty. When they re-granted those estates, it was either to church-men, in whose hands they thought them safer than in those of lay-men ; or to lay-men (frequently to their former possessors) with some dismemberment of their territory in favour of the church : and in this sense the three emperors may very justly be said to have given away to ecclesiastics, estates amounting to two thirds above what they formerly possessed.

Otho III. through all the course of his reign, discovered great abilities for government ; being brave, just, and generous.

rous. He entered on the exercise of empire and war as early as any prince we read of in history, and acquitted himself equally well in both.

15. Henry II.

Henry II.
chosen
emperor.

THE *Germans* in the emperor's army endeavoured to conceal his death from the *Italians*; who, having some intimation of it, attacked them in their return with the body to *Germany*; but they were always repulsed. Three capital candidates for the empire immediately started up. *Henry*, duke of *Bavaria*; *Herman*, duke of *Suabia* and *Alsatia*; and *Eckard*, marquis of *Saxony*. *Henry* had the advantage of being grandson to *Otho II.* as well as that of being the most powerful of the competitors; and therefore was chosen by the electors, who, according to the constitution established in the late reign between the pope and the emperor, were now, for the first time, seven in number. It is, however, said that *Eckard* stood the fairest chance for being elected, had he not been assassinated by the *Bavarian* party. *Henry* was crowned at *Mentz*, on the sixth of *June*, 1002. His competitor, the duke of *Suabia*, though powerfully supported, was declared an enemy to the empire, and his estates were ravaged; so that he was obliged to submit to the emperor, who had accepted of a challenge to fight him in single combat. *Henry* having reduced this powerful rival, exacted an oath of allegiance from *Boleslaus*, king of *Bohemia*, the duke of *Saxony*, the counts-palatine, and the archbishops of *Magdeburg* and *Bremen*. He, at the same time, obliged the *Slavonians* in *Pomerania* to submit to his authority.

His marriage.

Being unmarried, he took to wife *Cunegund*, a daughter to the first count of *Luxemburg*; and, to satisfy some of his scrupulous subjects, he was, for a second time, crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle*. After this, the *Lorrainers* interrupting the peace of the empire, *Henry* ordered the castle of *Mulsberg*, on the *Rhine*, to be demolished, to cut off their communication with *Germany*. *Boleslaus*, king of *Bohemia*, left a son of the same name; a worthless prince; and his dominions were seized by the king of *Poland*. This producing vast commotions in that country, *Henry* interposed, and demanded that the king of *Poland* should do him homage for *Bohemia*, and the other fiefs which he held of the empire. The king, instead of obeying, entered into an association with the marquis of *Franconia*; *Ernest*, duke of *Suabia*; and *Bruno*, archbishop of *Augsburg*, *Henry's* brother. *Henry*, who did nothing of moment without the advice of his states, summoned them on this occasion; and they supported him so well, that the

Franconian

Franconian fled to *Poland*; *Ernest* was beheaded, but *Bruno* was pardoned.

This rebellion was scarcely suppressed, when the *Holstein-Hungary* ers invaded the empire; which obliged *Henry* to ravage *Hol-* made a *stein* in return, after defeating the invaders. It was this peri- kingdom. od that gave rise to the title of "Apostolic," lately revived in the person of the empress-queen of *Hungary*. *Stephen*, duke, or rather the chief, of the *Hungarians*, being probably less barbarous than his subjects, or neighbours, demanded from *Henry* his sister *Gisella* in marriage. The lady would not consent till *Stephen*, who was a pagan, should embrace *Christianity*; which he did, as is said, by the persuasion of *Henry*. The marriage then taking place, *Stephen* converted his subjects; and *Henry* was weak enough to suffer the pope to erect *Hungary* into a kingdom, and to present *Stephen* with the title of King and Apostle.

It would be tedious and uninstruative, and indeed unnecessary, to particularize the jarring interests of this time. There scarcely was a petty prince in the empire who did not quarrel with his neighbours, but the imperial authority held the ballance between the stronger and the weaker; which was all the emolument it received, as the contending parties were generally supported by powerful confederates. *Henry*, at last, found means either to suppress, or over-awe, all disturbances; and he was the more active, as his presence was now absolutely necessary in *Italy*.

The *Italian* states were as divided as turbulent and as re- *Henry* fractory to the imperial authority as those of *Germany*; and, marches had it not been for their divisions, the power of the *German* to *Italy*. interest there must long before have been extinguished. The period we now treat of, was, as they thought, the most favourable that had occurred, since the days of *Charles the Great*, for their asserting their independency upon the empire. The inhabitants of *Lombardy* chose one *Ardouin*, marquis of *Ivrea*, to head them; and, the better to unite other states under his command, he assumed the superb title of king of *Italy*. *Arnold*, the archbishop of *Milan*, opposed this nomination; and sent repeated advices to *Henry* to support him in his opposition to the new king. *Henry* was too much immersed in the affairs of *Germany* to attend an expedition into *Italy* in person. He therefore gave the command of a body of troops to *Otho*, duke of *Carinthia*, who was to penetrate into *Italy*. *Ardouin* found means to take possession of the long neglected passes of the *Alps*, which he guarded with fifteen thousand men, and defeated *Otho*, who was obliged to return to *Germany*.

When the affairs of the empire were settled, *Henry*, who had still a very strong party in *Italy*, raised an army, and marched into *Bavaria*; where his brother-in-law, *Henry*, duke of *Luxemburg*, was elected duke by the states of that province. He then passed the *Alps*, and was crowned king of
of

of *Lombardy*, by the archbishop of *Milan*, at *Pavia*. It is difficult to account for the reason why *Ardouin* did not fortify the passes of the *Alps* against *Henry* as he had done against *Otho*. Most probably he was engaged in *Italy* against *Henry's* party, and trusted to the loyalty of his subjects. There seems to have been a settled design laid in *Pavia* to cut the emperor off. The inhabitants of that city, while the *German* troops were encamped without their walls, attempted to murder him; but he was saved by his troops, who scaled the walls, and quelled the insurrection by blood: after which, *Henry*, with the greatest professions of clemency, pardoned the surviving inhabitants; and, having paid a visit to *Milan*, he set out on his return to *Germany*.

His wars
with the
Poles.

Henry, all this while, was convoking assemblies and states for the reformation of his empire, both in spiritual and temporal concerns; but, as the members of those parliaments were most of them, in some shape or other, parties in the abuses complained of, their resolutions, when attempted to be carried into execution, seldom, or never, had any good effect: but, to do *Henry* justice, the fault did not lie in him. Upon his return from *Italy*, he drove the king of *Poland* out of *Bohemia*, and gave the dukedom to *Jaromir*, the brother of *Boleslaus*, its former duke. He then passed the *Elbe*, and, after defeating the *Poles* in their own country, he prescribed peace, on his own terms, to their king. After this, *Henry* obtained the pope's consent for erecting the powerful district of *Bamberg* into a bishopric.

Rise of the
Prussians.

It was about this time that the *Borussians*, a migrating colony from the source of the *Tannis*, but then settled in the uncultivated deserts between *Poland* and the *Baltic*, were first heard of as a people. They are represented, at this time, to have been the most barbarous of all barbarous pagans; and yet this despicable people, since so well known by the name of *Prussians*, became objects of prey to the *Poles*, who plundered them. In 1007, *Henry* gave the province of *Low Lorrain* to *Godfrey*, count of the *Ardennes*; *Otho*, its late possessor, and the last of the posterity of *Charles the Great*, being now dead. This donation produced great troubles; and, the late duke having left sisters, their husbands entered their claims to his succession; and were patronized by the king of *France*, who wanted to lay hold of that opportunity to revive his claims upon *Lorrain*. The emperor, however, acted with so much vigour, that he quelled all opposition, and effectually supported his own nomination. With equal prudence and firmness, he suppressed the troubles arising at the same time in *High Lorrain*; and put *Henry*, duke of *Bavaria*, who fomented them, to the ban of the empire.

Commo-
tions in
Germany.

All *Germany* seems, at this time, to have been agitated by the ambition of its great lords. The marquis of *Misnia*, having caballed with *Boleslaus*, king of *Poland*, was by him divested of his estates; which were given to *Herman*, the son
of

of *Eckard*, count of *Thuringia*: To punish *Boleslaus*, the imperial troops ravaged his dominions; and *Henry* seized the passes on the *Oder* to prevent his future irruptions into the empire. He then assembled a diet at *Coblentz*, where the duke of *Bavaria*, with the bishops of *Mentz* and *Triers*, who had been concerned in the late rebellious practices, threw themselves at his feet and were pardoned.

It is no wonder if a life so tumultuous as that which *Henry* was obliged to lead, disgusted him with the world; and, as a convent, in those times, was the only place where tranquillity could be enjoyed, he thought of becoming a canon of *Straßbourg*; and, though he was then dissuaded from this intention, he founded a rich prebendary there, with a view of one day filling it himself. The restlessness of *Boleslaus*, king of *Poland*, contributed not a little to divert *Henry* from his thoughts of retirement; for that *Pole* once more made himself master of *Bohemia*, but was again dispossessed by *Henry*, to whom he sued for peace.

In the year 1013, notwithstanding an irruption of the *Henry Slaves*, or *Sclavonians*, who were then plundering the territory about *Bamburgh*, *Henry* was again prevailed on by the marches archbishop of *Milan*, to march into *Italy*, that he might reduce *Ardouin*, who was then become the absolute master of *Lombardy*. *Ardouin* made an ineffectual opposition to the great army which *Henry* headed; and he, and his wife *Cunegunda*, received the imperial crown at *Rome* from the hands of pope *Benedict VIII*. That pontiff knew the weak side of *Henry*, and the force which a solemn act acquires. While the imperial pair were upon their knees before him, he asked *Henry*, Whether he would always observe his fidelity to him and his successors; to which the simple prince answered in the affirmative: and this concession was, by the after popes, construed into a homage paid by the head of the empire to the holy see.

The affairs of *Germany* would not suffer *Henry* to remain long in *Italy*; but he relapsed into his fits for a monastic life, and was guilty of a thousand extravagant acts of devotion. When he passed through *Burgundy*, he visited the abbey of *Clugni*, where he was entered as an associate. He endeavoured to be admitted a monk in the abbey of *St. Val*. The abbot gravely asked him, Whether he would obey him in every thing. *Henry* answered, That he would. "Then," said the abbot, "I enjoin you to return to the government of your empire." This salutary advice came very seasonably to *Henry*, who followed it; for his absence had again set the empire in arms.

In 1015, *Boleslaus*, the warlike and intriguing king of *Po-* Wars with
land, was summoned to appear before a diet at *Mersbourg*, to *Poland*.
answer to a charge brought against him of having conspired
with the duke of *Bohemia* and *Ardouin* to disturb the peace of
the

the empire. *Boleslaus* laughed at this summons ; he raised an army ; and a prædatory war ensued, which ended by another deceitful peace ; and *Boleslaus* promised to pay tribute to the empire for *Poland* and *Moravia*. After this, *Henry* received, from *Rodolph III.* king of *Transjurane Burgundy*, a cession of his dominions ; but the inhabitants not receiving him as their sovereign, he gave them up to be plundered and massacred by his troops ; and *Werner*, bishop of *Strasbourg*, his lieutenant-general, gave them a complete defeat near *Geneva*, while the emperor was reducing the duke of *Saxony*, who tyrannized over his subjects, to a good behaviour.

Trial of
the em-
press.

Here we are to place the famous trial of the empress *Cunegunda*, for being unfaithful to her husband's bed. It happens unfortunately for the character of the ladies of those days, that their honour never is vindicated but at the expence of credibility. *Cunegunda* approved herself innocent by going through the ordeal trial unhurt. Either the story itself must be false, or the empress must have imposed upon her husband and the judges. *Henry's* suspicions, however, were very natural, as we shall see hereafter.

About the year 1019, the *Greeks*, having regained their footing in *Apulia* and *Calabria*, defeated the *Normans*, whom the *Italians* had called to their assistance ; and pope *Benedict VIII.* was obliged to fly to *Bamberg* for the imperial protection. Upon this occasion a diet was held at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where the laws he had formerly enacted at *Pavia*, and which rendered the pope a vassal of the empire in temporal matters, were confirmed ; and measures were taken for insuring the peace of the empire, and for sending an army into *Italy*, where the *Saracens* had ravaged *Tuscany*. In 1021, *Henry*, at the head of an army, the general officers of which were chiefly bishops, who commanded their own regiments, re-conquered all *Apulia* and *Calabria*, and expelled, or otherwise reduced, the *Italian* noblemen and prelates, who had favoured the *Greeks* or *Saracens*. In short, he disabled his enemies so, that *Italy* was restored to an uncommon state of tranquillity.

Death,

Henry then repassed the *Alps*, and expressed a desire of having an interview with *Robert*, king of *France*. This was in order to strengthen the tranquillity of his empire. *Robert* consented ; but some disputes happening concerning the ceremonial, *Henry*, with great magnanimity, cut them short, by going in person to the *French* camp ; where *Robert* received him like a brother, and all former differences between them and their subjects were settled. This was the last illustrious action of *Henry's* life ; for, after restoring *Germany* and *Italy* to a state of greater tranquillity than they had known for many years before, he died, in 1024, at *Grone*, when he was but fifty-two years of age, of which he reigned twenty-two. It is said, upon good authority, that, on his death-

bed,

bed, he declared, to the parents of *Cunegunda*, his wife, that he restored her a virgin to their care. This, if true, easily accounts for his jealousy.

Henry had as many epithets as he had defects or virtues, and whatever were esteemed so in those times. He had a halt in his gait of walking, and therefore he was called *the Lame*; he had a cold *Henry*. constitution, which gained him the appellation of *the Chaste*; he was devout, and therefore he was called *the Saint*; and his *Christian* zeal got him the name of *the Apostle*. That *Henry* was a prince of great abilities, must appear to any one who reflects upon the length and prosperity of his reign, the powerful enemies he had to contend with, the turbulence of the times, and the tranquility in which he left his empire. His great art seems to have consisted in his ballancing parties among his chief vassals, and keeping the *German* ecclesiastics on his side. This last measure cost him sometimes too dear; for he is said to have muttered a curse while a bishop of *Paderborn* was bestowing a benediction upon him for his liberality to his see.

16. *Conrade II. surnamed the Salic.*

HENRY of *Bavaria* dying without issue, a most prodigious number of *German* dukes and nobility assembled in the open fields between *Worms* and *Mentz*, to proceed to the choice of a new emperor. We cannot pronounce anything decisive concerning this meeting, whether all those princes had actually a voice in electing the emperor; or, whether their presence was not necessary for adjusting certain differences among the seven electors. The dukes of *Saxony*, *Bohemia*, *Bavaria*, *Carinthia*, *Suabia*, *Franconia*, *Lorrain*, and *Holland* and *Friesland*, were present. The multitude of prelates, and other noblemen, was prodigious; as was the number of retinues they brought with them. After a canvass of six weeks, their choice fell upon *Conrade II.* called *the Salic*, from his being born near the river *Sala*, or descended from the *Salian* princes. The choice of the electors seems to have been determined by the opinion they had of his virtue and his inability to oppress them, as his patrimonial dominions were inconsiderable; whereas, the imperial authority devolving upon a prince of great ambition and power, might have rendered him absolute over the other electors.

Conrade is said to have begun his reign by pursuing the plan of his predecessor in continuing the public tranquility, and establishing the practice of justice and true policy among his subjects. While he was intent on this, an account came that some of the great fiefs of *Italy* were inclined to put themselves

selves under the protection of the king of *France*, who had refused their offer; and that *Lombardy* was on the point of revolting. The pope, *John XX.* continued firm in the *Germanic* interest; and he invited *Conrade* into *Italy* in 1026, whither he repaired with incredible expedition.

who is
crowned
at *Rome*.

Like his predecessors, his presence, at the head of a great army, bore down all opposition; and, after chastizing the insurgents of *Lombardy*, he went, accompanied by *Canute*, king of *England*, and *Rodolph III.* king of *Transjurane Burgundy*, to *Rome*; where, on *Easter-day*, he received the imperial crown from the pope. Having intelligence that *Ernest*, duke of *Suabia*; *Albert*, duke of *Carinthia*; and *Conradin*, duke of *Worms*, were in arms against him in *Germany*; he left *Italy*, and caused his son *Henry*, who was then but twelve years of age, to be elected and crowned king of *Germany* at *Aix-la-Chapelle*; and then taking the field, he thoroughly defeated the rebels. *Ernest* was killed; the rest were made prisoners, and adjudged, by an assembly of the *Germanic* body, to have forfeited their dominions. *Misico*, son of *Boleslaus*, king of *Poland*, had taken upon him that title; and pretended to be independent of the empire. *Conrade* marched against him with an army; defeated him; and forced him to throw himself upon the protection of *Othalric*, duke of *Bohemia*; who ungenerously sent a letter to the emperor, offering to give up his guest. The emperor privately sent the letter to *Misico*, who thereupon threw himself at *Conrade's* feet. The emperor restored him to his dominions, and *Othalric* sued for pardon and peace, which were granted him.

Affairs of
Germany
and *Po-*
land.

Soon after, *Otho*, *Misico's* brother, being assassinated, as was thought, by *Misico*, *Conrade*, by his imperial authority, divided *Misico's* kingdom into three parts: one he left to *Misico* himself, but the other two were given to two *Polish* noblemen, who were supposed to be well affected to the empire. They soon shewed themselves unworthy of their trust, for each set up for himself; *Silesia* was entirely detached from *Poland*; and *Moravia* was annexed to *Bohemia*, where duke *Othalric* became thereby very powerful. His son, *Bretislaus*, about the year 1032, after those partitions had taken place, had forcibly carried off a lady, one *Judith*, the daughter of a nobleman who, in history, is called count *Albert Otho*. The father threw himself at the emperor's feet, who immediately marched to punish the ravisher; but matters were made up while the two armies were on the point of coming to a bloody battle. *Bretislaus* submitted, and *Conrade* pardoned him. The emperor then chastized some of the pagan inhabitants of the county of *Mecklenburgh*; but fresh commotions drew his arms towards *Hungary*. *Stephen*, the king of that country, demanded the duchy of *Bavaria*, in right of his wife, sister and heiress to the late emperor. *Conrade* not only rejected his claim, but entered *Hungary* with

with a powerful army ; and *Stephen* was obliged to sue to him for a peace. It was observed that one *Babo*, count of *Auremberg*, served in this expedition with thirty-two of his sons, all bearing arms and born of one mother.

Rodolph, king of *Transjurane Burgundy*, being dead, *Con- King Ro-*
rade claimed his succession under *Rodolph's* last will, rather *dolph's*
than as being the husband of *Gisella*, his younger sister. succession
Eudes, count of *Champagne*, the son of the elder sister, disputed.
Bertba, disputed *Conrade's* title to the whole ; but, after
a bloody war, he was killed in a battle which he lost near
Barleduc ; by which a very considerable acquisition fell to
Conrade. A number of the bishops and noblemen, in
Transjurane Burgundy assembled at *Soleuvre*, confirmed his
success by taking an oath of allegiance to him, and acknow-
ledged his son successor to their kingdom. *Misico*, king of
Poland, being dead, the *Poles* revolted from his widow *Ric-*
liza, who acted as regent for her young son *Casimir*, and she
put herself under the emperor's protection ; but *Conrade*
could not prevent the *Bohemians* from ravaging *Poland*,
where they carried off a vast booty. As to young *Casimir*,
he was shut up in a monastery ; from whence he was re-
leased by the *Poles* themselves, and he mounted the throne
of his ancestors.

Conrade then celebrated the marriage of his son *Henry* with Affairs in
Gunhilda, daughter of *Canute*, king of *England*. This is the *Italy*.
lady whose chastity was vindicated, when accused, by a young
Englishman, of small stature, who became her voluntary
champion, and killed the giant who was champion for the
prosecution. This fact, though but sparingly mentioned by
German authors, is well attested by the *English*, who wrote
the nearest to those times. The festivities of this marriage
were broken off by the account that *Conrade* received of the
archbishop of *Milan* having declared against him in *Italy* ;
which he entered, with a great army, in 1037. His march
was so sudden, that he entered *Milan* without opposition ;
and ordered *Heribert*, the archbishop, with the prelates of his
party, to be put under arrest. The bishops were sent pri-
soners to *Germany* ; but *Heribert* made his escape, by making
his guards drunk ; and, entering *Milan*, he fortified it, and
shut his gates against the emperor. *Conrade* was, at this
time, busied in reducing other parts of *Italy* to their duty ;
but he marched to *Milan*, which he besieged, though in
vain ; and this ruined his credit in *Italy*. *Conrade*, exaspe-
rated to the last degree, revenged himself by desolating the
country ; and by prevailing with the pope, who is said to
have been a boy of seventeen years of age, to excommuni-
cate *Heribert*.

The troubles and commotions of *Italy*, where *Conrade* lost
great part of his army, every day encreased ; and *Henry* par-
doned some and punished others ; but a contagious distemper
breaking out in his army, he was obliged to return to *Ger-*
many,

many, and to leave *Italy* in a more distracted state than when he entered it; the *Normans* having now made a great progress in *Apulia* and *Calabria*. *Conrade*, before he left *Italy*, seems to have entered into some compromise with *Heribert*; for we are told that he came to *Milan*, where he was crowned; and that he received the blessing of *Benedict IX.* who had succeeded *John XX.*

Conrade's *Conrade*, soon after his return from *Italy*, being seized with death and the gout in his legs, died suddenly at *Utrecht*, in the fifteenth year of his reign. According to the best accounts, he was a prince of great virtue and magnanimity, and remarkable for his generosity towards those who served him well. A gentleman who had lost his leg in his service, received his boot full of gold, as the emperor told him, to pay for his cure. Upon the whole, however, notwithstanding all the virtues of the late emperors, *Germany* was, at this time, more barbarous and uncivilized than it was at the death of *Charles the Great*. This was owing to the impolitic divisions of the empire made by that prince and his successors among their children, which was productive of perpetual war, the great enemy of civilization.

17. Henry III. surnamed the Black.

Henry's
wars with
the *Hun-*
garians.

THIS prince ascended the imperial throne in consequence of his former election, without any difficulty; and was crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle* by *Philigrin*, archbishop of *Cologne*. In 1040, he had reduced the duke of *Bohemia*, who had refused to pay him tribute. He then marched against *Ovon*, who, it is said, had usurped the crown of *Hungary* from *Peter*, a relation of king *Stephen*, who was called *Peter the German*, because he owed his dignity to the emperor *Conrade*. This war was undertaken in the year 1042. *Henry's* view was to revive the superiority of his empire over the *Hungarians* irreconcilable to *Peter*, and to every other prince he presented to their choice; but strongly disposed in favour of *Ovon*, with whom he was obliged to enter into an alliance for a short time. Next year, he defeated *Ovon* in a pitched battle near *Raab*, and, entering *Alba Regalis*, he was acknowledged sovereign of the kingdom by the states; and he re-established *Peter* on the throne. Soon after, *Ovon* was taken prisoner, and *Peter* ordered his head to be struck off.

State of
affairs at
Rome.

In consequence of the imperial rights, *Henry* bestowed the archbishopric of *Lions* upon a prelate whom he invested with a ring and a crown. The counts of *Tuscany* had, of late, directed the affairs of the papacy at *Rome*; but they were now opposed by *Ptolemy*, the consul; and they expelled *Benedict IX.* on account of the scandalous life he led; and one
of

of their own faction, who took the name of *Silvester III.* was raised to the papacy. The latter was deposed in three months time, and *Benedict* re-established; but finding himself universally detested, he sold part of the papacy to one *John*; and all the three competitors entered into a kind of compromise to divide the revenues of the holy see among them, and to indulge themselves in pleasure, without taking any concern about the public. This triumvirate was too infamous to last; and a priest, called *Gratian*, prevailed with the three popes to accept, each of them, a sum of money, and to resign the dignity of pope; which they did, and were succeeded in it by *Gratian*, who assumed the name of *Gregory VI.* The emperor, *Henry*, looked upon all those revolutions as so many invasions of his prerogative; and, in 1046, he passed the *Alps* at the head of an army; was crowned at *Milan* by the archbishop; waited upon by pope *Gregory VI.* at *Placentia*; and ordered a council to be assembled at *Sutri*. There the deposition of the papal triumvirs where was confirmed; *Gregory* was deposed for simony; the papal *Henry* see was declared vacant; and *Hedegar*, bishop of *Bamberg*, nominated immediately took possession of it, by the express order of the the popes. emperor, under the title of *Clement II.*

Henry having thus re-asserted, in its fullest extent, the exercise of the imperial rights at *Rome*, was crowned there, on *Christmas-day*, with his empress, by the new pope; and obliged the senate, and people of *Rome*, to swear, that they never would afterwards chuse a pope without the consent and permission of the emperors of *Germany*. *Henry* found the *Norman* princes in *Italy* too powerful to think of recovering the territories they had taken from the *Greeks* and the *Saracens*; and was contented with their receiving from him, as a mark of his superiority, the investiture of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and the *Beneventine*. *Henry* then returned to *Germany*, where he received news of the death of pope *Clement II.* and, notwithstanding the intrigues of the *Italians*, nominated *Poppo*, bishop of *Brescia*, to succeed him; which he did, under the name of *Damasus II.* but he enjoyed his papacy only twenty-three days. The emperor, to keep up his dignity to the full, refused to admit of any applications from the *Romans*; and immediately nominated *Bruno*, bishop of *Toul*, to the papal see; and obliged him directly to assume the pontifical vestments, and to set out on his journey for *Rome*. He was attended thither by the famous *Hildebrand*, a monk of *Clugni*, who won the pope's confidence, and persuaded him, as a matter of conscience, to divest himself of the pontifical robes till he should be formally elected at *Rome*; where *Hildebrand* artfully embarrassed his election, that the pope, who took the name of *Leo IX.* might think he owed it entirely to him.

In 1050, a new war broke out between the emperor and He is de- the *Hungarians*. The latter had deposed *Peter*, the emper- feated in
ror's king; and chose, in his room, *Andrew*, his cousin; *Hungary*.

who had defeated *Peter*, and, after putting out his eyes, had murdered him in prison. The circumstances of the war carried on, upon this occasion, by *Henry* against *Andrew*, are so variously related, that we have nothing but conjecture to guide us. It is most propable that the emperor, upon the whole, was unsuccessful; though the *German* historians pretend that he defeated *Andrew* in several bloody battles, stripped him of a great part of his dominions, and obliged him to pay a tribute both in men and money: but the fact is, that *Andrew*, who was a *Christian*, which more than half of his subjects were not, kept possession of the crown of *Hungary*; and, according to some authors, married one of the emperor's daughters.

All *Bavaria* was, at this time, in agitation, on account of the tyranny of young *Conrade*, its duke. *Henry* summoned him to appear before him at *Mersbourg*, where he deprived him of his dominions, which he gave to his son *Henry*, a child of no more than three years of age, though he was, about the same time, elected and crowned king of the *Romans*, that the accession to the empire might be assured to him. As a proof that the emperor had not subdued *Hungary*, the deprived duke of *Bavaria* retired thither, and received both shelter and assistance from the *Hungarians*.

In 1055, the emperor, with the assistance of the diet of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, marched with an army into *Flanders*, the count of which had invaded *Lorraine*, and plundered *Triers*, with the other towns upon the *Moselle*. This obliged count *Baldwin* to leave *Lorraine*, to defend his own territories, from which *Henry* withdrew. But we are now to attend the affairs of *Italy*.

Affairs of
Italy.

Upon the death of *Leo IX*. *Hildebrand* intrigued so artfully, that he prevailed with the *Romans* to chuse a pope, and with the emperor to pardon them for not having obtained his consent. The *Normans*, at this time, were very powerful in *Italy*; where they defeated an army which had been lent by the emperor to the late pope, whom they took prisoner and carried captive to *Benevento*. He was succeeded, as we have already hinted, by *Victor II*. who came to *Germany* to implore the emperor's protection against the *Normans*. *Henry* accordingly marched into *Italy*, and summoned a council at *Florence*; where he complained that *Ferdinand* of *Castile* had refused to do him homage for the fiefs he held of the empire, and had even usurped the title of emperor. The pope sent his admonitions to *Ferdinand*; but he, instead of obeying them, sent *Roderigo*, the cid, with an army across the *Pyrenees*. A negotiation soon put an end to their differences. *Ferdinand* dropped the title of emperor, and *Henry* his claim of homage.

During *Henry's* abode in *Italy*, he had a quarrel with his own sister, *Beatrice*, the widow of a marquis of *Tuscany*, and the wife of *Godfrey*, a *German* nobleman, to whose son she had

had promised her daughter, *Matilda*, who was heir to her father's estates. The husband was obliged to fly to *Flanders* and the lady was sent prisoner to *Germany*. Before *Henry* left *Italy*, he made an alliance with *Contarini*, duke of *Venice*, which was, even at that time, a powerful state ; and, upon his return to *Germany*, he obliged his own uncle, *Febhard*, bishop of *Ratisbon*, to appear before the diet, for having fomented an insurrection in *Bavaria* ; for which he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, but released by the emperor's clemency.

In 1056, all *Germany*, and the greatest part of *Europe*, was visited with a most dreadful famine, pestilence, and earthquakes. *Henry* did all he could to relieve his subjects, who were over-run by the *Sclavonians*, those barbarians being pressed by the same calamities. The sufferings of his subjects, it is thought, made an impression upon the emperor's health ; and, after causing his son, for a second time, to be elected king of the *Romans*, he died, at *Burfelt*, in *Saxony*, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign. His character was much the same with those of his two immediate predecessors ; all of them were endowed with ambition and magnanimity, had the same interests to support, and the same enemies to combat.

The emperor's death and character,

18. Henry IV. surnamed the Great.

THE history of the infancy of this reign is as unenterprising as it is barbarous. The name of the empress-mother was *Agnes*, daughter to the duke of *Guienne*, a woman of sense and spirit. The young emperor was no more than five years of age when he was recognized by a diet of the princes, convoked at *Cologne*, with so much unanimity, that the count of *Flanders*, and the marquis of *Tuscany*, were then reconciled to the empress-regent, who was acknowledged as such by all present. The inexpressible ignorance, vice, pride, and ambition, which then over-run *Germany*, created infinite trouble to the regent. She conferred the great duchy of *Suabia* upon *Rudolph* of *Rhinfield*, in preference to count *Berthold* ; and thereby made the latter her enemy. *Poland* renounced its dependence upon the *German* empire, and attacked *Hungary*. The regent gave that king some support, but he and his queen were obliged to take refuge in *Ratisbonne*. Wars likewise broke out amongst the counts of *Holland* and the bishops of *Cologne* and *Liege*, for matters so trivial that they are not worthy of being mentioned in history.

The wisdom of the empress-regent prevented all foreign quarrels, but could not compose the turbulent spirits of the empire. his mother

the re-
gent.

empire. Every woman of high rank, in those days, who had a minister to whom she was obliged to trust, was supposed to be in love with him. The empress-regent's minister was the bishop of *Augsburg*, and the dukes of *Saxony* and *Bavaria* laid hold of that circumstance to calumniate her; and found means to get the person of the emperor, who was nephew to them both, into their possession. They committed his education to the care of the archbishops of *Cologne* and *Bremen*, men of very different characters. The former endeavoured to render his august pupil worthy of empire, but the latter to make himself necessary to his vicious inclinations, which he sought by all means to gratify. We do not find that the empress renounced her regency after she was deprived of the tuition of her son.

Pope *Nicholas* took the opportunity of the emperor's non-age to enact a decree, that the popes should be elected by the curates of *Rome*, who are now called cardinals. The empress-regent, in a diet which she convoked, deposed pope *Alexander II.* who had been chosen under that decree; and substituted, in his room, *Honorius II.* A schism naturally ensued, and it had great consequences. *Alexander* was supported by *Geoffrey* of *Lorrain*, the husband of *Matilda*, heiress of *Tuscany*, and one of the most powerful of the *Italian* princes; so that, when *Henry*, at the age of twenty-two, in 1072, entered upon the exercise of government, he found every thing in confusion. His mother, disgusted with the opposition she met with, had retired to a convent; and *Germany*, in general, was a scene of public robbery and depredation.

Henry
reforms
his em-
pire.

Henry strove to remove those abuses. He made *Goslar* the seat of his government, and erected forts for bridling the public abuses. The expence with which his government was attended, produced murmurings among his great subjects; who, glad of any pretext for emancipating themselves from the imperial authority, sided with pope *Alexander*. That pontif had the insolence to summon the emperor to appear before him at *Rome*, to give an account both of his moral and civil conduct. Though the emperor despised this summons, yet the states of *Saxony* made a handle of it to distress him in the administration of government. They demanded that he should demolish all his new-erected forts in *Saxony* and *Thuringia*; that he should re-instate *Otho*, the duke of *Saxony*, in the duchy of *Bavaria*, of which he had been deprived for treason against the emperor's person; and that, in all his private life, he should conform himself to their desires. Those treasonable requests were backed by an association consisting chiefly of churchmen. The heads of it were *Werner*, archbishop of *Magdeburg*; *Burchar*, bishop of *Halberstadt*; *Henry*, bishop of *Hildesheim*; *Werner*, bishop of *Mersbourg*; *Heilberg*, bishop of *Minden*; *James*, bishop of *Paderborn*; *Frederic*, bishop of *Mimnegardesfurt*; *Benna*, bishop

bishop of *Misnia*; *Otho*, duke of *Saxony*; the marquises of *Thuringia*, *Uko*, and *Dedo*; and *Frederic*, count-palatine of *Saxony*.

The emperor offered them all the constitutional redress that was in his power to afford; but, as some of their demands were not only unreasonable, but ridiculous, he underhand strengthened himself by forming a counter-party in the empire. His own vices proved to be his greatest enemies. His complexion was amorous, and he had about him a haughtiness extremely disgusting to his subjects. In short, he was deserted by all his friends; and obliged, at last, to have recourse to the poor expedient of sending personal challenges to his subjects, who declined them; and, in the end, he was forced to take refuge in *Worms*. Distressed majesty has always been known to be a powerful advocate. The inhabitants of *Worms* compassionated their emperor, who came to implore their protection; and he prevailed with some of his chief subjects to give him a meeting at *Oppenheim*, where his address and eloquence conquered the most obstinate among them. One *Reginger*, who had formerly been his domestic, had likewise been particularly active in stirring up the rebellion against him. Him the emperor defied to single combat, in those days the sacred tribunal of justice; but *Reginger*, either declining the combat, or being secretly made away with, *Henry* thereby established his own character.

The *Saxons*, however, having settled a plan of rebellion, He is again appeared in arms; but *Henry* defeated them in the year 1055, and their heads publicly asked him pardon. Cardinal cated by *Hildebrand*, whom we have already mentioned, upon the the pope. death of *Alexander II.* had been chosen pope, and assumed the name of *Gregory VII.* The emperor was not consulted in this election, and complained of it. The pope temporized, as being in no condition to resist; but, when *Henry* confirmed his election, he threw off the mask, and excommunicated all the *German* princes who opposed his will. The papal artillery, upon this occasion, was chiefly levelled at the ecclesiastics for their submitting to take investitures from laics. The pope omitted nothing in his power to stir up a rebellion in *Germany* against *Henry*. He sent four legates thither to hold a council, and to charge the emperor with simony. He even employed emissaries to stir up the *Saxons* to rebellion; and treated the emperor, in all respects, as an excommunicated person. *Henry*, though he acted with great vigour in the field, and subdued the *Saxons*, was obliged to give way to the torrent of religious zeal. He wrote a letter to the pope, acknowledging his faults, and begging forgiveness. This was granted him by *Gregory*, who, at the same time, proposed to head an army of *Christians*, to rescue the holy sepulchre from the infidels; and that the emperor should serve under him as a volunteer. The pontif's presumption

did not stop here; for he rebuked a king of *Hungary* for paying homage for his crown to the emperor, instead of the holy see.

Donation
of *Matilda*
to the see
of *Rome*.

The emperor hated *Gregory* in his heart, and, notwithstanding his submission, he continued, as before, to grant ecclesiastical investitures by the cross and the ring. This exasperated *Gregory*, who accused the emperor, perhaps with some reason, of selling those investitures; and had the insolence to cite *Henry*, under pain of excommunication, to appear before him, as a criminal, at *Rome*. This drove *Henry* from all his moderation, and he summoned an assembly of bishops at *Worms*, who pronounced sentence of deprivation against the pope. *Gregory*, on the other hand, called together a council, which declared the emperor to be excommunicated. The *German* princes, even such of them as owed their dominions to *Henry's* bounty, laid hold of that pretext to render themselves independent; and the very men who, but a little before, had voted *Gregory* to be deprived of the pontificate, now joined him against *Henry*, who was summoned to appear before the pope at *Augsburg*. The emperor, on this occasion, seemed to be deserted by all the world. His cousin, the famous countess *Matilda*, had an implacable hatred to him and his house; but was proportionably attached to *Gregory* and the church. In her own right, she possessed great part of *Tuscany*, *Mantua*, *Parma*, *Reggio*, *Placentia*, *Ferrara*, *Modena*, *Verona*, and almost all that is now called the patrimony of *St. Peter*, from *Viterbo* to *Orvieto*; together with part of *Umbria*, *Spoleto*, and the *March of Ancona*. Those vast possessions were by her, in the madness of her zeal, bestowed upon *Gregory*, who lived with her, in no very decent manner, at her castle of *Canossa*, in *Italy*.

Henry's
humility
and pen-
ance.

Nothing but distress and difficulty presented itself to *Henry*, who, in short, was obliged to appear at *Canossa* like a suppliant, and to wait, bare-footed, in the midst of snow, from morning to evening, during three days, to implore pardon of his holiness, who, with difficulty, was prevailed upon to grant it. This happened in the month of *January*, 1077. The reader is mistaken, if he imagines that all the laity in those days were enthusiasts for the pope. Religion was then, as since, worn as a mask for temporal motives. The noble *Italians* could have borne with the insolence of the pope, because it served them as a defence against the imperial authority; but, when they saw *Gregory* exalt himself above the highest pretensions of the emperor, they took part with the latter, and, in very strong terms, expressed their hatred of the pontifical insolence. Matters were very different in *Germany*, where a jealousy of the imperial power prevailed, and the princes sided so entirely with the pope, that they laid hold of the excommunication which had been pronounced against the emperor, to declare him divested of the empire; and, in his

his stead, they elected *Rodolph*, duke of *Suabia*, who was actually crowned at *Mentz*. *Henry* was then in *Italy*, collecting forces against the pope; but, hearing he had been deposed in *Germany*, he set out for that country; and, having hastily assembled an army, he gave battle, near *Wurtzburg*, to his rival *Rodolph*, who was completely defeated.

In 1080, *Gregory VII.* who had, for some time, been blocked up by the *Lombards* in *Canossa*, escaped and confirmed the deposition of *Henry*. *Rodolph*, about the same time, was again defeated by the emperor, who made himself master of *Suabia*; and, marching into *Saxony*, he gave *Rodolph* a third defeat. This served only to animate the haughty pontiff against *Henry*. He sent to *Rodolph* a golden crown, with a stupid verse, intimating, That, as our Saviour gave dominion to *Peter*, so he, *Gregory*, gave the empire to *Rodolph*, in the following words: *Petra dedit Petro, Petrus dedit Rodolpho*. *Henry* was no ways disconcerted, and turned the pope's artillery upon himself. He assembled the *German* bishops at *Brixon*, and they deposed *Gregory*; substituting in his room *Gilbert*, archbishop of *Ravenna*, who took the title of *Clement III.* *Rodolph* was again in arms. The count of *Provence*, and the *Norman* princes, declared themselves for *Gregory*; but *Godfrey* of *Beuillon*, one of the greatest warriors of that age, sided with *Henry*, and a decisive battle was fought at *Mersburg*, in which *Godfrey* cut off *Rodolph's* hand; and mortally wounded him. *Henry* being victorious, saw, without emotion, the magnificent interment which *Rodolph's* friends bestowed upon him; saying, That he wished all his enemies were as pompously buried.

The death of *Rodolph* completed the triumphs of *Henry* in *Germany*, where he revenged himself severely upon his opponents; and then marched to *Italy*, that he might place his own pope, *Clement*, upon the papal throne. *Gregory* made *Rome* a vigorous resistance. The *Romans* shut their gates against the emperor, and defended themselves for two years and a half. Their city, at last, was taken by storm, in 1084; but *Gregory* retired to the castle of *St. Angelo*, which was too well fortified for *Henry* to take. *Robert Guiscard*, the *Norman* duke of *Apulia*, marched to *Gregory's* relief; and while *Henry* was in *Lombardy*, he delivered him and carried him to *Salem*. In the mean while, *Henry* published his reasons for deposing *Gregory*, and substituting *Clement* in his room; with which the *Romans* appeared to be so well satisfied, that the latter was crowned at *St. Peter's* with the usual ceremonies; after which he put the imperial diadem upon the head of *Henry*.

It is remarkable, that, while the *Romans* and the *Lombards* were almost unanimous in supporting the imperial dignity against the pope, the *Germans* were uniting against it. The emperor had given his daughter in marriage to *Frederic*, baron of *Staufsen*, and the duchy of *Suabia* for her dowry;

but the *Saxons* once more confederated, under the shadow of *Gregory's* authority ; and, in 1085, they elected count *Herman*, of *Luxembourg*, king of the *Romans* ; and destroyed the estates of *Henry* and his adherents in *Franconia*. Those disturbances carried *Henry* back to *Germany* ; and, calling a general assembly of ecclesiastics at *Mentz*, all the anathemas of *Gregory* against *Henry* were annulled ; and the emperor's ordinances against the pope were confirmed ; and all the prelates who befriended count *Herman* were deprived of their benefices, as the count himself was of his new title.

Death of
pope Gre-
gory.

Upon the breaking up of this assembly, an account came of the death of *Gregory* at *Salerno* ; and, that the *Romans*, without regarding *Clement*, the *German* pope, had fixed upon cardinal *Didier*, the abbot of *Monte Casino*, to succeed him. *Henry* was then too much employed in *Germany* to support his pope's title. *Herman*, though deprived, was still a dangerous rival ; but the emperor, at last, after driving him from place to place, he obliged him to fly to *Thuringia* ; from whence he came and surrendered himself at the emperor's feet, and afterwards died by the hands of a woman who threw a stone from a battlement upon his head. The rebels chose *Egbert*, marquis of *Thuringia*, king of the *Romans* in his room ; but *Henry* defeated him in a decisive battle, and he was killed in his flight.

State of
Henry's
affairs in
Germany.

Origin
of the
Guelphs.

The emperor's affairs no sooner began to wear a favourable aspect in *Germany*, than they went to wreck in *Italy*. The countess *Matilda* vigorously espoused the cause of *Victor III.* who had succeeded pope *Gregory VII.* and afterwards of *Urban II.* both of them raised to the popedom in prejudice of pope *Clement*. *Matilda* had married, for her second husband, young *Guelph*, of *Bavaria*, whose father had received that duchy from *Henry*, and from whom the faction of the *Guelphs* had their name. She headed her troops in person, and spirited up the emperor's son and wife to declare against him ; which they did, and invited the *Normans* to their assistance. The emperor being resolved to march to *Italy*, gave the marquisate of *Misina* to the count of *Lansberg*, the ancestor of the electors of *Saxony* ; and then crossing the *Alps*, he made a most rapid progress against his enemies in *Italy*. He took all the towns on this side the *Po* ; reduced *Mantua*, after a twelve month's siege ; and, at last, all *Lombardy*.

Those conquests were more splendid than they were substantial. His pope was shut up in the *Lateran* at *Rome*. *Conrad*, the emperor's son, and the empress *Adelaide*, whom *Henry* had maltreated, had joined with *Matilda* ; and the *Normans* were actually in the field. Pope *Urban* continued to thunder out his excommunications against him ; and the bishops of *Constance* and *Passau*, being in *Urban's* interest, were perpetually exciting his subjects to rebel. That pope was then holding the famous council of *Clement*, in *Auvergne*,
for

for promoting a crusade against the infidels for the recovery Beginning of the *Holy Land*; and the inconstant *Romans*, dreading of the *Henry's* resentment, had espoused the cause of his pope *Cle-* crusades. ment. But this prelate was destitute of authority; and *Milan*, with many cities of *Lombardy*, had declared for *Conrade*, who had married the daughter of *Roger*, king of *Sicily*; and was actually crowned king of *Italy* by the archbishop of *Milan*. This revolution gave a new, and a ruinous, turn to the affairs of *Henry*, who was obliged to return to *Germany*. Here he put his son to the ban of the empire; and, in 1099, he caused his second son, *Henry*, to be elected king of the *Romans*.

All *Europe* was, at this time, frantic with the spirit of crusading; which did not much infect *Henry*: and we must refer the reader to the former part of this history for the success of those adventurers. The emperor had not power to suppress them; they filled all the places through which they went with murders and desolation, but the first swarms of them were almost all extinguished in their route through *Hungary*. The inequality of *Henry's* temper, rather than any habitual practice of vice, appears to have been the great source of his misfortunes. His son *Conrade* is mentioned in history as having been an inoffensive prince; and his power was so well fixed in *Lombardy*, that he died in possession of the throne which he had mounted. After he was put to the ban of the empire, *Ratisben* was assigned for the residence of his other son, *Henry*, king of the *Romans*. An accommodation was effected between the emperor, the *Saxons*, and *Bavarians*.

Henry was now in hopes of subduing all opposition; especially as young *Guelph* had quarrelled with his wife *Matilda*, *Henry* re- from whom he had separated. The archbishop of *Mentz* bels had fled, for his treasonable practices, into *Thuringia*; but, against his all of a sudden, *Henry's* troubles were renewed. Pope *Ur-* father the *ban* had raised the power of the holy see to an immeasurable emperor, height, by the support of the *Normans*, *Matilda*, and young *Conrade*; and his footsteps were followed by *Paschal II.* who encouraged the archbishop of *Mentz* and the bishop of *Con-* stance, to oppose the emperor; who had, by his own authority, set up three popes, but with no effect, after the death of *Urban*. It is true, the election of a pope, without his leave, was an invasion of his authority; but, on the other hand, the sanction of a pope, acknowledged as such by the cardinals, the *Romans*, and the great powers of *Italy*, was too strong to be opposed by *Henry's* prerogative; and rebellion and ambition laid hold of it to justify every kind of crime.

The reigning doctrine now all over *Europe* was, that a prince excommunicated by the pope, was unworthy, not only to reign, but to live; that his subjects and children owed him neither obedience nor affection; and, that all mankind

mankind ought to be confederated against him. Those were maxims extremely well suited to young *Henry*, who privately linked himself with his father's enemies; and *Paschal* undertook to give him the empire. For this purpose he called a council at *Rome*, where he excommunicated *Henry*; and the son, out of pure duty to God and the church, declared that his father had forfeited the empire, and that he himself was now its lawful head. This impious doctrine prevailed so strongly, that, notwithstanding all the elder *Henry's* admonitions, he saw his son at the head of a greater army than his own. All that young *Henry* could be brought to, was, to offer to lay down his arms if his father was absolved from his excommunication. The father and son met, at the head of their armies, near *Ratisbon*; but the former, finding himself too weak to hazard a general battle, fled to *Bohemia*; and the son seized *Spire*, with all the imperial treasure.

Such unparalleled ingratitude, together with a declaration the elder *Henry* made that he would enter into the crusade, procured him many powerful friends; and he set out, at the head of an army, to break up the assembly which his son and the pope's legates had convoked at *Mentz* for his deposition. The son dreaded this; and, when the father was advanced as far as *Coblentz*, he threw himself at his feet, and affected so much penitence for his undutiful behaviour, that his father not only pardoned him, but, as a sign of his entire reconciliation, dismissed his army, the son undertaking to make up all differences between him and the assembly at *Mentz*; but, when the unhappy father came to *Bingenheim*, he found himself under an arrest by his son's order. This happened in the year 1106.

who is
deposed
with great
barbarity,

After this treachery, the parricide repaired to *Mentz*, where the legates again excommunicated his father, who was declared to be divested of the imperial dignity, and his son was proclaimed in his stead. The archbishops of *Mentz* and *Cologne* were sent to notify to *Henry* his deposition; to demand of him the imperial regalia; and to acquaint him with the crimes he had been guilty of, among which was the charge of simony. The emperor expostulated with them most pathetically upon this accusation, and appealed to themselves whether he had not gratuitously given them the two best bishoprics he had in his disposal. They were deaf to all his remonstrances; forcibly threw him to the ground; tore the imperial crown from his head, the mantle from his back, and wrested the sceptre out of his hand.

Young *Henry* being thus possessed of the imperial dignity, could not be easy till his father had made a voluntary resignation of the empire in his favour. The elder *Henry's* spirit was by this time broken, though he was no more than fifty-five years of age. He complained, at first, that he had been condemned unheard; but, being obliged to appear before an assembly of his great subjects at *Ingelheim*, he there made a
voluntary

voluntary resignation of the empire to his son; asked pardon of all whom he had offended; threw himself at the feet of the pope's legate, and begged him to take off the sentence of his excommunication: but this request was refused, on pretence that none could absolve him but the pope himself.

Few princes were ever driven to the distress that now overwhelmed *Henry*, who, literally speaking, had not bread to eat. He, in vain, begged to be admitted a canon in his own church at *Spire*; and wrote letters, which are still extant, imploring his son to suffer him to live in obscurity at *Liege*, that he might be no longer forced to go begging about for a place where to lay his head.

The son was as deaf, as the ecclesiastics had been, to his but entreaties; but the emperor, at last, found some relief in de- escapes spair. Escaping from his jailors, he fled to *Cologne*; where to *Liege*, the citizens admitted him as their sovereign. From thence where he proposed a reconciliation with the pope; and wrote circular letters to all the powers of *Europe*, exhorting them to take the part of distressed majesty. The bishop of *Liege*, the dukes of *Limbourg* and *Lower Lorrain*, and many other princes of the empire, took his part; and a powerful army was raised for him in the *Low Countries*. This disquieted his son, who, under pretence of exacting homage from the states of *Alsace*, wanted to surprize his father at *Liege*; but his army was beaten, and he himself put to flight. It is difficult to say what the event might have been, had *Henry* survived this crisis; but he died, on the seventh of *August*, 1106, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the forty-ninth of his reign. His last words are said to have been full of bitterness against the parricide his son and his accomplices.

Nothing can fill the mind with more horrible ideas of ecclesiastical tyranny, than the melancholy fate of the emperor His character. *Henry IV.* who, according to the best accounts, was, both in person and mind, notwithstanding the inequalities of his conduct, one of the most amiable princes that ever existed. He was blessed, by nature, with irresistible eloquence and undaunted courage. He was beneficent and charitable almost to a degree of weakness; for he is said to have fed the needy, lame, wounded, and distressed of all kinds; and to have provided apartments and medicines for them under his own eye and in his own palaces. When but twelve years of age, he headed his armies in person, and was present in sixty-two pitched battles, in which he was generally victorious. He is said to have been guilty of some irregularities in his youth, especially towards his empress, whom, it seems, he disliked; but, as he grew up, he discovered greater talents for government than any prince of his time, by the wise provisions he made, and the regulations he established for the peace of his empire. He never was known to punish any of the numerous conspirators who plotted against his life, even when they

they were taken in the fact of assassination ; and his justice and liberality in remitting his revenues, when his subjects were distressed, were equal to his other virtues.

To conclude, *Henry* might have lived and died a great and a happy prince, had he been possessed of but a middling genius. The popes he had to do with admitted of no equal, far less a superior, as sovereigns ; and the more that *Henry* suffered from their power and insolence, he was the more impatient under their dominion. His virtues, in other respects, undid him. The liberalities he bestowed were placed upon persons who connected themselves with his enemies, that they might establish an independency upon his power ; gratitude being, in those days, no common virtue ; and no prince ever met with fewer returns of it than *Henry* did.

19. *Henry V. surnamed the Young.*

Affairs of *Germany* at *Henry's* succession. **T**HIS emperor, to distinguish him from his father, was called *the Young* ; and, at his accession, *Germany* was upon the eve of a total alteration in her internal system. He had raised himself to his unnatural greatness by the crimes of rebellion and ingratitude to his friend, father, and sovereign. To carry on the same, he advanced to *Liege* ; where he forced the inhabitants, who had given a noble burial to his father's body, to raise it out of the grave, as being the carcase of an excommunicated wretch ; and he flung it into a vault at *Spire*, where it continued unburied for five years. This complaisance to the church was, in the main, far from establishing his authority. The great vassals of the empire pursued their scheme of being independent of the emperor ; and acknowledged no other subjection than a feudatory relation, or political confederacy, with their co-ordinate states : and they actually began, about this time, to affect the name of *co-imperantes*, or fellow-emperors. Soon after the late emperor's death, *Paschal II.* summoned a council at *Guastalla*, on the *Po* ; where all the decrees that had passed against the imperial right of investitures were confirmed : by which the imperial diadem lost its fairest diamond, and *Henry* himself was stripped of his most substantial prerogative.

His wars with *Hungary* and *Poland*. The emperor thought to mitigate the severity of this alienation, but it was too late ; for the princes and cities of *Italy* had entirely broken off all connection with the imperial authority. The wrath of the pope hung over the emperor's head ; and *Philip*, king of *France*, found it his interest to support his holiness. In short, the emperor was obliged to dissemble, and even to apply to *Philip's* mediation. *Henry* at last, had the courage to dispute the right of investitures ;

and

and was supported by some of the *German* bishops, who preferred his dominion to that of the pope; but *Henry* was required to leave the matter to a general council, where he was sure of losing the cause.

Those disputes never failed to foment intestine divisions. A rebellion broke out in *Bohemia*, where all was in confusion; and the emperor, for a sum of money, deserted the cause of the lawful duke, and suffered an usurper to possess his dignity. *Henry* then invaded *Hungary*, which, at that time, was governed by *Coloman*. His expedition was unfortunate. He was obliged to raise the siege of *Presburg*, and to retire, with great loss, into *Bavaria*; *Coloman* having entered into an alliance with *Boleslaus*, king of *Poland*. The emperor soon recruited his army; invaded *Silesia*, then belonging to *Poland*; and defeated the *Poles* in a general battle. *Boleslaus*, finding *Henry* determined to revive the *German* claims of superiority over *Poland*, raised a new army, defeated *Henry*, and drove him out of *Silesia*.

The emperor had now leisure to consult the sentiments of his *German* subjects concerning the pope's usurpations; and the pope he found them disposed to support the rights of the empire. While he was raising an immense army to do himself justice, he married *Matilda*, the daughter and heiress of *Henry I.* of right of *England*; and the immense sum he received as her dowry, was of infinite service to his affairs. He then crossed the *Alps*, at the head of eighty thousand men, to assert his double right; that of investitures, and the sovereignty over the *Italian* states. He reduced many places in *Tuscany*, and entered *Florence* as its master. He brought along with him, out of *Germany*, a number of persons who had made the constitutions of the empire their study. Them he employed to negotiate with pope *Paschal*, who would have paid them very little regard, had not their master been at the head of an army to enforce their arguments. *Paschal* was therefore obliged to dissemble, and granted the emperor all he desired, but not without great difficulty. *Henry* marched his army into *Rome*. There he massacred numbers of the citizens, and shut the pope, his cardinals, and the *Roman* nobility, up in prison; where he kept them, for above six weeks, till the pope should comply with his demands concerning the investitures. As *Paschal* appeared to be obstinate on that point, *Henry* ordered the heads of the *Roman* nobility to be struck off before his eyes; upon which *Paschal* complied, and signed the accommodation in *Henry's* own terms. The pope next crowned the emperor, and omitted no appearance of respect or cordiality to prevail with him to return to *Germany*; which, at last, he effected.

Henry was no sooner returned than he found all *Germany* in a flame, and matter more embroiled than ever. The *Lateran* council disavowed all that his holiness had done in the affair of the investitures; which, as was indeed the fact, they

said had been extorted from him by force. The *French* bishops excommunicated the emperor, and those of *Germany* refused to receive the bull of investiture in his favour. A rebellion soon after broke out in *Saxony*, fomented by the clergy and headed by duke *Lothair*. *Henry* marched thither, laid waste the country, and took an archbishop into custody; but, in his return, he was defeated by *Lothair* and the *Saxon* nobility. *Lothair* called an assembly at *Goslar*, consisting of ecclesiastics and laymen; and there the emperor was excommunicated.

This had so pernicious an effect on his affairs, that, like his father, he must have sunk under the intrigues and power of the church, had not the duke of *Stauffen-Suabia*, whom we have already mentioned, marched to his assistance with an army, and delivered him out of his distresses. The famous countess *Matilda* was, by this time, dead; but had confirmed all the donations she had made of her great estates to the church. The emperor, as being her next heir, claimed her succession, both as kinsman and emperor. With this view, he once more marched into *Italy* to demand justice of the pope, who refused to see his ambassadors, or to revoke his sentence of excommunication; and he once more annulled all the bulls he had granted in the affair of investitures. *Henry*, seeing that his holiness was bent upon his ruin, marched with his army to *Rome*, and the pope fled to *Apulia*. The emperor took that opportunity to be again crowned; which was performed by the hands of the archbishop of *Braga* in *Portugal*; as thinking his former coronation to be invalid, because of the pope's perjury.

Pope
Gelasius
chosen,

Being obliged, on account of the heats, to retire to *Tuscany*, *Paschal* seized that opportunity to re-enter *Rome*; where he began to make new cabals, but died in two days; and the *Norman* soldiers, who had come to support his cause, returned home after plundering *Rome*. Cardinal *Cajetan*, without the emperor's knowledge, was raised to the pope-dom, and assumed the name of *Gelasius II.* but *Henry* returning with his army to depose him, and to substitute the archbishop of *Braga* in his stead, *Gelasius* excommunicated him. This provoked *Frangipani* (who was consul at *Rome*, and a friend of the emperor) so much, that he broke into the assembly of the cardinals, seized *Gelasius* by the throat, knocked him down, and kicked him before him into prison. This occasioned an attempt of the *Romans*, and the *Normans* who were at *Rome*, against *Frangipani's* house; and he was beginning to repent of what he had done, when the emperor arrived with his army. *Gelasius* escaped with difficulty, and the emperor caused, or rather nominated, the archbishop of *Braga* to be elected pope. This prelate, whose name was *Bourdin*, took the name of *Gregory VIII.* and solemnly reversed all that had been done by his predecessors to the emperor's prejudice. Notwithstanding this, *Gelasius*, who, after various

as is *Gregory VIII.*

various adventures, escaped to *France*, was, by far the greatest part of *Christendom*, recognized as the true pope; and *Gregory* supported himself only by the force of the imperial arms.

The affairs of *Germany*, as usual, recalling the emperor thither before he had fully completed any one purpose of his expedition, he left a guard with *Gregory* at *Rome*; but an account of the death of *Gelasius* arriving, the cardinals elected the archbishop of *Vienne*, who was of the house of *Burgundy*, and related to the blood-royal of *France*, to be pope; and he took upon him the name of *Calixtus II.* After his consecration, he held a numerous council at *Rheims*; and the *German* princes of *Saxony* and *Westphalia* entered into Pope *Calixtus II.* a confederacy, in his favour, against *Henry*, on account of the investitures which they demanded; and which the emperor, by virtue of his prerogative, refused to grant them. This confederacy produced a great deal of blood-shed. The neutral princes of the empire interposed; and, both sides being tired of the quarrel, the emperor expressed an inclination to compromise matters under the mediation of the king of *France*: and the pope promising, in that case, to take off the ecclesiastical censures against him, they agreed to finish the accommodation at *Mouzon*, while the council was still sitting at *Rheims*, to give it the greater sanction. Every thing but the formality of signing being concluded, *Henry* set out for the conference at the head of thirty thousand men. This startled the pope, and he sent to know whether the emperor intended to stand by the terms agreed on. *Henry* returned a conditional answer, because he waited for the advice of the diet, which was sitting at *Tribur*, between *Mentz* and *Worms*. The pope thought that this was an evasion contrived to surprise him. He returned in haste to *Rheims*, where he renewed the decree against the investitures, and again excommunicated *Henry* and the anti-pope *Gregory VIII.*

It is uncertain to what those sudden revolutions were owing—excommunicates but it is reasonable to believe that the former, in the confused situation of his affairs, durst not make any ultimate agreement with his holiness without the concurrence of the diet. Upon the return of *Calixtus* to *Rome*, he raised an army, and besieged his rival *Gregory* in *Sotri*; and, becoming master of his person, he treated him with as much ignominy as he could devise, and then he shut him up in a monastery.

The removal of *Gregory* was of infinite advantage to *Calixtus*; and, consequently, of detriment to the emperor. The confederacy against him in *Germany*, with the archbishop of *Mentz* at its head, daily gathered strength; and the bishops, in general, being less afraid of the papal than the imperial authority, refused to receive their investitures from the emperor, who found himself on the point of being overwhelmed

Henry's
agreement
with the
pope.

Troubles
of *Germany*
conti-
nued.

whelmed by the confederacy. He took the wisest course he could in such a situation. While the two parties were in arms, the states of the empire addressed him to give peace to the church and their country. *Henry* shewed the most placable disposition for that purpose. A diet was called at *Wurtzburg*; and there it was determined, that a solemn embassy should be sent to *Rome*, to beseech the pope to call a council, wherein all differences might be accommodated. *Calixtus* shewed himself equally disposed for peace, and called a council, consisting of three hundred bishops and seven hundred abbots, who gave audience to the imperial ambassadors. The matter, after this, was compromised in the following manner: That the emperor should leave the elections free to the chapters and communities, and no longer confer investitures by the crozier and ring; that he should restore the possessions belonging to the holy see and the churches; that the elections should be made in the emperor's presence, or his deputy's, by canonical methods; that, in case there should be any dispute about the election, the emperor, assisted by the metropolitan and his suffragans, should be judge thereof; that the person elected should receive the investiture of the fiefs and lordships of the empire, not with the crozier, but the sceptre, or some wand, and should be faithful to him on account of the said lordships; and, that, for the countries distant from *Germany*, the emperor should allow six months to receive the like investitures.

This important affair being finished, the pope named a legate, who attended the ambassadors to *Germany*, and there gave absolution to the emperor. But, though this compromise was ratified by the diet of *Worms*, it was far from restoring peace to *Germany*. *Holland* revolted; as did *Worms*, and several other places; and the emperor was put to great trouble and expence in reducing them.

About the year 1122, *Henry*, by the force of his father-in-law's *English* money, was prevailed upon to take part with him in his differences with *Lewis the Gross*, king of *France*; and actually invaded that kingdom. But we do not find that he was supported in this attempt by the princes of the empire, who generally sought refuge with the kings of *France* against the encroachments of their own emperors. *Henry* therefore returned without effecting any thing.

He had, in his late treaty with *Rome*, tacitly given up all concern in the election of a pope; and, upon the death of *Calixtus*, the cardinals, without the emperor's participation, proceeded to a new election; which was carried on so tumultuously, that a double return was made, though *Honorius II.* was soon acknowledged to be the true pope. The emperor, by giving up this right, and likewise that of the investitures, gave a mortal blow to the imperial authority. All *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, and *Alsace*, were over-run with cabals against his prerogative; which had now lost all its force,
and

and the emperor himself was more than once put in hazard of his life by sudden tumults, especially by one at *Ruffac*.

Those disgraces are said to have affected his spirits so much, that he died at *Utrecht*, in 1125, on the twenty-third of *May*, aged forty-four.

The character of this prince, after he came to the empire, and was pretty much the same with that of his father; but he rather cast an indelible stain upon the former part of his life, by his *Henry V.* rebellion, treachery, and parricide. Notwithstanding all the pains which papal writers have taken to blacken him, he certainly was brave and active in his person, and an undaunted assertor of the independency of his empire. Upon the whole, if he was guilty of faults in his government, they were owing to the treachery, ambition, and bigotry of his over-grown subjects, spirited up by the see of *Rome* to every act of rebellion; for he appears to have had a proper regard for the legal constitution of his empire.

20. Lothair II.

HENRY V. died without issue of his own body, but he left two nephews by his sister, *Conrade*, duke of *Lothair Franconia*; and *Frederic*, duke of *Suabia*, both of them popular in the empire on account of their excellent qualities. It was not the interest of the popish faction, that any of the blood, or principles, of *Henry* should succeed to the empire. The archbishop of *Mentz*, who was at the head of that faction, pretended that he was in the party of the two princes; and, getting possession of the imperial regalia, he leagued himself with the *French* court; who sent the famous *Suger*, abbot of *St. Dennis*, the historian of those times, to the diet at *Mentz*; where the number of the electing princes were reduced to ten; and they chose for emperor *Lothair*, duke of *Saxe-Supplembourg*; who was crowned in *September*, 1126. The two princes did all they could to traverse this election; and their party actually chose *Frederic*, duke of *Suabia*, king of the *Romans*.

The great motive which determined the archbishop of *Mentz*, and his party, in favour of *Lothair*, was his having generally been the lay-head and champion of their faction. From this principle, the beginning of his reign was marked by an expedition against the *Bohemians*, who had always espoused the party of the late emperor. His declared pretext was to settle the guardianship of the young duke of *Bohemia*; and, after a bloody contest, he forced *Boleslaus*, the regent of that country, to do him homage. *Conrade* took advantage of this war to repair to *Italy*, where he was crowned king of *Lombardy* at *Milan*. The emperor, notwithstanding his de-

votion to the see of *Rome*, was a just and generous prince; and, though he had obtained vast advantages over the brothers in *Germany*, yet he offered them his friendship, which they afterwards accepted; and he distinguished *Conrade* with particular marks of his favour and affection.

The system of power in the empire was thus again altered, and we cannot say to the detriment of public liberty; the imperial prerogative being rather bounded than abolished; and the succession to the great feudal estates was now hereditary, instead of depending, as formerly, upon the will of the emperor. It is true the popes had acquired vast power, but it was submitted to by the enemies of the imperial prerogative only through conveniency; and they knew that the pontiffs did not dare to exercise the superiority which they had acquired, to oppress them.

He takes
part with
the pope,

All those great alterations, however, did not take place without violent struggles and opposition made by the princes and people who depended on the empire, and they reached as far as *Denmark*. They wanted themselves to be independent both of the pope and the emperor; but having no principle of unity to conduct their opposition, it was crushed by the now united interests of the papal and imperial sovereignty. In the year 1130, pope *Honorius II.* who had so effectually supported the claims of his see, died; and the cardinals elected, in his place, *Innocent II.* but the *Roman* people chose one *Leo*, who was of *Jewish* parentage. He took the name of *Anacletus*, and drove *Innocent* out of *Rome* into *France*; where his cause was espoused by the apostle of that age, *St. Bernard*, and who had the greatest personal interest of any man in *Europe*. By his persuasion, *Lothair* befriended *Innocent*, and they had an interview at *Liege*. Their meeting was disgraceful to the emperor, who alighted from his horse to assist the pope in descending from his. At first, the emperor, perhaps to please the dukes of *Franconia* and *Suabia*, pretended to make some terms with his holiness concerning the investitures; but *St. Bernard* taking the part of *Innocent*, who appeared to be inflexible on that head, *Lothair* receded from his claim, and even engaged to re-establish his holiness in the papal chair. At parting, the pope went to *France*; where he received a large contribution. When the emperor came to *Rome*, he found that *Anacletus*, the anti-pope, had been joined by *Conrade's* party, which was very strong in *Italy*; but *Lothair* being resolute in *Innocent's* interest, the anti-pope was forced to shut himself up in the castle of *St. Angelo*; while *Lothair*, upon his knees, received the imperial crown from the hands of *Innocent*.

introduces
the civil-
law into
Germany,

Upon the return of *Lothair* to *Germany*, he endeavoured to give a greater consistency to the legislation of the empire, by abolishing the provincial and particular modes of justice that prevailed in its different districts, and often occasioned intestine commotions, through the frequent intercourses and inter-

intermarriages among the people, who lived under separate jurisdictions. For this purpose, by the advice of one *Werner Ursperg*, a great civilian, he ordered that distributive justice should be exercised according to the laws collected or enacted by *Justinian*; and that a new code of feudal-laws should be drawn up.

While he was employed in this laudable undertaking, the intention of which was afterwards perverted into chicanery, *Anacletus*, the antipope, befriended by *Roger*, duke of *Apulia*, drove *Innocent* from *Rome* to *Pisa*; where he again implored the assistance of *Lothair* for his re-establishment, which the emperor promised him: but, by this time, *Anacletus*, having promised to erect the dukedom of *Apulia* into a kingdom, had made himself master of almost all *St. Peter's* patrimony.

It appears as if *Lothair's* zeal for the pope was not quite and does disinterested. He had a passionate desire for the estates be-homage queathed by *Matilda* to the holy see. *Innocent* gratified him to the in giving him the profits of those possessions; but he required pope. that the emperor should hold them in vassalage: in token of which, *Lothair* kissed *Innocent's* feet, and led his mule for some paces. Before *Lothair* set out upon his second expedition to *Italy*, he obliged the king of *Poland* to take an oath of fidelity to his empire; and he re-settled its tranquility according to the new system of laws which he had adopted.

The progress of *Roger*, who is now designed king of *Sicily*, rendered it necessary for *Lothair*, on his account, as well His successful expedition into *Italy*, as that of the pope, to march once more, at the head of a powerful army, into *Italy*. Having formed it into two divisions, he took the command of the one to himself, and, giving the command of the other to his son-in-law, the duke of *Bavaria*, he soon drove *Roger* from all his conquests, and forced him to retire to *Sicily*; while *Innocent* entered *Rome* in triumph, to the violent mortification of *Anacletus*, who died of spite. *Lothair* then pushed his conquests into *Apulia* and *Calabria*; both which he took from *Roger*, and formed them into a principality. This he bestowed upon *Renaud*, one of his *German* relations, who received the investiture thereof jointly from the hands of the emperor and the pope, each pretending to be lord-paramount, and the point remaining undetermined. The emperor, during this glorious expedition, was assisted by a fleet of forty stout galleys, equipped by the city of *Pisa* alone from the profits of its commerce, and they did him infinite service.

Lothair, in his return to *Germany*, was overtaken by sickness at *Verona*; but, being in hopes that his native air might recover him, he proceeded on his journey; and died in the *Alps*, near *Trent*, on the third of *December*, 1138, after a reign of twelve years. His death,

This prince's character was the reverse of that of most of and character his predecessors; and therefore he does not, in the history of

his own times, make the great figure he merited. Superior to the barbarous prepossessions of the *Germans*, he suffered himself to be governed by prudential considerations, and by well-timed concessions, as to exteriors, to secure himself important advantages. His personal humiliations before the pope were indeed shameful ; but the history of two ages had taught him, that, without those compliances, if he reigned, he must live in blood, and die in misery. This melancholy alternative took its rise from the invincible attachment which the common people, in those days, influenced by the inferior clergy, had for the sacred character of the vicar of *Christ*. *Lothair* could neither cure nor conquer their prejudices; therefore he sought to avail himself of the disputes about the popedom, and to secure the best bargain that could be made (which he certainly did) for the imperial authority. He was an inflexible lover of justice, and he may be termed the last legislator of the *German* empire.

21. Conrade III.

Conrade's
election
opposed
by the
duke of
Bavaria.

LOTHAIR had the unusual good fortune to die in the arms of glory and conquest: and he owed it, in a great measure, to the good understanding in which he lived with his former competitors of *Franconia* and *Bavaria*; whom he had supplanted in the empire, and whose interest there was still very powerful. It was natural for *Lothair* to recommend his son-in-law, *Henry*, of *Bavaria*, to be his successor; and it is said, that, with this view, he gave him, in his own lifetime, possession of the imperial ornaments, of which *Henry* availed himself to claim the empire; but he was disappointed. The princes of *Germany* met at *Coblentz*, and nominated seven electors, being three archbishops and four princes, who unanimously chose for emperor *Conrade*, duke of *Franconia*. *Henry's* power and arrogance contributed greatly to this event. They hated a man who, from his manners, was surnamed *the Haughty*; and they were jealous of a prince who was possessed of *Bavaria*, *Saxony*, *Misnia*, and *Thuringia*, besides vast estates in *Italy*, particularly that of *Matilda*, which had been bequeathed to him by the late emperor. Depending on this vast power, *Henry* thought to have forced himself upon the imperial throne, and refused to deliver up the regalia; but the princes of *Germany* uniting against him at *Goslar*, put him to the ban of the empire, and gave his duchy of *Bavaria* to *Leopold*, marquis of *Austria*; and that of *Saxony*, to *Albert*, marquis of *Brandenburgh*. *Henry the Haughty* opposed those destinations, but died in the year 1139.

His brother, *Guelph*, duke of *Bavaria*, succeeded to his dominions and contests; and was supported by *Roger*, king of *Sicily*,

Sicily; who made use of the dissensions in *Germany* to regain possession of *Apulia* and *Calabria*. It is said by some, that, at this period, the famous distinction of *Guelph* and *Gibelin* commenced. After several bloody battles had been fought between *Guelph* and the duke of *Suabia*, the emperor's brother and general, the former was forced to shut himself up in the castle of *Weinsburg*. *Guelph* resolving to make a desperate sally, gave his own name as the word to his soldiers; while the duke of *Suabia* gave to his the word *Gibelin*, the place where he had been educated; and the two words passed afterwards to denote two parties; the former, the papal; the latter, the imperial. We are to observe that *Guelph* had been long the surname of the *Bavarian* family. *Guelph* was unfortunate in his sally, and, being reduced to extremity, he demanded an honourable capitulation, which was granted him by the emperor.

We should be cautious of transmitting the adventure that Remark- followed, were it not unquestionably well attested. The ble exploit dutchess of *Bavaria* suspected, from the readiness with which of *German* the emperor granted the capitulation, that he intended to ladies. violate it, especially in the person of her husband, whom he remarkably hated. The capitulation bore, That *Guelph* and his garrison might retire in safety; but the dutchess insisted upon a particular capitulation being granted to herself and the ladies of her train, and that they might be permitted to leave the castle each with as great a load as she could carry. The emperor, imagining that this was meant of their paraphernalia and effects, agreed to the terms; but was amazed to see the ladies, with the dutchess at their head, each tottering under the weight of her husband, when they evacuated the castle. The emperor is said to have melted into terms of tenderness at this spectacle, and, notwithstanding the opposition he met with from his generals, he generously gave very advantageous terms to *Guelph*; saying, at the same time, That a sovereign who broke his word was unworthy of empire.

The flourishing state of the popedom, at this period, had An at- almost overturned it. The people of *Italy* retained still some tempt to glimmerings of a distinction between the temporal and ec- restore the clesiastical power; and it was strongly enforced by one *Ar- Roman* nold, of *Brescia*, a disciple of the famous *Abelard*. This per- common- son went through the towns of *Italy*, where he disseminated wealth, the doctrine of his master, who, upon that account was ex- communicated; and gained great numbers of proselytes, especially among the *Roman* people and nobility, who had not forgot that their ancestors made and unmade popes; and that *Charlemagne* himself, at first, was, at *Rome*, no more than a patrician. The civil-wars in *Germany* had given an opportunity for almost every state and city in *Italy* to erect itself into an independent government. This spirit was com- municated

municated to the *Romans*, who once more attempted to re-establish their antient republic, and proceeded with a regularity seldom known in popular commotions. *Lucius II.* was then pope; and the *Arnoldists*, as the reformers were called, sent him a formal message, requiring him to divest himself of his temporal, and to confine himself to the exercise of his spiritual, authority, with the lawful perquisites annexed to it as their bishop. To support their demand, they conferred the post of patrician, with the same authority that *Charles the Great* held it, upon one *Giordani*, whom they likewise invested with the tribunitial power. At the same time, they emitted manifestos that they intended nothing against the imperial authority, and that they only wanted to abolish the usurpations of the popes.

The pope
applies to
Conrade,

Lucius being thus applied to, had recourse to *Conrade*, and implored his assistance; but the other party seized all the temporal revenues of the popedom, and took possession of the capitol. *Lucius* had still a strong party at *Rome*, and, putting himself at the head of some troops to reduce the insurgents, he besieged the capitol, but was killed by a stone from its battlements. The cardinals chose in his place *Eugene III.* whose history we are not obliged to follow farther than it is connected with that of the empire. *Conrade* had declared himself for the late pope, and the rest of *Italy* condemned the proceedings of the *Romans*; so that *Eugene* found means to repossess himself of the popedom and all its temporalities.

The spirit of crusading was now higher in *Europe* than ever; and, being most zealously encouraged by *St. Bernard*, it infected *Conrade* himself, and he took the cross at *Spire* from the hands of that enthusiast. Before he set out, he put the affairs of the empire upon the best footing he could, by procuring his son to be crowned king of the *Romans*, and establishing the imperial council at *Rotwel* (some remains whereof still subsist) which was, in his absence, to be the supreme judicature of the empire. *Henry the Lion*, duke of *Saxony*, one of the most powerful of the *German* princes, laid hold of that opportunity to reclaim the duchy of *Bavaria*, which had been dismembered from his family. *Conrade* promised to adjust the affair upon his return from the *Holy Land*, and employed *Wiebald*, abbot of *Corbie*, to persuade the duke to undertake a crusade for the conquest and conversion of the numerous tribes of northern pagans.

who goes
to the *Holy*
Land.

Conrade set out for *Palestine* at the head of a well-appointed army of sixty thousand men; and the reader will meet with a full account of his adventures there, in the preceding part of this work. It is sufficient, for the sake of historical connection, to say here, that he was attended by his nephew, afterwards the famous emperor *Frederic Barbarossa*, and duke *Guelph*; that he approved himself to be as intrepid a warrior

as he was a credulous prince; and, notwithstanding the prodigies of valour he and his troops performed, he was, almost on every occasion, defeated by the *Saracens* and *Turks*; and returned, with scarce the shadow of an army, in vessels furnished him by his brother-in-law *Manuel Comnenus*, the *Greek* emperor. About this time, another crusade of *Germans* and *English* took *Lisbon* from the usurping *Moors*, and restored it to king *Alphonso Henriquez*.

Though *Henry the Lion* had taken the abbot's advice in undertaking the crusade against the pagans, yet he did it only that he might have a pretext for raising and disciplining an army. He was assisted by the bishops of *Magdebourg*, *Halberstadt*, *Munster*, *Mershourg*, and *Bradenburg*, with many abbots; but no sooner did *Conrade* return to *Germany*, than *Henry* renewed his claim to *Bavaria*, having performed his crusade by laying the country, he wanted to convert, waste with fire and sword. The merit of *Conrade's* expedition into the *Holy Land*, and a pilgrimage he made to *Jerusalem*, was so popular among the *Germans*, that *Henry* was defeated in his attempt, and *Bavaria* remained with *Guelph*, who, soon after, revolted likewise, but was unable to make good his pretensions, though they were supported by *Roger*, king of *Sicily*; and, by the mediation of the duke of *Suabia*, an accommodation was effected between him and the emperor.

The death of *Conrade's* eldest son, who had been elected king of the *Romans*, which happened about this time, and his inability to have the imperial throne filled by his younger son, who was in his non-age, affected *Conrade* so much that he fell into an incurable distemper. Being sensible of his approaching end, he convoked a diet of the empire at *Bamberg*; where he recommended to their choice, for his successor, *Frederic*, duke of *Suabia*; to whom the imperial ornaments were, by way of investiture in the empire, accordingly delivered; and, soon after this destination, *Conrade* expired.

He was a prince endowed with the popular virtues of that age, which consisted in an unbounded courage and zeal for the church; and his misfortunes in the *Holy Land*, instead of depressing, exalted him, in the eyes of his subjects. He died in the sixtieth year of his age; and he left, by his wife *Gertrude*, who was daughter of a count of *Sultzbach*, *Frederic*, count of *Rothembourg*, a minor; and a daughter named *Judith*, who was married to *Lewis*, landgrave of *Thuringia*.

His expedition unfortunate.

Death,

and character.

22. Frederic I. surnamed Barbarossa, and Father of his Country.

Accession
and diffi-
culties of
Frederic,

THE investiture that had been conferred on this prince, at the recommendation of *Conrade*, operated so strongly in his favour, that he was unanimously elected emperor at *Francfort*, in the presence of many *Roman* noblemen of high distinction; which was a tacit acknowledgment of their owning him to be the *Roman* emperor. He was crowned, by the archbishop of *Cologne*, at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, when he was about twenty-nine years of age. His character was then so high, that his authority was recognized by all the powers of *Europe*.

which he
finishes,

Frederic, at his accession, took cognizance of the long standing contest concerning the duchy of *Bavaria*, which then subsisted between *Henry*, duke of *Saxony*, and the duke of *Bavaria*. All the *German* princes took part in this quarrel, which *Frederic* finished by decreeing, in a diet, which was held at *Spire*, that the duchy of *Bavaria* should revert to *Henry*, duke of *Saxony*; and, that *Austria* should be detached from *Bavaria* and erected into a duchy, in favour of the other competitor; who was, at the same time, forced to resign to the emperor all his claims upon the duchies of *Tuscany* and *Spoletto*, and the island of *Sardinia*. This important affair being settled, *Frederic* proceeded, by virtue of his imperial authority, to take cognizance of the quarrel between *Sueno* and *Canute*, who were competitors for the crown of *Denmark*. *Sueno* had defeated *Canute*, who, while the diet of the empire was sitting at *Mersbourg*, put himself under the emperor's protection; and *Frederic* summoned *Sueno* to appear before his tribunal. *Sueno* obeyed, but was informed, that, if he expected to keep the crown of *Denmark*, he must hold it as a fief of the empire, and gratify his competitor with certain estates in *Jutland* and *Scania*; to all which *Sueno* agreed.

and pre-
pares for
an expedi-
tion into
Italy.

Frederic resumed the old policy of the *German* emperors; and, though his predecessor never had been crowned in *Italy*, he held a diet at *Wurtzburg*, where the noblemen of *Apulia* laid before him their complaints against *Roger*, king of *Sicily*, who had driven them from their country. *Frederic* laid hold of this application to revive the claim of his empire upon the sovereignty of *Italy*; and the diet promised to support him against *Roger*, who was considered in the light of an usurper and a tyrant. Pope *Eugene III.* who then filled the see of *Rome*, was sensible of *Frederic's* intentions, and quarrelled with him upon his having raised the bishop of *Zeitz* to the archbishopric of *Magdeburg*. *Frederic* supported what he had done, and drove the pope's legates out of *Germany*. The next pope, who took the name of *Anastasius*, sent cardinal *Gerhard*

Gerhard into *Germany* to support the papal rights in the same affair; but the emperor, who was thoroughly acquainted with the disputes between the popes and his predecessors, laid hold of some insolent expressions made use of by the legate to force him likewise to fly into *Italy*, where he died of grief in his journey to *Rome*.

The pope, from those proceedings, became as sensible of the emperor's intentions, as the latter was of his influence; and, for some time, neither of them durst venture upon a breach; for *Anastasius* confirmed the nomination of the archbishop of *Magdeburg* to that see; he having, by the emperor's order, repaired to *Rome*, to plead his own cause. Notwithstanding this, *Frederic* resolved to prosecute the imperial claims to their height; and, without consulting the pope, wife, he repudiated his wife *Adelaide*, daughter to the marquis of *Vohenburg*.

The affairs of *Germany*, for some time, detained *Frederic* from marching into *Italy*; and the cities and states there took advantage of that interval to renew their claims of independency. Pope *Adrian IV.* an *Englishman*, had raised himself to that see from the most abject degree of beggary; and, under him, the *Romans* returned to their old republican principles; being instigated thereto by *Arnold*. *Adrian* was supported by the bishops, and other ecclesiastics residing at *Rome*, who were rich and powerful, and considered his case as their own. A cardinal was murdered in the streets of *Rome*, and the pope laid that city under an interdiction. The laity found themselves unable to make good their point. *Arnold* and his adherents were banished, and the interdiction was taken off. The popedom, by this time, was deprived of the powerful protection of *Roger*, king of *Sicily*; and the republicans, renewing their schemes, *Adrian* was forced to fly to *Viterbo*; from whence he implored the assistance of the emperor, who was then ready to set out for *Italy* at the head of a numerous army, attended by *Henry the Lion* and a great number of the chief *German* nobility. One of his pretexts for this invasion was, to seize, in the name of his ward, son of the emperor *Conrade III.* the inheritance of the countess *Matilda*. The situation of *Italy*, at this time, is necessary to be known before the reader can form an idea of the history of *Germany*.

Though we have often mentioned the *Italian* states and cities having thrown off their dependency upon the emperor, yet the independency they recovered served only to make them miserable. In every community two factions started up, and, after cutting one another's throats, the strongest always expelled the weakest; the partizans of which declared themselves to be either *Guelphs* or *Gibelins*, and flew for protection either to the pope or the emperor. *Frederic* held an assembly in the plains of *Roncalia*, where all the exiles of his party repaired to his standards, and the *Gibelin* states and cities

ties sent their deputies. Thus, in fact, all the power the emperor possessed in *Italy*, was owing to the divisions of the people among themselves ; and, with regard to the pope, the *Italians* and *Romans* were not near so bigotted to him as the *Germans* and other *Europeans*.

Frederic having thus strengthened his party, reduced all the rebellious towns in *Lombardy*, and, proceeding into *Pavia*, he was there crowned king of *Italy*. From thence he sent a message to desire an interview with the pope at *Sutri*, in order to prepare for his coronation at *Rome*. The pope, though an exile from his capital, did not abate the least in his pontifical pride ; and, before he granted him the interview, he settled the ceremonial at meeting. *Frederic* was somewhat awkward at holding the stirrup of his holiness, which the cardinals, his attendants, interpreted so suspiciously, that he fled to the strong fortress of *Citta di Castello*. The pope refused *Frederic* the kiss of peace till he complied with every punctilio of the ceremony ; and the emperor, being instructed that it was only a matter of form, and had been practised by some of his predecessors, submitted to the disagreeable office of holding the pope's stirrup, and leading his mule by the bridle.

and is
crowned
at *Rome*.

Frederic then being superior to all resistance, conducted the pope to *Rome*, and there received the imperial crown from his hands, but with mutual distrust on both sides, though each had taken an oath that neither should attempt to kill or mutilate the other. The *Romans*, previous to the ceremony, had sent the emperor a deputation, expressing their readiness to receive him, though he was a stranger, as their master ; but he cut the deputies short in the beginning of their speech, " You were conquered," said he, " by *Charles the Great* and *Otho*, therefore you are my subjects ;" and then he drove them from his presence.

The *Romans* exasperated.

The *Romans* were exasperated at this treatment of their deputies, and laid a scheme for revenging it. Being in no condition to interrupt the ceremony of the coronation, they suffered the pope to return to his camp ; which, by way of precaution, he had pitched without the gates of *Rome* ; and then taking arms, they killed several bishops of the imperial party, on pretence that the pope had no right to crown the emperor without their permission and consent ; while the pope, on the other hand, proclaimed to the public, in his bulls, that he had given *Frederic* the *Roman* empire as a fief of the holy see. The emperor no sooner heard of this new commotion, than he flew to the assistance of the pope, and, with the loss of no more than one *German* killed, and another taken, he cut in pieces one thousand of the insurgents, and took two hundred prisoners ; who, at the pope's intercession, were restored to their liberty.

This seasonable service done to the pope made no impression of gratitude upon his mind, which continued as haughty
as

ever; and he prohibited *Frederic* from accepting of the keys of *Tiburtum*, because, he said, it belonged to the holy see. Upon his leaving *Rome*, he was accompanied by the pontif, who did not think himself safe in that city. He marched to *Spoletto*; which he took, plundered, and burnt, for the contumacy of its inhabitants. When he came to *Ancona*, he was waited upon by a deputation from the patriarch of *Jerusalem*, with a complaint against the *Knights Hospitalers*; but he was obliged to refer the matter to the cognizance of his holiness. He then gave his protection to the exiles of *Apulia*; and sent an abbot, his ambassador, to the *Greek* emperor, who had invited him to march against *William*, king of *Sicily*, a common enemy to them both.

Though *Frederic* had done very little towards the tranquillity of *Italy*, and the re-establishment of the imperial power obliged to there, yet he was obliged to return to *Germany*, where every return to thing was now in confusion. The count-palatine, assisted *Germany*, by other counts of the empire, had destroyed the city of *Mentz*, and ravaged the country round it; and, when the emperor returned to *Germany*, he summoned a diet at *Worms*, where all parties were convened, and some condemned as disturbers of the public peace. The penalty of the counts, and those who were above that degree, was to carry a dog on their backs from one county to another; that of gentlemen was to carry a joint-stool, and the peasants a cart-wheel. Neither the archbishop of *Mentz*, aged as he was, nor the elector-palatine, were exempted from this sentence; but the execution of it was remitted by the emperor.

The more that *Frederic* prospered in *Germany*, the greater was the pope's passion to humble him. He laid hold of a complaint of a bishop of *Lunden*, who pretended that he had been robbed in the imperial territories, without obtaining any redress; and sent legates to demand satisfaction, with letters addressed to the emperor and the diet, in which the papal insolence was carried to an unusual height. *Frederic* was treated as the slave and subject of his holiness, who reproached him for cowardice, and threatened that he would transfer the imperial dignity, which he held by his gift and favour, from the *Germans* to the *Greeks*; with many other expressions, if possible, still more provoking. "We are," said this letter, "appointed by God to rule over kings and nations; and we may destroy, pluck up, build, plant, and treat them as we please."

The count-palatine of *Bavaria* would have cut the legates, *Differ-* whose behaviour was as insolent as their message, into pieces, ences with but they were saved by the moderation of the emperor, and the pope, they fled back to *Italy*. This legation did service to *Frederic*, by uniting all his lay-subjects in his support. He published manifestos, asserting, in the strongest terms, the rights of his imperial sovereignty, and his independency upon the papal see,

fee. The pope, on the other hand, by the advice of the *German* bishops, sent him a mollifying letter ; which did not, however, prevent *Frederic* resolving to take the first opportunity to humble him. The better to effect this, he reduced *Boleslaus*, of *Poland*, who had revolted, and erected *Bohemia* into a kingdom ; its former erection to that dignity being only temporary. After this, he made a progress through his empire, to reform abuses, and secured the fidelity of the king of *Hungary*. Before he repassed the *Alps*, he sent commissaries to inspect into the state of his affairs in *Lombardy*, and to take a new oath of fidelity from the states and cities there ; and obliged *Waldemar*, king of *Denmark*, to receive in person, from his hands, the investiture of his kingdom at *Augsburg*.

Great
prosperity
of the em-
pire.

The empire, and its head, since the time of *Charlemagne*, had never known such days of prosperity as it enjoyed about the years 1157 and 1158. *Frederic* having assembled his army at *Augsburg*, passed the *Alps*, took *Brescia*, received the contingents and homages of all his vassals in *Italy*, issued new orders for civil and military regulations, obliged *Milan* to surrender, and was crowned king of *Lombardy* at *Monza*. To prevent any confusion, or uncertainty, concerning the imperial claims in *Italy*, he held an assembly on the plains of *Roncalia*, where they were produced, proved, and adjusted ; and then he obliged all his feudatories, not excepting the bishops themselves, to do him homage. Many other general regulations, with regard to distributive justice, feudal services, and reformation of abuses of all kinds, were enacted. In short, a new system of police took place. For this purpose, we are told, by that accurate historian *Sigoni*, who writes from the records of the university of *Bologna*, that *Frederic* called to his assistance four of the professors of the civil-law of that university, the most eminent then in *Europe* for that study. They thinking themselves unequal to so great a task, he employed eighteen more, whom he called from the other cities of *Lombardy*. It was by their advice, and with their assistance, that all those regulations were made ; and the *Bolognese* civilians had credit enough with him to obtain several very important privileges in favour of their university ; by which he became, though not the founder, the father, of that illustrious mother of learning. We have been the more solicitous to be particular on this head, as it does great honour to the memory of *Frederic* ; and proves, not only his love for letters, but, what is of far greater importance, that his revival of the imperial rights in *Italy* was not an arbitrary act of power, but the most deliberate result of justice.

Feudal re-
gulations. Among other regulations, sub-vassals, in the oaths they made to their lords-paramount, when they swore them to fidelity against all their enemies, were obliged to do it with
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an express exception to the emperor. This excellent regulation did not take place in other parts of *Europe* till some centuries after.

The pope, finding himself in danger of losing his temporal authority in *Italy*, sent legates to remonstrate with *Frederic* upon the part he was acting; but he justified his conduct, not without some sarcastic hints at the pope's ambition and injustice, in pretending to withdraw from *Cæsar* that tribute-money which had been paid him by the author of his religion. The *Milanese*, partly spirited up by the pope, but more strongly influenced by the loss of that independency which they had so long enjoyed, rebelled; *Milan* being then incomparably the most powerful town in *Lombardy*. *Frederic* ravaged their territory; burnt down *Crema*, which was in confederacy with them; and rejected a sum of money which the *Milanese* offered for the preservation of their independency; but was not able to make himself master of the city, though his empress, *Beatrix*, had brought with her, out of *Germany*, a strong reinforcement to his army. During those transactions, negotiations of an accommodation were still going on between *Frederic* and the pope; but they were broken off by the death of the latter. *Roland*, chancellor of the church, was chosen by one part of the conclave; and *Octavian*, canon of *St. Cæcilia*, by the other; the first taking the name of *Alexander III.* and the latter that of *Victor IV.* and a most ridiculous squabble happened between them, each forcibly plucking from the other the pontifical robe.

Alexander, with his party, retired to the castle of *St. Angelo*; where he was invested, but not with the same robe that had been taken from him by his competitor. *Frederic* considered himself as being the umpire between the two parties. He did not, however, chuse to annul the election because it had not been made by his consent, but he summoned a council at *Pavia*, and seemingly left the decision to their uninfluenced voices, though it was known that he favoured *Victor*, with whom he had always been connected. *Alexander*, sensible of this, refused to acknowledge the validity of that council; and the members recognized *Victor* as the true pope. *Frederic* confirmed their choice by holding the stirrup of his horse while he alighted, kissing his feet, and leading him to the altar. Those ceremonies were well placed, as they were paid by the emperor to a creature of his own, not upon any temporal considerations, but because he acknowledged him to be the head of the church.

Alexander, who had the right of election on his side, filled all *Europe* with his manifestos, with so much success, that his cause was espoused by the kings of *France* and *England*, by the *Milanese*, and all the *Italian* states who were not immediately subject to *Frederic*; and *Lewis the Young*, king of *France*, gave him refuge in his dominions, he not
thinking

Affairs of
Italy.

thinking himself safe at *Rome*, where the imperialists were all powerful. When *Alexander* came to *Torcy*, on the river *Loire*, he was met by the two kings of *France* and *England*, who alighted from their horses, and, each taking a rein of his mule in his hand, conducted him to his lodging. *Alexander* had already thundered out his excommunications against *Frederic* and his competitor *Victor*; and *Frederic* was, at this time, in no condition to oppose him with any other arms than counter-manifestos.

Milan reduced.

The siege of *Milan* still continued, and the inhabitants made so brave a defence, that, though they were obliged to feed upon the most loathsome animals, they gave *Frederic* several severe defeats, particularly one near *Carentia*, a few miles from *Lodi*; but not being seconded by the other states of *Italy*, they were obliged to capitulate in the beginning of the year 1162; and to give hostages to deliver up their city to the emperor at discretion. *Frederic* granted the inhabitants their lives, and distributed them through different districts of *Lombardy*. He then ordered the town to be demolished. Most writers imagine that this demolition was total, and that not a house in the city was left standing; but we apprehend, from the best authorities, that it extended only to the public fortifications, works, and buildings; for *Frederic* appointed the bishop of *Liege* to be its governor, and ordered it to be re-inhabited by *Germans*. The reduction of *Milan* dispirited the other *Italian* states, and, one after another, they submitted to him. He was, at this time, meditating an expedition against *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Capua*; and the *Genoese*, who had depended upon the empire, but had likewise revolted, bought their pardon from *Frederic*, by promising to fit out a fleet in his service for his *Sicilian* expedition.

The emperor having thus conquered all *Lombardy*, gave the inhabitants a new system of government, composed partly from the civil, and partly from the feudal, constitutions; and appointed new governors, most of them *Germans*, to all the cities, as well as those of *Ancona*, *Tuscany*, and *Romania*; where the pope, at this time, seems to have possessed no temporal property. The severities which *Frederic* inflicted upon *Milan*, and some other cities, can only be excused by their repeated breaches of fidelity to his government. He had no idea of their enjoying any liberty but what depended on him as emperor; and he dismantled *Placentia*, and even his favourite city of *Bologna*, with most of the other cities in *Italy*, that they might not become, as he called them, The nests of rebellion. To keep his prerogative entire, he instituted several petty magistracies and commonwealths, which were independent of the greater fiefs, and some of them are at this time subsisting.

Prosperity
of *Frederic*.

The emperor being, at this time, in the height of power and reputation, sent colonies from *Germany*, *Flanders*, and *Brabant*,

Brabant, to *Mecklenburg*, the inhabitants of which country had hitherto been pagans, but were conquered by the duke of *Saxony*. *Waldemar*, the king of *Denmark*, with the kings of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, recognized his superiority; and, when pope *Alexander* fled to *France*, he issued out his orders for those powers to send their bishops, and to repair themselves to a council, which was to be held at *St. Jean de Laon* for terminating the schism. He then returned victorious to *Germany*, which he found involved in feuds and troubles; but they were soon settled by his presence. He then repaired to *St. Jean de Laon* with a body of troops; which intimidated the *French* king *Lewis* so much, that he fled from thence, and pope *Alexander* shut himself up in a convent. The council at *St. Jean de Laon* proving ineffectual, *Frederic* returned to *Mentz*, expecting to receive homage from *Waldemar*, king of *Denmark*, in person. That prince made a distinction between his crown of *Denmark*, which he refused to hold from any earthly power, and the country of *Wandalia*, for which he paid the emperor his homage; but on the condition of him and his successors not being obliged to furnish any contingencies towards the service of the empire or emperor. After this, he dismantled the city of *Mentz*, where the archbishop had been murdered; and fortified the town of *Haguenau*, where he erected a college of justice, and made it the seat of the imperial treasury.

In the year 1164, the privileges of the hans-towns in *Germany* took their rise. *Frederic*, from a liberal turn of mind, declared *Lubec* to be an imperial town, though it belonged to *Henry the Lion*, duke of *Saxony*, who, he thought, was beginning to grow too powerful in the empire; and he gave it even the privilege of coining money. *Hamburgh*, and other towns in *Germany* and the north, were associated in the like freedom, which they have preserved ever since. The emperor took the hint of this noble institution from *Pisa*, and the other trading cities of *Italy*; the inhabitants of which, because they were free and independent of any territorial lord, not only grew wealthy themselves, but enriched their indigent neighbours, and introduced plenty all round them. Those *Italian* and *German* towns were, at this time, the seats not only of plenty but liberty; and that too a liberty jealous of domination.

The rigour with which *Frederic* had treated *Milan*, gave Powerful them pain for themselves; and they confederated together confederacy against him. They were inspirited to this by pope *Alexander* against him. and, if their condition is dispassionately considered, the him. popes of those days were the asserters of the liberty of *Italy*, which the imperial power always endeavoured to crush. But we do not presume to affirm that the popes had any other motive for this than their opposition to the emperors; or, that the papal yoke, when writhed about the necks of the people, was not more intolerable than the imperial. This confederacy

confederacy obliged *Victor*, the emperor's pope, to fly to *Germany*, and *Frederic* resolved upon another *Italian* expedition. The *Venetians* had headed the confederacy; and *Venice*, at this time, had acquired, by commerce, more wealth than belonged to any crowned head in *Europe*, except *Henry II.* of *England*. The very appellation of pope, in those days, being venerable, *Frederic* sent *Victor* before him into *Italy* to confirm his party there, and bring over others; but *Victor* died at *Lucca*. The emperor, by his own prerogative, convened a council at *Wurtzburg*, where the members chose a pope, who assumed the name of *Paschal III.* and bound themselves to obey no pope who was not acknowledged by the emperor, or who presumed to dictate in temporal affairs.

When *Frederic* and his empress *Beatrix* had passed the *Alps*, they found the confederacy against the imperial power very strong. Not only the *Romans* and the *Venetians*, but the inhabitants of *Vicenza*, *Verona*, *Padua*, and other cities, were parties in it, and complained loudly of being oppressed by the imperial governors. *Frederic* did all he could again to dismantle the towns which had presumed to rebuild their walls; and, finding the confederacy against him too strong to be shaken, he endeavoured to divide it. He did not attempt this by acts of power, but by clemency and liberality. He enlarged the privileges of all the states and communities who had stood firm in his interests, and he rendered them more free than even those who opposed him. He released *Mantua* and *Pavia* from their taxes, but he imposed rigorous penalties upon all defaulters. The archbishops of *Cologne* and *Mentz* were, upon this occasion, his generals and collectors. He established himself as umpire of the differences which subsisted between *Genoa* and *Pisa*. He laid *Bologna* under contribution, as he did *Imola*, *Faenza*, and *Forli*; and he reduced *Ancona* to obedience. He made one of the bailiffs of *Sardinia* a king; and, in short, he over-stretched his power to such a degree, that he broke it; the oppression of his *German* governors being too great for human nature to bear.

Rebellion
of the *Ita-*
lians.

The *Milanese* rebuilt their walls, bade him defiance, and took the castle of *Trea*, where all his treasure was deposited; but the *Romans* were defeated by the archbishop of *Cologne*; while *Frederic* himself beat *William II.* king of *Sicily*, and again reduced *Ancona*, which had rebelled. The emperor then forced his entrance into *Rome*, where he was crowned by his anti-pope *Paschal*, *Alexander* having stolen away in disguise to *Benevento*. *Frederic*, at this time, seems to have been at the summit of his glory, which declined ever after. A plague broke out in his army, so that he scarcely commanded soldiers sufficient to keep in awe the open country of *Italy*. This rendered him contemptible in the eyes of the *Italian* states. His formidable enemy, pope *Alexander*, was supported

supported by the *Greek* emperor ; and it was with the utmost difficulty that *Frederic* escaped the *Milaneſe*, who purſued him, after he had loſt his army, to the dominions of the count *de Morienne*, who favoured his retreat into *Germany*. All *Italy* then combined to oppoſe his return ; and a new town, called *Alexandria*, in honour of the pope, was built between *Aſti* and *Tortona*, as a future barrier of *Italy* againſt the *Germans*. *Frederic* being returned to *Germany*, quelled the commotions of *Saxony*, and aſſembled a diet at *Wurtzburg* ; where he prevailed with the great lords of *Germany* to chuſe his eldeſt ſon, *Henry* (who, by marriage, afterwards acquired the crown of *Naples*) king of the *Romans*.

However powerful the emperor was in *Germany*, he grasped The emperor's in- but the phantom of power in *Italy*, where the confederacy peror's in- againſt him ſtill gathered ſtrength ; and the pope, ſollicited teſt de- by preſents from *Conſtantinople*, was on the point of declaring cines in *Manuel*, the *Greek* emperor, emperor of the *Romans*, on the *Italy*, promise of a union between the *Greek* and *Romiſh* churches. All that *Frederic*, though he proceeded upon right principles, did, could not prevent the *Italians* from ſtrengthening their confederacy againſt him ; and pope *Alexander*, in a full conſiſtory, rejected the applications he was obliged to make for a reconciliation.

The ſecond ſon of *Frederic* was, about this time, crowned king of *Germany* ; and the duke of *Saxony* departed for the *Holy Land*, with a great number of cruſaders under his command. The emperor, who ſeems to have had a contempt for the weakneſs of the times, aſſembled a diet at *Worms* ; where he laid before the members his own and their importance, with a detail of the insolence of the holy-ſee, which they unanimoſly agreed upon ought to be checked. For this purpoſe, the members voted him a ſupply to enable him to undertake another expedition into *Italy* ; and the archbiſhop of *Mentz* marched thither with an army to ſupport his intereſts. A diſpute at this time happened between *Genoa* and *Piſa*, concerning the property of the iſland of *Sardinia* ; and the *Piſans*, being diſſatisfied with the award pronounced by the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, were put to the ban of the empire, as were the *Florentines*, who took their part.

The emperor, by this time, gave orders to beſiege *Anco-* where he *na*, but without effect, becauſe it held a correſpondence with his enemy, the *Greek* emperor. On the other hand, ed. the cities and ſtates of the confederates aſſembled at *Modena*, where they entered into very ſpirited reſolutions againſt the imperial yoke, and bound themſelves to reſiſt it. *Frederic* was, all this time, in *Germany*, employed in ſettling the affairs of *Bohemia*, which he committed to the care of one *Sobieſlaus*. The peace of the empire being thereby, in ſome meaſure, reſtored, a rendezvous of the imperial army was appointed to be held at *Ratiſbon* ; and *Frederic*, receiving the

necessary supplies, set out with his army for *Italy*, by way of mount *Cenis*. He quickly reduced *Asti*, *Tortona*, *Cremona*, and *Como*; but, in besieging the new city of *Alexandria*, he received so severe a repulse, that he was obliged to retire to *Pavia*, which stood firm in his interest, though the army of the confederate states was then besieging it.

The confederacy was strengthened by the fulminations of pope *Alexander* against the emperor, which incredibly operated to his disadvantage. His vassals, who aspired to independency, and particularly *Henry the Lion*, duke of *Saxony*, withdrew from their allegiance, on pretence that they could not serve against the holy-see; and, though the confederates were obliged to raise the siege of *Pavia*, yet the emperor could not take *Alexandria*, and was obliged to content himself with ravaging the adjacent country. The imperial general, *Christian*, archbishop of *Mentz*, was somewhat more fortunate; for, after taking many cities in the marche of *Ancona*, and reducing the dutchy of *Spoletto*, he offered *William*, king of *Sicily*, peace, if he would consent to a marriage between that king's son and the emperor's daughter; which *William* declined, lest he should thereby give umbrage to his allies.

Affairs of
Germany.

The excommunications launched out by the pope affected the courage of *Frederic's* soldiers; and, though he was one of the best generals of his age, and had received a strong reinforcement from *Germany*, yet he was defeated by the confederates, in a pitched battle, near *Cignano*, where he narrowly escaped with his life; and the few remains of a fine army were obliged to take refuge under the walls of *Pavia*. This was not the only mortification which *Frederic* most undeservedly underwent at this time. His fleet was defeated by the *Venetians*; and his eldest son, prince *Henry*, was taken prisoner in the engagement. This was the triumphal period of liberty in *Italy*. The *Milanese* had received their freedom; the pope was everywhere victorious, and had the art to throw out the lure of the *Holy Land* to the *German* princes, who were otherwise well inclined to the emperor's service. *Lunenburg* was now a free town, and the bishop of *Wurtzburg* had established a temporal jurisdiction in *Franconia*. *Guelph*, who was descended from a duke of *Bavaria*, whom we have already mentioned, left the emperor the dutchy of *Spoletto*, and the marquissate of *Tuscany*, with the island of *Sardinia*, and several other estates, to which he had a claim, but never was possessed of. This legacy served only to embroil the emperor the more. All *Frederic's* hopes of succeeding in *Italy*, now lay in his disuniting the confederates; in which he partly succeeded, by his general, the archbishop of *Mentz*, having prevailed upon the *Venetians* to detach themselves from the common alliance. In other respects, the allies, though united against him, were jealous of each other. The

Lucquesse

Lucquesse hated the *Pisans*, as the *Genoesse* did the *Florentines*; but all conspired towards the diminution of the imperial power in *Italy*.

The emperor, haughty and over-bearing as he was, could *Frederic's* not, without the greatest concern, see the storm gather round accommodation; and he offered his friendship, in the way of accommodation, to pope *Alexander*; who gave him the meeting at *Ve-* with the *nice*, after various intermediate negotiations had proved ineffectual. The reception of the emperor at *Venice* was very pompous, and, when he approached the pope, he humbled himself at his feet; which brought tears into the eyes of his holiness, so that he raised, and embraced, him. Soon after they retired together, and an accommodation between them was concluded. The pope, during the whole of this negotiation, maintained his superiority; and *Frederic* even held his stirrup when he mounted his mule. Other circumstances, of great discredit to *Frederic*, attended this accommodation. The pope preached in *Latin*, a language which the emperor pretended he did not understand; and said whatever he pleased concerning his own importance; and he proclaimed aloud, That, though he was an old man, and a priest, he had triumphed over a great and a powerful emperor. Some writers have said that the pope, on this occasion, put his foot upon the emperor's neck; but this is by no means probable, as we do not find that *Frederic* was reduced to a state of being obliged to suffer such an indignity; and we perceive, that, though he understood *Latin*, he had spirit enough to maintain his dignity, by refusing to answer *Alexander* in any other tongue than the *German*. But, to say the truth, this was the only species of equality which he preserved towards his holiness.

The treaty of accommodation, which was concluded in the year 1177, comprehended the king of *Sicily*; and the emperor, on the thirteenth of *September*, set out for *Ravenna*. This accommodation was attended with great effects in favour of both parties. The confederated states and cities of *Italy*, having now no farther pretexts for disobedience, submitted to the emperor; and the pope remained on the papal throne without a competitor, as *Calixtus* acknowledged his right. At this time, *Alexander* called a general council; where it was decreed, that no pope should be looked upon as duly elected, without his having two thirds of the electors in his favour: a regulation which prevails to this day.

Frederic could not have remained so long in *Italy*, had not Duke of his great subjects in *Germany* been so much embroiled among themselves that they could attempt nothing to his prejudice. *Henry the Lion*, duke of *Saxony*, had behaved as the tyrant of the empire; and *Frederic*, upon his return to *Germany*, was not displeased to find that duke to be extremely unpopular, and that he might safely humble him. For that purpose, he

called a diet at *Worms*; where many articles of accusation were preferred against *Henry* by the great vassals of the empire. He did not deign to attend; and *Frederic*, from a principle of moderation, adjourned the diet to *Magdeburg*, and offered to acquit *Henry*, if he would pay five thousand marks into the imperial treasury; which he refused to do. A third diet was convoked at *Goslar*, where *Henry the Lion* was put to the ban of the empire; and *Philip*, archbishop of *Cologne*, was constituted the imperial commissary for executing the sentence. *Philip*, being joined by the troops of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and *Guelderland*, laid waste the duke of *Saxony's* estates; and the bishop of *Halberstadt* excommunicated him. *Henry the Lion*, by this time, had got together an army; with which he defeated all his enemies in *Thuringia*, retook all the places he had lost in *Westphalia*, and made the bishop of *Halberstadt* his prisoner, after destroying his dominions.

Partition
of them.

Frederic began now to apprehend that his dignity was incompatible with the vast power of the duke of *Saxony*, who was son-in-law to the king of *England*. Fortunately for the emperor, the princes of the empire were as jealous as he was of the duke; and it was no difficult matter for *Frederic* to form an effectual confederacy to undo him. He convened a diet at *Wurtzburg*, which, at the request of the *English* ambassadors, he adjourned to *Gelnhausen*, in *Wetteravia*; where *Henry the Lion* was dispossessed of his estates, which were conferred upon different noblemen; and the emperor himself carried the sentence into execution. *Henry the Lion*, when the sentence was pronounced, was more powerful than the emperor himself was in *Germany*. The house of *Anhalt* partook largely of his spoils, by receiving a gift of *Saxony* and part of *Westphalia*; and *Otho*, count of *Vitelshach*, the ancestor of the present house of *Bavaria*, received that dukedom as his portion of the spoil. The archbishop of *Cologne* took *Brunswic*; and *Waldemar*, king of *Denmark*, being gained over by *Frederic*, equipped a fleet, with which he blocked up the mouth of the *Trave*; while *Frederic* took *Lubeck* by land, and *Henry the Lion* fled to *Holstein*. The emperor having compassed his ends, in humbling so powerful a subject, who, at this time, prostrated himself at his feet, begging him to restore him part of his dominions, was inclined to have shewn him favour; but, as his great fees had been granted away under a ban of the empire, *Frederic* was obliged to refer him to a diet that was convoked at *Quedlemburg*, and from thence adjourned to *Erfurt*.

When the princes assembled there, *Frederic* perceived he had done what he could not undo; for they who had shared in the *Saxon* spoils refused to resign them; and *Frederic* advised the duke of *Saxony* to reside for some time in *England*, till he could soften matters in his favour; but promised, in the mean time, to take care of his children, and to protect for him the territories of *Brunswic* and *Lunenburg*, the only
lands

lands that remained to him unforfeited in *Germany*. *Henry Duke* of accordingly retired to *England*, where his wife bore him a *Saxony* re-son called *William*, who was the ancestor of the present house tines to of *Brunswic* and all its branches. *England*.

The inhabitants of *Rome* were, at this time, free from all the imperial usurpations; though the emperor's general, the archbishop of *Mentz*, was still in *Italy* with an army. Pope *Alexander III.* dying in 1181, the cardinals, without consulting the *Roman* clergy or people, advanced to the popedom *Ubaldo*, a *Lucquese* bishop of *Ostia*, who assumed the name of *Lucius III.* but he was driven out of *Rome* by its inhabitants, and he applied to the *German* general for protection. It appears as if *Lucius* had been in the interests of the emperor, whose general marched his army towards *Rome*, but he died at *Tusculum*. The spiritual and the temporal orders, at this time, were confounded. Every prelate exercised temporal and military jurisdiction; and his ecclesiastical preferments were only matters of conveniency, not of duty.

Frederic, and the other powers of *Europe*, furnished the *Revolu-* pope with money, which enabled him to re-enter *Rome*; tions in from whence he was again expelled by the senators, who *Italy*, were so barbarous as to put out the eyes of several of his ecclesiastical adherents, and, in derision, send them to him with mitres on their heads. *Lucius* was obliged to retire to *Verona*, where all he could do was to fulminate excommunications against his enemies. In the mean while, a very black storm hung over *Germany*. *Henry II.* of *England*, who was, by far, the most powerful prince in *Europe*, and whose possessions in *France* exceeded those he held in *England*, interposed in favour of his son-in-law *Henry the Lion*. *Frederic* began to repent of his aggrandizing other princes out of the *Saxon* spoils; for *Otho de Vitelsbach* discovered such talents for government as bade fair for rendering himself independent of the empire. The emperor, to curb him as much as he possibly could, erected many parts of his dominions into imperial fiefs, and declared *Ratisbon* a free city.

In the year 1183, *Frederic* laid a plan of a general accom- and *Ger-*modation for all his estates in *Italy*; and a congress was held many. for that purpose at *Placentia*. There, by the intervention of *Henry*, king of the *Romans*, the emperor's eldest son, all matters were accommodated. The *Italian* vassals of the emperor were obliged to take an oath of allegiance to their head; and, in his *Roman* expedition (for so his journey to *Rome* was called) they were obliged to furnish him with provisions and forage in lieu of all other imposts. They were entitled to raise troops and erect fortifications, and to decide pecuniary and other causes according to their own municipal laws; but, when the bishop of a place was not a count, the nomination of consuls, or podestas, was to revert to the emperor. This pacification, so authentically concluded, was, by the *Italians*, justly considered as the æra of their public liberty.

liberty. The inhabitants of *Alexandria*, at that time, called *de Paglia*, because their houses were covered with thatch, considered themselves as holding the ballance of power in *Italy*, and refused to accede to this accommodation; but they were afterwards obliged to atone for their obstinacy by applying, in the most submissive manner, to the emperor at *Nuremberg*, and consenting to hold their privileges from him.

Henry,
king of
the Ro-
mans,
knighted,

After this, in the year 1184, *Frederic* again declared his son *Henry*, king of the *Romans*; and formally knighted him, and his brother *Frederic*, at *Mentz*, where he held a diet. He then went to *Italy*, with a sincere desire of accommodation, ing some differences with the pope, *Lucius III.* concerning the succession of *Matilda*. Nothing decisive was settled on that head, the pope being inflexible, and refusing to crown the young man king of *Lombardy*; but *Henry*, by his own power, had that ceremony performed at *Milan*. He then returned to *Germany*, where he quelled some disturbances that had been raised by the ambitious archbishop of *Cologne*. Returning to *Verona*, where the council was still sitting, he met with *Heraclius*, the patriarch of *Jerusalem*, who was soliciting a crusade in favour of king *Baldwin*; but, instead of entering upon so wild a proposal, *Frederic* asserted his right to the succession of the countess *Matilda*.

He had a meeting with the pope at *Verona*, where they agreed upon having a council convoked for reforming the errors and abuses of the church; and, upon the return of *Henry the Lion* to take possession of *Brunswic* and *Lunenburg*, *Lucius* appeared to be inflexible with regard to the succession to *Matilda's* dominions; neither would he give *Frederic's* son, prince *Henry*, the imperial crown; but the father had him crowned king of *Lombardy*, and then set out for *Germany*; where he chastized the archbishop of *Cologne*, whose ambition and avarice raised some disturbances. A council was then sitting at *Verona*, where the patriarch of *Jerusalem* endeavoured to excite a new crusade, but without effect; and the emperor insisted upon his right to the long disputed succession of *Matilda*. He seized the towns of *Aquapendente*, *Chieffa*, *Balsena*, *Bagnarea*, and, after a siege of two years, took *Orvieto*.

Frederic
prevails
against
the pope.

Frederic then undertook a progress through *Lombardy* and *Tuscany*, and reconciled most of the towns there to his dominion, till the death of pope *Lucius*, who was succeeded by *Urban III.* The popes were always jealous of the German interest in *Italy*, and *Urban* could not, without uneasiness, behold a match which was concluded between *Henry*, *Frederic's* eldest son, and *Constance*, the sister and heiress of *William*, king of *Sicily*. He suspended the bishops who had assisted at the ceremony; and the emperor, in return, dismantled *Cremona*; but enlarged the privileges of *Milan*, which he had so lately punished for its disobedience.

The

The customs of *Germany* were, at this time, inexpressibly barbarous. Where living witnesses were wanting to decide a law-suit, the parties had recourse to single combat; which was performed in the bishop's court-yard before him or his officers. This ridiculous and cruel practice, about the year 1186, began to abate; and *Bernard*, bishop of *Mentz*, first shewed the *Germans* the method of keeping registers in writing for the security of private and public property.

Frederic gave the government of his *Italian* dominions to his son *Henry*, and returned to *Germany*, where he found every thing in disorder. The archbishop of *Mentz* stood in opposition to him in raising an archbishop to the see of *Triers*; and *Canute*, king of *Denmark*, refused to pay him homage for *Wandalia*. *Frederic* employed *Bugesslaus*, whom he had made duke of *Pomerania*, to make war upon the *Danes*; but he was defeated by *Absalom*, bishop of *Lunden*, who blocked up the mouth of the river *Pena*; and, next year, *Canute* obliged *Bugesslaus* to hold *Pomerania* as a fief of *Denmark*. This was extremely mortifying to the emperor, who invited *Canute* to be present at the nuptials of his son *Frederic* with *Canute's* sister *Christina*. *Canute*, suspecting that the emperor designed to entrap him, as he probably did, declined the invitation; which exasperated *Frederic* so much, that he sent home the princess with contempt; while *Canute*, in revenge, ravaged the northern parts of *Germany*.

In the year 1187, a quarrel happened between *Bela*, king of *Hungary*, and his brother *Emeric*. The latter fled to *Sobieslaus*, the duke of *Bohemia*, who put him under an arrest, and sent him to his brother; for which *Frederic* summoned *Sobieslaus* to the diet of the empire, and deprived him of his dominions; which were given to *Frederic*, the son of *Uladislaus*, his predecessor. This new duke receiving some assistance from the bishop of *Salzburg*, settled himself at *Prague*; where the people, who hated *Uladislaus*, willingly received him. After this, being summoned to attend the diet at *Ratisbon*, *Sobieslaus* assembled an army, which defeated him in his attempt to return to *Prague*; but was, in his turn, defeated by *Frederic*, who thereby gained possession of *Bohemia*. His tyranny, and his raising foreigners to the principal posts of the magistracy, lost him the hearts of the *Bohemians*, who elected, for their duke, *Conrade*, marquis of *Znain*, in *Moravia*; for which they were put to the ban of the empire. This daring violation of the imperial dignity was resented by the emperor, who reinstated *Frederic* in his dukedom. and puts his enemies to the ban of the empire.

The popes seldom failed to improve every difficulty of an emperor to their own purposes. *Urban* was disobliged at the marriage of *Henry*, king of the *Romans*, with *Constance* of *Sicily*; and he laid hold of certain intermeddlings of *Frederic* with the ecclesiastical revenues to stir up the *German* prelates

against him ; though the true cause of his disquiet lay in his having seized the estates of *Matilda*. The emperor, aware of his design, had the address to convoke an ecclesiastical assembly at *Gelnhausen* ; where he laid open the encroachments of the pope in so strong a light before them, that he prevailed with them to join in a remonstrance against his conduct. A paper was accordingly drawn up, accusing him of having invaded the imperial rights in *Italy*, and of having stirred up the vassals of the empire to rebellion ; with various other charges of the same nature. *Urban's* death, just as he was about to have launched the bolt of excommunication against the emperor, prevented farther consequences at that time ; but the papal cause was supported by *Philip*, the warlike archbishop of *Cologne*, who was apostolical legate in *Germany*.

Urban was succeeded by *Gregory VIII*, who died in the second month of his reign ; and *Frederic*, in a diet at *Worms*, brought over the princes of the empire to declare against the archbishop of *Cologne*, and to cut off all communication between him and the rest of *Germany*. *Frederic*, about the same time, was embroiled with *Hubert*, count of *Savoy*, who was a declared partizan of the see of *Rome*, because he aimed at being independent of the empire. *Frederic* had erected the sees of *Turin* and *Geneva* into imperial fiefs, which *Hubert* opposed, and the emperor therefore destroyed his estates. Upon the death of *Hubert*, his son *Thomas* fell under the tutelage of the marquis of *Montferrat*, who prevailed with *Henry*, king of the *Romans*, to revoke the decree which erected the bishopric of *Turin* into a fief of the empire : but the count of *Savoy*, on the other hand, was obliged to do homage to the emperor for the jurisdiction and lordship of that city, which he acquired from the bishop.

He undertakes a crusade.

In the year 1188, all *Europe* was thrown into consternation by the accounts of *Saladin* having retaken *Jerusalem*. *Clement III*, who succeeded *Gregory VIII*, in the popedom, was an enthusiast in the cause, and preached up a new crusade, which the emperor *Frederic* most unaccountably embraced ; and was thereupon reconciled to the pope : and he sent a *German* count, who formally demanded from *Saladin* restitution of the holy city and sepulchre. All *Christendom* seemed to be smitten with the same religious rage. The reader, in the former parts of this work, has been made acquainted with the madness of *Frederic's* conduct on this occasion. Not only he himself, but his son *Frederic*, duke of *Suabia*, with sixty-eight of the chief princes in *Germany*, took the cross ; and, though *Frederic* decreed that none should enlist himself as a crusader who could not afford to spend three marks of silver, yet the numbers who enlisted amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand men ; all of them well appointed, armed, and accoutred. That no revolution might happen

happen in the empire during his absence, he reconciled himself to *Henry the Lion*, duke of *Saxony*; and that prince swore he would attempt nothing to injure *Frederic* during his absence.

The emperor then applied himself, by the assistance of the pope, who indulged him to the utmost, to raise money for his expedition; and the sums he amassed were incredible, both from ecclesiastics and laics. He then settled the succession to his empire, and marched through *Austria* and *Hungary* at the head of one hundred thousand enthusiasts; the odd fifty thousand having, it seems, thought proper to buy off their services by the consent of the pope. He then fell His death, upon *Isaac Angelus*, the emperor of *Constantinople*, whom he defeated, because he denied him a passage through his dominions, as he also did the sultan of *Iconium*; and he filled all *Asia* with the terror of his name, where he died; but the manner of his death is uncertain, as we have already seen. He most probably caught it by bathing in the river *Cydus*, though some say he was drowned.

He was a prince of great accomplishments; and the striking and changing inequalities of his temper and conduct may be well accounted for by the turbulence of the times in which he lived. He has been accused, by some, of atheism; but this charge probably arose from the settled contempt and hatred he had for the papal power. His embarking so late in life as he did in the crusade, plainly evinces that he had a sense of religion, however mistaken it might be. His death happened in 1190, and he is said to have been buried in the city of *Tyre*.

By his first wife, *Alice*, who was a daughter to the marquis of *Ursbourg*, and whom he repudiated, he had not any children. His second wife was *Beatrix*, a daughter of *Bernard*, duke of *Burgundy*; and by that princess he had five sons and two daughters; viz. *Henry*, who succeeded him; *Frederic*, duke of *Suabia*, who attended him in his expedition; *Conrade*, duke of *Rottenburg*; *Otho*, duke of *Burgundy*, which came by the mother; and his youngest son was *Philip*, for whom he made up an estate out of the ecclesiastic lands and revenues which he seized. *Sophia*, one of his daughters, was wife to *Conrade*, duke of *Misnia*, and some say the marquis of *Montferrat*. His second daughter, *Beatrix*, was married to the duke of *Lorrain*, and was afterwards abbess of *Quedlemburg*.

23. Henry VI. *surnamed* the Severe.

Accession
of Henry
VI.

UPON the death of *Frederic Barbarossa*, his son, the duke of *Suabia*, headed the remains of his army, which was reduced to about eight thousand men; but he died at the siege of *Ptolemais*. Most part of the surviving *Germans* returned to their own country, under the landgrave of *Thuringia*, the duke of *Guelderland*, and the count of *Holstein*; and they who remained ranged themselves under the banners of *Leopold*, duke of *Austria*.

New dis-
sentions
in the em-
pire.

About the time of *Frederic Barbarossa's* death, died *William*, king of *Sicily* and *Naples*; by which *Henry*, in right of his wife, came to the possession of that crown. Upon the departure of his father from the *Holy Land*, *Henry the Lion*, without regard to his oath, stirred up new dissensions in the empire, and leagued himself with *Hartwick*, archbishop of *Bremen*, who plundered great part of the *Northern Germany*, and reduced *Lubec*, *Hamburgh*, and other places of importance, before the king of the *Romans*, in the then exhausted state of *Germany*, could assemble an army to oppose them. At last, he gave battle to *Henry the Lion*, and defeated him, near *Ferden*; forced him to fly to *England*; but afterwards admitted him to peace, on condition of one of his sons being delivered up as a hostage, while the eldest was to attend him to *Italy*; and the chief seats of his rebellion to be dismantled.

The peace of *Germany* being thus restored, *Henry* prepared to march into *Italy*, where *Tancred*, his wife's natural brother, had been proclaimed king of *Sicily*. *Henry*, to strengthen his party in *Italy*, confirmed and encreased the privileges of the *Lombard* states and cities, and likewise those of *Genoa* and *Pisa*; which last he erected into a free republic, on condition of their assisting him with a fleet against *Tancred*.

Pope Ce-
lestine
chosen.

Celestine III. about the year 1191, succeeded to the papal throne; being, at the time of his election, eighty-six years of age. The emperor thought it was of great consequence for him and his wife to be crowned at *Rome*. This could not be done till the pope (who was a layman) was made a priest and bishop, and exalted into the papal chair; which was performed with a thousand ridiculous ceremonies. Next day, the imperial pair were crowned; and it is said, that, after the crown was put upon the emperor's head, the haughty old man kicked it down, to teach that prince what he owed to the papal see.

Though this fact is questioned by some, yet it is too strongly attested to be denied. What makes it the more probable, is, that the friendship of his holiness was so important at this time, that he gave him up the town of *Tusculum*;

culum; which was demolished by the *Romans*, and *Frescati* was built upon its ruins. Though *Tancred* was a usurper, yet he was a less formidable neighbour than *Henry*; and *Celestine* commanded that emperor, on the severest penalties, not to proceed in his expedition against *Naples* and *Sicily*. *Henry* was well supported by the *German* princes, who probably proposed to conquer those fine countries, as the *Normans* had done before, and to hold them under himself. The Ruin of latter, therefore, notwithstanding the pope's prohibitions, the emperor proceeded in his expedition; and, after reducing almost all *Campania*, *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, he laid siege to *Naples* itself; army in and must have become master of it, by the help of the *Genoese Italy*. fleet, had not an uncommon mortality attacked his army and reduced its numbers, so that he was obliged to discontinue his operations. Among other great men, died *Philip the Warlike*, archbishop of *Cologne*, with *Otho*, duke of *Bohemia*; and it was with the greatest difficulty that *Henry* himself recovered from that contagion. The people of *Naples* and *Sicily* were far better satisfied in being subjects to *Tancred* than to *Henry*, from whom they revolted as soon as they saw him disabled from continuing the war; and the *Salernians*, with whom the empress had taken refuge, treacherously delivered her up to *Tancred*; who, with great honour, restored her to her husband.

This loss of *Henry's* army did not discourage him from pursuing his undertaking, unsuccessful as it had hitherto been. He went to *Genoa*, where he entered into a new convention for the use of the *Genoese* ships; and he performed a progress over all the towns of *Lombardy*, which he again confirmed in their allegiance, and then he repaired to *Worms*. There he knighted *Lewis IV.* of *Bavaria*; gave *Suabia* to his brother *Conrade*; and the duchy of *Spoletto*, with large estates in *Tuscany*, of which he had stripped the *Guelph* family, to his other brother, *Philip*.

About this time, the *Teutonic* order was established in Ger- Original many, and forms an important period in that history. They of the took their rise from the remains of those *German* noblemen *Teutonic* and gentlemen who had so bravely served in the *Holy Land* knights. under the duke of *Suabia*, after the death of his father *Barbarossa*. Being incorporated under the order of a knight-hood, they got possession of a *Greek*, or *Teutonic*, chapel on the mount *Zion*, and put themselves under the protection of the Blessed Virgin. Thus their order was partly military and partly charitable, their employment resembling that of the *Knights-Templars*, in guarding and entertaining pilgrims in their journeys to and from *Jerusalem*; and, by their oath, they were obliged to protect the church, the clergy, the widow, the orphan, the poor, and the distressed. They quickly became favourites with the emperor, *Henry VI.* who recommended them to the pope; and *Celestine* confirmed them in all their privileges and possessions; assigned them a proper habit

habit to wear, and gave them an armorial bearing ; which was a black cross upon a white banner ; with several rules in the romantic spirit of those times. The original number was not to exceed forty, but none of them was to be under the degree of a gentleman by birth ; and one *Henry Walpot*, a *German*, was chosen their first grand-master. After the *Christians* had entirely lost the *Holy Land*, this order became quite military, and was of great consequence in the affairs of *Europe*. The first house they had in *Germany* was built by the emperor at *Coblentz*.

Affairs of
Germany

The vast application which *Henry* gave to the affairs of his empire, his assiduous administration of justice in person, the popular manner in which he behaved towards all ranks of subjects, and his liberalities towards the cities, both of the empire and *Italy*, had two great objects in view : the one was, the renewal of his expedition against the two *Sicilies* ; and the other was, the rendering the empire hereditary in his family : but he found both these projects to be attended with great difficulty. He had given the investiture of the bishopric of *Liege* to one *Lothair* ; but *Albert*, another ecclesiastic, had been elected by the canons, and confirmed by the pope. *Albert* was found murdered by two *German* knights. The archbishop of *Mentz* flew to arms ; and the emperor, being suspected of having some concern in the murder, was in danger of being deposed, had he not convened an assembly of the states at *Coblentz*, where he solemnly asserted his innocence, gave orders that the murderers should be prosecuted to the utmost, and that *Lothair* should be deprived of the see, which was given to *Albert de Cuck*.

About this time, *Henry the Lion*, notwithstanding his great age and the variety of his misfortunes, refused to evacuate *Holstein*, according to agreement, to duke *Adolphus*. The latter could expect no assistance from the emperor, who then was entirely busied in raising troops for his *Italian* expedition. But duke *Bernard* of *Saxony*, the marquis of *Brandenburg*, and the other princes who enjoyed *Henry the Lion's* spoils, gave *Adolphus* such assistance as drove *Henry* out of *Holstein*, and procured the investiture of it from the emperor, with all its dependencies.

and *Den-*
mark.

The successes of *Adolphus* rendered duke *Bernard* jealous. He pretended that some part of his conquests ought to belong to his family. Hostilities commenced. *Bernard* prepared to besiege *Lubec*, and *Adolphus* reduced *Lawenberg*. This quarrel reached, at last, to *Denmark*. The party of *Adolphus* espoused the cause of *Waldemar*, the pretender to that crown ; while *Canute*, the reigning king, acted with so much address, that *Waldemar* was taken prisoner ; and *Adolphus*, being driven out of *Sleswic*, was obliged to receive the law from *Canute*. But another, and more important, scene was now opened in *Germany*.

Richard

Richard I. king of *England*, who had exhibited prodigies *Henry* de- of valour, to no purpose, in the *Holy-Land*, having taken tains *Ri-* leave of that grave of the *Europeans*, was, upon his return *chard*, to his own dominions, ship-wrecked on the *Adriatic* coast; king of and, though he endeavoured to conceal himself, by travel- *England*, ing, in the habit of a pilgrim, through the territories of in chains. *Leopold*, duke of *Austria*, yet he was discovered, made pri- soner, and most shamefully loaded with irons. The empe- ror, as the head of the empire, claimed the custody of the royal prisoner, which *Leopold* yielded to him upon pecuniary considerations. *Henry* was too mercenary to attend to the requests of *Richard's* friends and *English* subjects, to have him set at liberty; but, to give some colour for his deten- tion, he accused him, before the diet of *Haguenau*, of several malversations in his conduct as a crusader; and of his having entered into an alliance with *Tancred*, the usurper of the two *Sicilies*. Though those charges were in themselves unjust and ridiculous, and though *Richard* was not amenable to any tri- bunal, yet he pleaded his own cause with great strength of reason and evidence, and turned all the charges against him upon his accusers; insomuch that, barbarous as that age was, the princes of the empire interceded with *Henry* for *Richard's* liberty.

Two great obstacles lay to this; the first was *Henry's* own He is ran- avarice, and his desire of amassing money for his expedition somed. to *Italy*. The next was the intrigues of *Philip*, king of *France*, who found his account in *Richard's* detention. He therefore fixed the royal ransom to about three hundred thousand pounds sterling; a most amazing sum in those days; which was raised by the assiduity of *Richard's* mother and the zeal of his *English* subjects. The emperor insisted likewise upon *Richard* giving orders for setting at liberty the tyrant king of *Cyprus*, whom he had dethroned; and his giving to the duke of *Austria's* eldest son his niece *Eleanore* of *Britany* in marriage. *Richard* knew the value of liberty, at that juncture when his crown was threatened by the prac- tices of his brother *John*, better than to dispute any of the terms; but, so very sordid was the emperor, that, though the queen-mother paid two thirds of the ransom, it is thought that he would still have detained the royal prisoner, that he might get a farther sum from the king of *France*, had he not been deterred by the interposition of the princes of the em- pire, who demanded the liberty of *Richard* in very high terms. The emperor gave orders accordingly, but soon af- ter retracted them; and *Richard* must have been again ar- rested, had he not got out of the imperial dominions with amazing dispatch. *Richard* had left hostages behind him for the payment of the residue of his ransom which was to go into the pocket of the duke of *Austria*. *Richard* finding some difficulty in the impoverished state of *England*, the duke most unmanfully was about to have put the hostages to death when

when the money arrived, with the princess *Eleanore* of *Brittany*. Before she came to *Vienna*, *Leopold* died of a fall from his horse; but, in his last moments, he ordered the *English* hostages to be set at liberty. It is difficult to say what pretext *Leopold's* son and successor could have for opposing this order; but it is certain that he not only broke off his match with *Eleanore*, whom he sent back, but would have detained the hostages, had he not been compelled by the bishops and states of his dominions to set them at liberty.

The proceedings of *Henry* against the king of *England* had been so shameful, that, when *Henry* was preparing to set out on his *Italian* expedition, he sent ambassadors to ask *Richard's* pardon for what had happened, and even to promise restitution of the sum he had so scandalously extorted from him. A competition, about this time, happening concerning the dukedom, or kingdom, of *Bohemia* (for it was both by turns) *Henry* sold the investiture of it to the bishop of *Prague*, upon the death of *Wenceslaus*. *Henry the Lion* continued as restless as ever; but all his schemes failing, he endeavoured to recover the good graces of the emperor, who took into his favour *Henry's* son, the duke of *Brunswic*; and, at last, by the intercession of *Conrade*, the count-palatine, he was reconciled to himself. Soon after, *Henry the Lion* died, at the age of seventy, leaving behind him three sons, the eldest of whom was in possession of *Brunswic*. The affairs of *Germany* being thus pacified, *Henry* sent an army towards *Naples*, under the command of his general *Berthold*, who reduced several places. *Tancred*, in the mean while, lost his son *Roger*; and was so affected with grief, that he died himself in a few days after; but his subjects declared his infant son *William*, who was in his cradle, his successor.

Henry
courts his
friendship.

This news determined *Henry* to pass, in person, into *Italy*. He had always continued his subsidies to the *Pisans* and *Genoeses*; and they lent him their joint fleets to reduce *Naples* by sea, which he himself attacked by land. That city soon fell into his hands, as did all *Apulia* and *Calabria*. He took *Palermo* by storm, and exercised most horrid cruelties upon the inhabitants. In short, nothing could withstand his fortune. He pursued the widow and infant son of *Tancred*, and, after besieging them in *Salerno*, they surrendered upon a capitulation offered by himself; by which the young prince was to return to the principality of *Tarentum*. The emperor, however, no sooner got him into his power, than he most inhumanly ordered him to be castrated, and his eyes put out; and shut up his mother, and her two daughters, in a monastery in *Alsace*. This imperial monster's next step was to seize all their effects, and the treasures which had been amassed by *Tancred* and his predecessors. He then new-modelled his government of the two *Sicilies*, which he had entrusted in the hands of *Germans* as rapacious and cruel as himself;

himself; and carried with him, by way of hostages, into *Germany*, the chief prelates and noblemen of the country. The sufferings of the *Sicilians* were beyond what human nature could bear. They rebelled, and the emperor ordered all his hostages to lose their eyes.

While he remained in *Sicily*, a most extraordinary event of Wonder-nature happened. His empress, *Constance*, the heiress of that sul birth noble crown, though considerably past fifty years of age, of *Frederic II.* grew pregnant; and *Henry*, to put the reality of her delivery beyond all dispute, ordered a spacious scaffold to be erected on the plains of *Palermo*; where she was delivered, in sight of his people and army, of a son, whose name was *Frederic*, and who afterwards was emperor.

Till this time, *Henry* had been indefatigable in aggrandising his brothers. On the death of *Conrade*, duke of *Suabia*, he had bestowed all his dominions on his brother *Philip*, who had married the daughter of the *Greek* emperor; and, upon the death of *Conrade*, count-palatine, he bestowed the investiture of his dominions upon his son-in-law *Henry*, duke of *Brunswic*. The emperor was, at this time, the terror of all *Europe*; but, powerful as he was, he durst not refuse to listen to the pope's admonitions that he would take upon him the cross; and, in imitation of his father, ordered an army to march to the *Holy Land*. *Henry* knew that the pope solicited this only because he was afraid of his presence in *Italy*; but he was obliged actually to send thither some troops under the command of the archbishop of *Mentz* and other princes, and even to promise solemnly to take the cross upon himself as soon as he should return from finishing his affairs in *Sicily*, where the inhabitants now threatened a general revolt. A new crusade.

The spirit of crusading was, at this time, so strong in *Germany*, that *Margaret*, queen-dowager of *Hungary*, sister to the king of *France*, took upon herself the cross; and actually joined, with an army, the archbishop of *Mentz*, who marched through her dominions. A second army went by sea, in ships provided by the inhabitants of *Holstein* and the *Hans* towns; and *Henry* took hold of the occasion to lead a third army into *Italy*, in the year 1196, with an express promise to send it into the *Holy Land* as soon as the affairs of *Sicily* were settled.

The emperor found every thing in confusion in *Sicily* and *Henry's* *Naples*, through the horrid cruelty and perfidy he had been cruelties guilty of. The *Genoese* had demanded of him to fulfil the stipulations he had contracted for the use of their fleet; but he laughed at their ambassador's request; and told him, That, as he was their superior, they were obliged to furnish him with ships. The bishop of *Worms*, and the other *German* deputies, continued to oppress the people, particularly those of *Palermo*, *Naples*, and *Capua*; so that they ran to arms, and applied to *Roger*, count de *Acerra*, to head them. The count of *Molossa* was likewise very active in stirring up the

the other towns of *Sicily* to throw off the imperial yoke. The count *de Acerra* was unsuccessful and crushed by the emperor's governors; and *Henry*, upon his arrival, divested the rebellious cities of all their properties and privileges, which he bestowed upon his *German* adherents. Even this severity was far from quelling the revolt; and *Henry* proposed a congress to be held at *Capua*, to give satisfaction to the malcontents. He there promised to redress all their grievances, and to restore them to their estates and privileges; but no sooner had the assembly broken up, and the *Sicilians* laid down their arms, than he most perfidiously broke the terms, filled *Sicily* with his troops, seized the persons of the chief insurgents, put some of them to death, and carried others to *Germany*.

A rebellion
against
him,
headed by
the em-
press.

As the empress *Constance* considered *Sicily* not only as her native country, but her inheritance, she could not, without horror, reflect upon the miseries it had suffered; and regarded her own husband as the faithless butcher of her kindred, who had been exterminated by his cruelty. Perhaps the infidelity, and the brutal indifference, of her husband towards her, contributed not a little to her resentment, which she pursued like a woman of sense and spirit. She is said to have privately engaged one count *Jordani*, a *Sicilian* nobleman, and some of his friends, in a conspiracy, to fortify themselves in the island of *Lipara* till she could openly declare for them. In this she was warranted, by her duty as sovereign of the two *Sicilies*, the emperor being no other than her substitute. Another reason might concur, not taken notice of by history. He had caused his son *Frederic*, though in his cradle, to be chosen king of the *Romans* by fifty-two noblemen and bishops, who durst not oppose his will. He had obliged them to concur with him in declaring the empire hereditary; and he had annexed to it, for ever, the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*. This last measure must have been very disagreeable to the empress, as it took from her and her posterity the independency of her crown. *Jordani* was betrayed, and, being taken prisoner, he was put to death with the most exquisite torments, and his followers were executed likewise.

Henry now imagining that it would be impossible for the *Sicilians* ever after to disturb his government, no longer resisted the importunities of his army to go to the *Holy Land*; and they marched off with the bishop of *Wurtzburg* at their head. The empress had watched for this juncture, and she employed *Renaldo* and *Landolph* to spirit up a general insurrection. They were so successful, that *Landolph* was chosen head of the insurgents; and he immediately published an edict, abolishing all the taxes and penalties that the emperor had laid upon the *Sicilians*. This had the desired effect. The empress now openly acted, and advanced, at the head of an army which joined her, against her wicked husband, who was obliged

obliged to shut himself up in a castle, where he was besieged, but found means to enter into a negotiation; by which he partly recovered his liberty: but happening to sleep in an unwholesome air, after hunting, he contracted a disease, of which he died. Some have said that he was poisoned by the empress; but this charge agrees ill with the general tenour of her conduct. He died in the year 1197, in the seventh year of his reign, and the thirty-second of his age.

Never did any prince make a worse use than *Henry* did of the advantages which nature and education gave him. His person was tall, beautiful, and well-shaped; his manner of address noble: his elocution irresistible; his judgment true and penetrating; his views extensive, but well compacted; and his courage and conduct in war equal to that of any general of the age. With all those accomplishments, his ambition, avarice, meanness, and perfidy, could only be exceeded by the cruelties he exercised, especially upon the *Sicilians*. His ambition was so great, that he summoned the *Greek* emperor to pay him homage for his empire; and, as he died in the flower of his age, it is more than probable, that, had he lived, he would have attempted either to have possessed himself of it, or to have rendered it tributary by force. Two obstacles lay in the way of this scheme. The first was the violent impulse which prevailed among the *Germans* to enter upon the crusade, which was so strong that it swallowed up all other considerations of policy and ambition. The next was the dreadful misfortunes which attended the *Germans* who were employed in those expeditions; for there is little reason to doubt, that, had any considerable number of them survived, *Henry* intended to have put himself at their head, and to have attacked the *Greeks*, whom they hated worse than they did the infidels themselves. *Henry's* great principle of government was, that all the dismemberments which had been made from the empire since the days of *Charles the Great*, were only so many prosperous usurpations; and therefore it was lawful for him to employ all the means that were in his power to resume them. He found it not easy to break the power of the great princes of his empire, but, at last, he succeeded by weakening the absurd dependence of the vassal upon his superior. His father had begun to attack that principle of the feudal-law, but did not go so far as the son did towards abolishing it. *Henry*, at the time of his death, was the terror of *Europe* and *Asia*; and he had the peculiar happiness of being well served by his brothers, who merited all the great favours he heaped upon them.

24. Philip I. of Suabia.

Philip
chosen
king of
the *Ro-*
mans.

IT is evident, from what follows, that neither the princes of the empire, nor the pope, thought themselves bound by what they were forced to agree to in the reign of *Henry VI*. The duke of *Suabia* was upon his march towards *Italy* when he received an account of his brother's death near *Messina*, together with the regalia, and his last will, constituting him guardian to his nephew, *Frederic II*. during his minority. He, at the same time, received intelligence that all the *Sicilians* were in arms under the empress *Constance*, and that a general massacre had been committed upon the *Germans* in the two *Sicilies*. Those events determined him to return to *Germany*, to assert his own, and his nephew's, rights.

Innocent III. had succeeded *Celestine III*. in the popedom, and was disposed to carry the pontifical pretensions to their utmost height; but he was obliged to conceal his ambition during the reign of the late emperor. *Henry* was no sooner dead than *Innocent* absolved from their oaths the *Germans* who had recognized young *Frederic* king of the *Romans*, and exhorted the archbishops of *Triers* and *Cologne*, and all the *German* princes with whom he had any influence, to proceed to a new election, and transfer the empire from the house of *Suabia*. In consequence of those letters, the two archbishops, with the count-palatine of the *Rhine*, the landgrave of *Thuringia*, and several other princes, both spiritual and temporal, met at *Cologne*, to elect an emperor, who should not be formidable by his paternal dominions; and their choice fell upon *Berthold*, duke of *Zeringia*, a small district in *Switzerland*; but he declined the honour: and their second choice fell upon *Otho*, of *Saxony*, son of *Henry the Lion*.

Opposed
by *Otho*.

Germany was then in a most dreadful situation. The house of *Suabia* was supported by the archbishops of *Mentz*, *Magdebourg*, and *Bezançon*; the king of *Bohemia*; the dukes of *Saxony*, *Bavaria*, *Austria*, and *Moravia*; with many other bishops and princes of great power and influence. *Otho*, assembling his party, was crowned, at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, by the archbishop of *Cologne*; and his election was confirmed by the pope, who excommunicated *Philip* and all the adherents of the house of *Suabia*. Young *Frederic's* party, on the other hand, assembled at *Arnsberg*, where they confirmed his election as emperor; but chose his uncle *Philip* king of the *Romans*, and gave him the executive power of the government. *Otho* was supported by *Richard I*. of *England*, and *Philip* by *Philip Augustus* of *France*, who himself had an eye upon the empire. Nothing was seen all over *Germany* but devastations and fire; and the party of *Philip*, in general, was prevalent.

It

It seems, by the complexion of history, as if *Philip* had been, by his party, elected, not only king of the *Romans*, but emperor of *Germany*; and he is accordingly mentioned in history as such. It is probable that even many of the friends of the house of *Suabia* did not think the election of *Frederic II.* to be king of the *Romans*, regular; and *Philip* was again crowned at *Mentz* by the archbishop of *Tarentum*, who acted for the archbishop of that city and the archbishop of *Triers*, who had quitted *Otho's* party.

Philip, after this second coronation, burnt the towns of *Philip*, *Bonn*, *Coblentz*, and others belonging to the opposite party, prevails. and laid siege to *Brunswic*; but he was obliged to raise it, and retire to *Alsace*, where he forced the inhabitants to swear allegiance to him in the city of *Strasbourg*. About this time, *Premislaus*, king of *Bohemia*, one of *Otho's* most sanguine partizans, joined *Philip*, in consideration of a family marriage between the daughter of the one and the son of the other, both of them in their cradles. This marriage proving a disappointment to the count-palatine, *Otho's* brother, he besieged *Wurtzburg*; but an accommodation took place between the count and *Philip*, who promised him the investiture of *Brunswic*, which, however, he never could obtain from *Otho*. *Richard*, king of *England*, who, by means of the vast treasures he had furnished him, had been *Otho's* chief support, was now dead, and was succeeded by his brother *John*, who refused to pay *Otho* the legacy which *Richard* had bequeathed to him, and leagued himself with the king of *France*.

In the mean while, the empress *Constance* died in *Sicily*, Death of where she was regent, and gave her son an excellent educa- the em- tion. He had been crowned king of *Sicily* by the consent of press *Con-* pope *Celestine*; but, upon his death, a new investiture being *stance*. demanded from *Innocent III.* in his favour, the pope insisted upon the kings of *Sicily* renouncing the right which they had obtained from former popes of being legates, and filling up vacant sees in their own dominions, and of judging ecclesiastical matters in the last resort, without any appeal to the holy see; but those matters were not decided at the time of the death of *Constance*, who, however, left the regency of her kingdom to the pope during the minority of her son.

His holiness having gained this great point, he renewed and redoubled his efforts in favour of *Otho*, and for excluding his pupil *Frederic*, as well as *Philip*, from the imperial throne, of which he pretended, by the authority of almighty God, to be the sole disposer, as successor to *St. Peter*; for in those terms his manifestos ran. In other letters he declared that *Philip* must either lose the empire or he the papacy. This haughtiness hurt him with the *German* princes as well as with *Philip*, king of *France*; for, though his legates had again excommunicated *Philip*, and confirmed *Otho's* election, yet the interest of the latter daily dwindled away.

A new crusade was set on foot about this time. The *Venetians* were at the head of it; and their doge, *Dandolo*, after reducing *Zara*, a town in *Dalmatia*, which had formerly belonged to the *Venetians*, took *Constantinople*, and restored the emperor *Isaac Angelus*, who had been dethroned, and deprived of his eye-sight, by his brother *Alexius Comnenus*.

Confused
state of
the em-
pire,

Though many *Germans* were engaged in this crusade, yet it was not an object of their public attention. All the empire was then in confusion; *Adolphus*, count of *Holstein*, was defeated by *Waldemar*, in an invasion he made upon the province of *Ditharmise*: the *Danes* were, in their turn, defeated by *Otho*, marquis of *Brandenburgh*, who sided with *Adolphus*; but the *Danes* succeeded at last; for they took *Adolphus* prisoner, added his dominions to their own crown, and reduced the cities of *Hamburgh* and *Lubec*. Those conquests of the *Danes* were favoured by the anarchy in which the affairs of *Germany* lay, through the contest for power which still continued between *Philip* and *Otho*. The great *German* princes paid no regard to either farther than their own interest, or conveniency, led them; and thus there was a perpetual fluctuation of parties in the empire. The princes who espoused one side in one week, joined with the other in the next; till the sword, at last, gave law; and a most cruel civil-war took place; fathers, sons, and brothers, butchered each other; and no rank or order was regarded. *Philip* depopulated *Thuringia*, and degraded *Premislaus* from the throne of *Bahemia* and the title of royalty. In short, *Philip* had both virtues and abilities superior to his competitor. The landgrave of *Thuringia* submitted to him; the count-palatine declared against his own brother *Otho*, who was, at the same time, deserted by his capital friend, the archbishop of *Cologne*.

which is
possessed
by *Philip*
without a
rival.

Philip, though he was still strongly opposed by the pope, had now no rival in the empire. He was acknowledged by the duke of *Brabant*, and *Otho's* most powerful friends; and, in token of his triumph, he was, a second time, crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, by the hands of that very archbishop of *Cologne* who had crowned his rival. The pope, though unable to support *Otho* against *Philip*, found so much employment for the latter, that he became more powerful than ever in *Italy*, and confirmed himself in great part of the litigated estates of the famous *Matilda*.

He and *Otho* concurred, about the year 1203, in instituting a new order of *German* knights, who had the title of *Ensf-feri* from their wearing long swords, and were bound by the usual laws of chivalry, but entitled to all the conquests they could make upon the pagans.

Otho, notwithstanding his expedients, was, at last, forsaken by all but the army, which he and the pope paid. A vacancy of the archbishopric of *Cologne* happening, the new archbishop espoused his cause, and received him and his ar-

my

my into his capital, where they were shut up by *Philip*, tho' he stood, at the time, excommunicated by the pope. *Otho*, in despair, made a sally, which terminated in a general engagement, wherein his troops were entirely routed. The new archbishop of *Cologne* was taken prisoner, and *Otho* fled to *England*, his never failing asylum. The important city of *Cologne* then fell into the hands of *Philip*, who kept the pope's archbishop in strait durance, and began now to think of restoring tranquility to the empire. For this purpose, as wisely as generously, he pardoned all past offences against his person and dignity; he bestowed one of his daughters in marriage upon *Wenceslaus*, whom he had made king of *Bohemia* by his imperial authority; he gave another to the eldest son of the duke of *Brabant*, who had been a strenuous asserter of his interest; and such was his zeal for peace, that he even attempted to purchase it by acts of liberality and munificence; nay, he went so far as to propose terms to his two capital enemies, his competitor *Otho* and the *Roman* pontif. The latter demanded, as the price of his friendship, and in consideration of his taking off *Philip's* excommunication, that he would give his sister in marriage to the nephew of his holiness, together with the dutchies of *Spoletto* and *Tuscany*, and the marche of *Ancona*. *Philip* rejected the proposal; and He is ab- the pope, seeing that he had power on his side, absolved him solved, from his excommunication upon his releasing the captive archbishop of *Cologne*, and granting his holiness some other trifling advantages.

This reconciliation could not have been so easily effected, had not *Otho*, who had great family alliances, again appeared in *Germany*, and brought the *Danes*, who were then the most powerful neighbours of the empire, to favour his pretensions, and to march a body of troops towards *Saxony*. *Philip* was waiting for his army at *Bamberg*, and under confinement in his chamber through a slight indisposition. While he was and assas- there, count *Otho*, of *Wittelsbach*, a *Bavarian* palantine, came finated. into the room, and, without any provocation, thrust his sword through *Philip's* throat; and, favoured by the consternation of his attendants, made his escape; while *Philip* died with the loss of blood.

Various are the conjectures concerning the murderer's motives, but they most probably were of a family kind. Some say, that, having been declared infamous for a former murder, *Philip* had refused to perform a promise he had given him of one of his daughters in marriage. Others pretend that *Philip* had promised to marry the palatine's daughter; but refused, for the same reason, to fulfil the contract.

Philip, according to all accounts, inherited, by nature, every quality of an accomplished prince; as appears from the vast difficulties which he had surmounted at the time of his death.

25. Otho IV.

WE are under some difficulty in pronouncing either *Philip* or *Otho* to have been real emperors of *Germany*, as young *Frederic*, who had been acknowledged king of the *Romans*, was still alive in *Sicily*; but, as they possessed the entire power of the empire, we have followed the general arrangement of the *German* historians. An accommodation, at the time of *Philip's* death, had been so far advanced between him and *Otho*, that historians are in doubt whether the latter was not married to *Philip's* daughter *Beatrix*. The contrary opinion is most probable.

Succeeded
by *Otho*,
who mar-
ries his
daughter.

Upon *Philip's* death being divulged, *Otho* took upon himself the administration of the empire; and, in a diet which he called at *Holberstadt*, he was recognized by the princes of *Saxony*, *Thuringia*, and *Misnia*. At this diet *Beatrix* appeared in person, and demanded justice from the princes upon the murderer of her father, who was accordingly put to the ban of the empire, and soon after killed by a count of *Pappenheim*. A kind of coalition of parties then took place, by *Otho* marrying *Beatrix*, who soon after died. Nothing could be more agreeable to the pope than *Otho's* thus becoming master of the empire, and he offered to give him the imperial crown if he would receive it in *Italy*. *Otho*, on the other hand, promised to gratify the pope in all his demands, and to relinquish the exercise of seizing the estates and effects of deceased ecclesiastics. In the year 1209, *Otho* promised, by letter, to yield to pope *Innocent III.* all the obedience which the emperors, his predecessors, had paid to former popes; and he not only confirmed him in the possession of *Viterbo*, *Orvieto*, and *Perusa*, but promised to reinstate him in the whole inheritance of *Matilda*, and to admit his claim of a territorial superiority over *Naples* and *Sicily*.

Otho then called a diet at *Haguenau*, where he appointed *Rodolphus*, count of *Haspurg*, to be vicar of the empire during his absence in *Italy*, and to represent his person in *Germany*. He then marched, at the head of an army, to *Rome*; where he received the imperial crown from the hand of the pope, to whom he confirmed the cession he had made him of *Matilda's* inheritance.

Otho's dif-
ferences
with the
pope.

It soon appeared that *Otho* was far from being sincere in those compliances; and, indeed, at that time, the interests of a pope and an emperor of *Germany* were incompatible. During *Otho's* residence at *Rome*, a quarrel happened between his soldiers and the *Romans*; and, one thousand *Germans* being killed in the scuffle, the emperor complained to the pope and demanded justice. The pontif looked upon this demand as being little better than insolence, and the emperor left

Rome

Rome without receiving satisfaction, but secretly resolved to do himself right by his sword. He wintered in *Lombardy*, and, early in the spring of 1210, he published his intention of reannexing to the empire all the dominions that had been dismembered from it. These comprehended all the inheritance of *Matilda* and the dominions of young *Frederic*. As the *Germans* were incomparably better soldiers than the *Italians*, *Otho* met with no great difficulty in seizing *Apulia*. It was in vain for the pope to expostulate with him, for he retracted all that he had promised in favour of the holy see: upon which *Innocent III.* thundered out an excommunication against him, and sent it to be promulgated, by the archbishop of *Mentz*, throughout all the *German* empire. This proved the ruin of *Otho*. His subjects were absolved from their allegiance; and, at a diet held at *Bamberg*, the king of *Bohemia*, the dukes of *Bavaria* and *Austria*, the landgrave of *Thuringia*, and the other great princes of the empire, renounced their allegiance to him; and chose, in his room, young *Frederic*, who was then about seventeen years of age, son to the emperor *Henry VI.*

Otho, upon this, returned to *Germany*, and called a diet of He seizes the princes of his party at *Nuremberg*; where he laid before the imperial them his reasons for seizing *Apulia*, and the other imperial fiefs fiefs of *Italy*; which they approved of. Encouraged by this in *Italy*, recognition, *Otho* bestowed the crown of *Bohemia* upon the son of that king, who had repudiated his wife and married an *Hungarian* princess. *Otho* then proceeded vigorously against the landgrave of *Thuringia*, the archbishop of *Mentz*, and the other princes who had sided with the pope. Those proceedings embroiled him with *Philip Augustus*, king of *France*, who had shewn a great contempt for his person and understanding, and who was, at that time, at war with *England*.

In the mean while, young *Frederic* passed the *Alps*; seized upon *Alsace*; was joined by the duke of *Lorraine* and a number of other princes; and *Germany*, from its one end to the other, became a scene of civil-war. Notwithstanding these unpromising appearances against *Otho*, his great interest in *England* supported him. He was joined by the dukes of *Limburg* and *Lorraine* (who, it seems, had changed his party, unless there were more dukes of *Lorraine* than one) and the counts of *Holland* and *Flanders*; and, being at the head of one hundred and ten thousand fighting men, he drove young *Frederic* out of *Germany* into *Switzerland*, and advanced to fight the *French*, who were encamped at *Bovines*, near *Tournay*. Here one of the most remarkable battles of that age but loses was fought; but the reader who has no knowledge of the the empire antient armour can form but a very indifferent idea of it. in the The generals and great men of those days were immured in great bat- steel, in proportion to the property they held and the men tle of *Bo-* they brought to the field. A count was better armed than a vines. knight,

knight, a knight than an esquire, and an esquire than a peasant, who was almost defenceless. Thus few men of any rank were killed in the most bloody battle. In this of *Bovines* the king of *France* was thrown from his horse and rode over; but, so impenetrable was his armour, that, though he lay at the mercy of his enemies, they could not fall upon a way to kill him. Notwithstanding this accident, his troops got a complete victory; and the battle of *Bovines* is dwelt upon, with great pleasure, by the *French* historians. Thirty thousand *Germans*, by whom are meant ill-armed peasants, are said to have died on the spot; but no man, of any rank or consideration, on the part of the *French*, except one *William Longchamps*; nor are we made acquainted with the precise number of the *French* slain. The victory of *Philip* was owing to his superiority in cavalry over the *Germans*, which, undoubtedly, gave him a decisive advantage. The loss of the *French*, however, must have been very considerable, as *Philip Augustus*, the most designing and ambitious prince of his age, did not improve his victory on the side of *Germany*. *Otho's* imperial standard, which resembled the mast of a ship, surmounted with a dragon, and fixed in the midst of a huge machine, drawn by oxen, was taken by *Philip*, who sent it to young *Frederic* as the badge of empire. As to *Otho*, he escaped with difficulty, but never could recover the blow he then received.

Successes
of *Frede-
ric* II.

Frederic was in *Switzerland*, where he secretly cultivated the friendship of that people and many of the *German* princes, when he received the joyful news of *Otho's* defeat; and, that his friends, the counts of *Flanders* and *Boulogne*, who had been taken prisoners, were carried to *Paris*, loaded, after the barbarous manner of that time, with heavy irons. As the *Swisses* shewed a particular attachment to *Frederic*, he distinguished them, upon this happy turn of his fortune, with great immunities; and, by his bounty and noble behaviour, he captivated the hearts of the *Germans* in general; so that every thing seemed now to yield to his fortune. He gave the kingdom of *Arles* to *William V.* prince of *Orange*, in vassalage to the empire. He bestowed the temporalities of *Strasbourg* upon its bishop, and conferred particular favours upon the other principal towns of *Alsace*.

Having passed the *Moselle*, the towns which had been the most attached to *Otho*, submitted to his authority, as did the duke of *Brabant*, with all the counties of *Fuliers* and *Westphalia*. *Waldemar*, king of *Denmark*, was the only power whom he had now to dread; and the price of his friendship was a formal cession of *Holstein*, with the towns of *Lubec* and *Hamburgh*, which were to be dismembered from the empire and annexed to the *Danish* crown; to which *Frederic* agreed. This stipulation was resented by the count-palatine, the margrave of *Brandenburg*, the bishop of *Bremen*, and some other princes, who exclaimed against it as being injurious and

and disgraceful to the empire; but, though they seized *Hamburg*, they were soon obliged to submit, by the prevailing arms of *Frederic* and *Waldemar*.

Here, properly speaking, ends the reign of the emperor *Otho*; who, finding himself abandoned by all the princes of the empire, retired to *Brunswic*, where he betook himself to a private life for four years, and ended his days in indolence and ignominy.

26. Frederic II.

THIS prince came to the empire with great advantages who is arising from his illustrious ancestors, and *Otho* having chosen left behind him no male issue. He had a noble education emperor, from his mother, and, besides the *Italian*, is said to have been master of the *Greek*, *Latin*, *German*, *French*, and *Turkish* languages; and, to those liberal accomplishments, he joined an elevated genius and most engaging manners. He was not, however, free from the religious follies of the times. Perceiving himself to be at the head of the empire without a rival, and, by the death of his uncle, having added to his great patrimonial estate the dutchy of *Suabia* and the county of *Rottenburg*, he took upon himself a vow to go in person to the *Holy Land*. Being crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and established in the empire, the count-palatine of the *Rhine*, brother to the late emperor *Otho*, was put to the ban of the empire; and his dominions were given to the duke of *Bavaria*, whose eldest son was married to the count-palatine's daughter. *Frederic* then applied himself to resettle the police of his dominions, which a long continuance of civil-wars had almost abolished.

In the year 1216, pope *Innocent* III. who had made so distinguished a figure during his pontificate, died; and he was succeeded by *Honorius* III. Nothing contributed more to the papal interest, than the finding employment for the emperors of *Germany*; and *Honorius* eagerly pressed *Frederic* to fulfil his vow of going to the *Holy Land*. *Frederic*, who had, by this time, probably repented of his rashness, begged to be excused till he should establish his authority in *Germany*, and receive the imperial crown from his holiness in *Italy*. This backwardness on the part of the emperor did not daunt the spirit of the crusade, which, as usual, infected all ranks of men: *Germany*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Bohemia*, and *Hungary*, embraced it; and the pope declared *Andrew* II. king of *Hungary*, commander in chief. Three hundred sail of ships were provided at *Venice*, *Genoa*, *Messina*, and other ports of the *Mediterranean*, for the *German* adventurers only. In their voyage, being driven by stress of weather to *Lisbon*, they

they defeated the *Moors*, and replaced *Alphonso*, king of *Portugal*, upon his throne. The king of *Hungary*, and his army, was joyfully received at *Acra* by the king of *Jerusalem* and the various orders of knights; but, being unfortunate in every expedition he undertook, he returned to his own dominions; as did the duke of *Austria*, whom he left behind, and several other crusaders.

Frederic
prepares
to go to
Italy,

The absence of those great men was a favourable circumstance for the emperor *Frederic*; but the cities of *Milan* and *Placentia*, and other imperial fiefs in *Italy*, having tasted the sweets of liberty, refused, while *Otho* lived, to acknowledge him for their master; and, upon *Otho's* death, most unwillingly submitted to his authority. *Frederic*, finding the pope's friendship absolutely necessary to his affairs, promised to bestow the kingdom of *Sicily* on his own son *Henry*, as soon as he received the imperial crown in *Italy*; and, having held a diet at *Goslar*, where he was reconciled to the count-palatine, he quelled some public commotions in the empire; and, in another diet, held at *Frankfort*, he declared his resolution of going to receive the imperial crown at *Rome*; upon which a vote passed by the princes for providing him with whatever could contribute towards his appearing with the utmost splendour in *Italy*. It had been always the custom of the emperors, when they undertook that journey, to send before them a bishop, or some other ecclesiastic, as their harbinger, with credentials to prepare the way for their reception. *Frederic* made use of his chancellor, *Conrade*, bishop of *Spire*, who was to administer the oath of allegiance to the emperor's subjects in *Italy*. He then gave his young son, *Henry*, in charge to the count of *Boland*, and appointed a council for the management of public affairs; well knowing that the miscarriages of his predecessors in *Italy* were owing to the intrigues and the wars of secular and temporal princes in *Germany* during their absence. He issued out charters of immunity in favour of both; and, in particular, he enacted that the effects of deceased bishops should devolve to their successors; and, that no emperor, by his own prerogative, should encrease the taxes or alter the coin. He next reconciled all the differences among his great men; and then passed the *Alps* at the head of his army.

and is
crowned
at *Rome*.

The *Milanese* refused him admittance into their city, and he was obliged to content himself with receiving the submissions of other places, who were willing to own him as their sovereign. Above all, he took care to keep in friendship with the pope, by renewing his promise not to re-annex the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily* to the empire, but to give them to his son. Not chusing to venture his person among the *Romans* without a sufficient force, he was joined by the army he had in *Italy*; and then he received the imperial crown from *Honorius III.* but swore to defend all the rights and privileges of the holy see, including *Matilda's* inheritance; and to march, whenever

whenever the pope should require him, with his army, against the infidels.

Notwithstanding those fair appearances, *Honorius* suspected Differ- the emperor's sincerity. He declared, by virtue of his own once be- prerogative, and the consent of the *German* princes, his son tween him *Henry* king of the *Romans*; and he betrothed him to *Mar-* and the *garet*, daughter to *Leopold*, duke of *Austria*. He then visited pope, on the kingdom of *Naples*, out of which he drove two brothers account of pope *Innocent*, who had been practising against his autho- of the rity. The death of *Otho*, which happened, near *Brunswic*, holy war. in 1218, was of great service to *Frederic*, as it took from the *Lombard* cities all pretext of their disowning him for emperor. To keep the pope easy, however, he issued many bloody decrees against the heretics, or the *Albigenses*, of those times; particularly, that the son of a heretic should not inherit his father's estate. He likewise was obliged to wink at the protection which the pope gave to some of his *Neapolitan* rebels; and to send a good fleet, and army, under the duke of *Bavaria*, to join the crusaders in the east. The pope strenuously pressed him to go in person; but *Frederic* excused himself by marching against the *Saracens* of *Sicily*, whom he had entirely reduced; and by multiplying favours on the holy see at the expence of other princes and states.

In the year 1223, while *Frederic* was laudably employed in aggrandizing and embellishing his favourite city of *Naples*, and rendering it a seminary of learning, the archbishop of *Cologne* crowned his son *Henry* at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, that *Germany* might not be without a head; and the young prince immediately entered upon the exercise of sovereignty. The great grievance of *Germany*, at that time, consisted in the abuse of the feudal powers; and the policy of the emperors was to encourage the erection of free cities and towns, who attempted to render themselves independent of the great fiefs. *Henry* held a diet at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where many regulations were made for the better administration of justice; and made a progress through the principal towns of *Germany*, where he abolished many oppressive powers, particularly in *Alsace*. That same year, *Henry*, by order of his father, renewed his treaties with the crown of *France*, in the person of *Lewis VIII.* who had succeeded *Philip Augustus*; and, among other stipulations, he promised never to assist *England* against *France*.

At this time, an opportunity presented itself to the empire Confede- for its resuming its superiority over *Denmark*. *Waldemar II.* racy in king of *Denmark*, who had extended his dominions over al- *Italy* most all the countries bordering on the *Baltic*, was, together against the with his son, surprized, seized, and made prisoner, upon a emperor. family quarrel, by the count of *Meclenburgh Schwerin*. *Wal-* demar, and his friends, applied to the emperor and the pope for their deliverance; but the diet of the empire informed them,

them, that, if *Waldemar* expected any assistance from the princes, he must, as his predecessors had done, hold his crown of the empire. The pope, on the other hand, laid claim to the same dependence, on pretence that the kingdom of *Denmark* was a fief of the holy see. *Waldemar* and his son rejecting those terms, their enemies divided their spoils. The count of *Schwerin*, the archbishop of *Bremen*, the princes of the house of *Saxony*, and others, reduced *Holstein* and *Hamburg*, and the country to the north of the *Elbe*; and the knights of the *Teutonic* order seized *Revel*, and the adjacent territory on the coast of the *Baltic*. The *Vandals*, *Slavonians*, *Pomeranians*, and other states and people, threw off the *Danish* yoke; and each had a share of *Waldemar's* plunder: but, at last, after a long and severe captivity, they were set at liberty, upon promising to pay a ransom of forty-five thousand marks of silver.

About the same time, violent disputes happened in *Alsace* about the inheritance of the countess of *Dasburg*; to which the bishops of *Mentz*, *Liege*, and *Strasbourg*, the duke of *Brabant*, the marquis of *Baden*, and other princes, laid claim. After a great deal of blood had been spilt by the competitors, the affair was, at last, compromised by the interposition of the emperor and *Engelbert*, archbishop of *Cologne*, who was soon after assassinated. This prelate was looked upon as the wisest of all the *German* princes. He was tutor to the young king of the *Romans*, in which office he was succeeded by *Lewis*, duke of *Bavaria*.

Affairs of
the Holy
Land.

We have, in the former part of this work, given a full account of the bad success of the crusaders of that time, who lost the important city of *Damietta* to the infidels. *John de Brienne*, who was little more than a nominal king of *Jerusalem*, and the grand master of the *Teutonic* order, were soliciting fresh recruits of crusaders, to save the little that was still left to the *Christians* in the east; and the pope reproached the emperor, as having, through the breach of his vows, occasioned the loss of *Damietta*; and threatened even to excommunicate him if he did not immediately set out upon the expedition. *Frederic* had established his authority too firmly in *Italy* to dread the thunder of the vatican. He even seemed glad of an opportunity to resume the full extent of imperial power, as exercised by his predecessors, both as emperors and kings of *Sicily*. He revived the rights of legation in *Naples*, by which he actually became a pope in his *Italian* dominions. He filled up vacant sees, and banished the bishops who had been put in by the pope. *Honorius* renewed his threatenings, and *Frederic* despised them; and it was now plain that the latter intended to found a new empire in *Italy*, and to make that country his residence; which might, in time, have annihilated the papal power. *Honorius* began to think he had gone too far, especially as *Frederic* had published a manifesto

to justify his own conduct. He applied to the emperor in a *Frederic* soothing, submissive manner ; and they were not only reconciled, but *Frederic*, being now a widower by the death of his wife, *Constance*, of *Arragon*, *Honorius* had the address to engage him to marry the princess *Yolanda*, daughter to the king of *Jerusalem* ; to which crown she was heiress in right of her mother *Isabella*. It is uncertain what *Frederic's* motives might be for this impolitic, unprofitable, marriage. Though he was a great and a wise prince, he was not, perhaps, proof against the vanity (to say nothing of religious principles) of adding the honour of being king of *Jerusalem* to the other titles of his family. He likewise might have been influenced by the hopes of recovering part of the territory which the *Christians* had conquered and lost in the east. Whatever may be in those considerations, it is certain that the pope exerted himself, in an unusual manner, to support *Frederic* in his expedition ; but it was two years before the princess *Yolanda* arrived in *Italy* from *Ptolemais*.

The *German* princes, in general, shewed themselves well disposed to support the enterprize ; and preparations were made accordingly, when *Frederic* received undoubted intelligence that the chief towns in *Lombardy* were confederated against him. It was easy for the emperor to see that the pope himself was at the bottom of this confederacy, and that it would break out the moment he left *Italy*. The confederate towns, besides others of less note, were *Milan*, *Bologna*, *Verona*, *Placentia*, *Brescia*, *Mantua*, *Vercelli*, *Lodi*, *Bergamo*, *Turin*, *Alexandria*, and *Vicenza* ; and their troops were to be commanded by *Boniface*, marquis of *Montferrat*. No confederacy was, perhaps, ever formed upon truer principles of liberty than this was. The cities did not pretend to separate themselves from the empire, but to assert those immunities and privileges which some of them had bought, and others obtained, from former emperors, particularly *Frederic Barbarossa* ; which the reigning emperor refused to confirm. *Frederic* seems to have held a dangerous maxim, that no ancestor can renounce the rights of his posterity. This is a principle that tends to unhinge every acquisition of liberty, and is in itself detestable. The truth is, the popes, in this question, were on the side of freedom ; for that of *Italy* was in danger of sinking under the imperial power. *Frederic* again refused to set out on his crusade ; but promised, under pain of excommunication, to do it in two years ; to which *Honorius* was obliged to consent.

Frederic summoned a general assembly at *Cremona*, to which all the towns and states of *Italy* were invited to send deputies. He, at the same time, ordered his son, the king of the *Romans*, to attend him, at the same place with a body of troops. The confederates then avowed, and renewed, their association, and placed troops in the defiles of the *Alps*, which prevented that prince from penetrating into *Italy*.

The

who
breaks
with the
pope.

The breach now widened, every day, between *Frederic* and the pope. The latter did all he could to prohibit the meeting of the assembly at *Cremona*; and, at last, a paper war was kindled up, in which each loaded the other with the most opprobrious and illiberal language. The pope had a great party in *Germany*, and the emperor had the same in *Italy*; but *Frederic* perceived plainly that the *Italians*, in general were dissatisfied with his government. He had been again refused admittance into *Milan*, which he had put to the ban of the empire; and he had translated the university of *Bologna* to *Naples*: but those measures served only to make him more and more unpopular in *Italy*; and, at last, he deigned to admit the pope as umpire between him and the confederate states, who agreed to the arbitration. The award of his holiness was, That the emperor should lay aside all resentment towards the confederates for what had passed, and revoke all his penal edicts; but, that the confederates should furnish him with four hundred knights, for two years, to serve under him in the *Holy Land*. Soon after this accommodation was effected, pope *Honorius* died, and was succeeded by *Gregory IX.* who was nearly related to the discontented part of *Frederic's* subjects in *Naples*, and adopted all the principles of his predecessor, but was still of a more haughty disposition. We are now to attend the affairs of *Germany*.

Disputes
concern-
ing the
county-
palatine.

Agnes, wife to the king of the *Romans*, in the year 1227, was crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where *Henry* accommodated several differences among the *German* states. That same year, a quarrel broke out between *Henry* and the house of *Saxony*, on account of the succession to the estates of the count-palatine of the *Rhine*; which were claimed (he dying, without issue) by the marquis of *Baden*, who had married his eldest daughter, but had resigned his right to *Brunswic* in favour of the emperor. The duke of *Saxony* had recourse to the king of *Denmark*, who had, by the pope, been absolved from the oath he was obliged to make while a prisoner, and defended *Brunswic* against the king of the *Romans*. *Waldemar*, by *Otho's* assistance, soon got possession of *Lubec*, but as quickly lost its garrison, by being expelled by the inhabitants; and, a commission arriving from the emperor to the counts of *Meclenburg* and the other northern princes of the empire, they compleatly defeated *Waldemar*, and recovered *Lawenburg*, *Holstein*, and all the *Lower Saxony*, to the empire. This was some disappointment to pope *Gregory*, who pressed the emperor's departure for the *Holy Land* with so much earnestness, that *Frederic* was, at last, obliged to comply; and, having equipped a fleet, at a vast expence, he actually sailed from *Bundisi* with a powerful army and magnificent attendance. He had not been at sea above three hours, when, pretending sickness, he returned, but ordered his army to proceed. The pope, and all *Italy*, was convinced that

that *Frederic's* return was owing to his distrust of him and the *Italian* states; and *Gregory* excommunicated him. The emperor, on his part, kept no farther measures with his holiness. He justified himself to the *Germans*, and published manifestos in his own vindication, which he sent to all the princes of *Europe*. He then expelled from his dominions all who had treated him as an excommunicated prince, and laid his hands upon the effects of the *Knights Templars* wherever he could find them.

In the year 1228, he carried his army to *Rome*, from *Frederic* whence the pope fled to *Perugia*; but, after all, neither *Frederic's* power, nor spirit, could conquer the temper of the times. He was considered as a prince who had incurred the heavy censure of excommunication by perjury; and his wife *Yolanda*, who had brought him a young son, *Conrade*, being dead, he prepared himself for the expedition in good earnest; not so much with a view of fighting the infidels, as of securing the remains of his son's inheritance. He assembled his chief officers and noblemen at *Barletta*, in *Sicily*; where he communicated to them his intention; the execution of which was opposed by the pope till his excommunication should be taken off. *Frederic* left full powers with *Renald*, duke of *Spoletto*, to treat with *Gregory* in his absence; and, without minding the papal inhibition, he set sail for *Cyprus*, from whence he proceeded to *Ptolemais*.

The pope had now carried his great point, that of consolidating the confederacy of the *Italian* states. He refused to treat with *Renald*, who entered *St. Peter's* patrimony, and laid it waste, with an army of *Germans* and *Sicilian Saracens*. The pope opposed them with an army, the command of which he gave to *John de Brienne*. The reader, in the place See referred to, will learn, from the best *Moslem* and *Christian* Vol. vii. authors, the success of *Frederic* in the *Holy Land*, where he Page 233. entered *Jerusalem* in triumph; and concluded, with *Camel* and *Moadhem*, a wife, and indeed a glorious, peace for the *Christians*. This was far from answering the views of the pope, who would have been glad to have heard of *Frederic's* ruin, and who disapproved of the treaty.

Frederic returned to *Naples*, and found his affairs in *Italy* Disorders in *Italy*. in great disorder; and he had now no chance for their being settled, but his obliging the pope to take off the sentence of excommunication. For this purpose, he marched against his holiness at the head of that very army which he had carried with him into *Syria*, and retook all the places which he had lost during his absence. *Gregory* renewed his fulminations against him and all his friends and followers, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance. He, at the same time, complained of *Frederic* to all the princes of *Europe*, who paid him but very little attention. The *Italian Guelphs*, however, who were confederated against *Frederic*, and whose cause

cause was really that of liberty, stuck by his holiness, because they were in no danger from his temporal power, and might be served by his spiritual. But their troops had no experience in war, and were not comparable to *Frederic's* veterans; so that the emperor was everywhere victorious. His successes seemed to inspire him with moderation; and, at the desire of St. *Lewis*, king of *France*, he sent a deputation of prelates, with *Leopold*, duke of *Austria*, to treat with his holiness at *Rome*. The pope, notwithstanding his distresses, refused to come to any equitable agreement, depending upon certain intrigues he was carrying on against *Frederic* in *Germany*, by his legate *Otho*, who offered the imperial crown to [the duke of *Brunswic*; but the latter refused it. *Otho* then, in a diet held at *Wurtzburg*, exhorted the princes to elect a new emperor; but they received his speech with so much indignation, that he was in danger of being put to death.

Reconcili-
ation be-
tween the
pope and
emperor.

His ill success inspired the pope, his master, with more moderate sentiments, which he found means to convey to the emperor, and a peace was accordingly concluded; by which *Frederic* engaged to give his holiness a pecuniary indemnification for his damages, and the pope took off from *Frederic* the sentence of excommunication under which he lay. This treaty was executed at *Anagni*, with great appearances of cordiality on both sides. It was soon seen that the *Italian Guephs* had less regard for the pope than their liberties; for they refused to accede to the treaty, by which they were to return in subjection to the emperor. Finding that they were unable to stand against *Frederic* in the field, they joined against him in a variety of intrigues in *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Germany*. *Frederic*, in an assembly which he held at *Aquileia*, had declared his resolution to reduce the confederates; but, through the avocations he met with from the conspiracies that broke out against him, he found he could do nothing effectual, unless he marched a new army of *Germans* into *Italy*.

While he was preparing for this, a conspiracy, of the most dangerous nature against him, was discovered; for it was headed by his son *Henry*, king of the *Romans*. The cities of *Milàn* and *Bologna* had promised to join with *Henry*, as did the duke of *Austria*, the bishop of *Strasbourg*, and almost all the towns upon the *Rhine* from *Basil* to *Cologne*. *Henry*, having thus strengthened his party, ventured to hold a diet at *Boppard*; where he complained of the injuries which the empire received by the continual dissensions between his father and the pope, and the little power which he had in the empire; though, as king of the *Romans*, he was entitled to be sole regent in his father's absence. The duke of *Bavaria*, and the marquis of *Baden*, dissented from the rest of the assembly, who approved of what he said; and those two dukes pressed

pressed *Frederic* to come in person to *Germany*, which he accordingly did, and held a diet at *Mentz*. *Frederic*, on this occasion, behaved with wonderful moderation. He applied himself to correct the real abuses that had crept into *Germany* during his absence, which had continued for fifteen years; and all the resentment he shewed against his son, was to remove him to *Sicily*, that he might be at a distance from his dangerous *German* connections.

From those proceedings, it appears very plain, that the *Frederic* views of *Henry* and his friends were founded on the emperor's returns to absence from *Germany*; for, on his arrival there, his son's *Germany*, party could make no head against him. *Frederic* then composed the differences that had arisen between him and the house of *Savoy*, particularly the duke of *Lunenburg*, who had seized *Brunswic*, as being heir-male to *Henry the Lion*, father to the late count-palatine. *Otho* obtained from the emperor the investitures both of *Brunswic* and *Lunenburg*; and the inhabitants of those two duchies were enjoined to receive him as their lawful lord, according to the laws and constitutions of the empire. This moderation was the more necessary, as it reconciled the princes of the empire to his scheme of carrying a new *German* army into *Italy* for the reduction of *Lombardy*. The pope offered to bring the confederates to a sense of their duty, provided *Frederic* would remain in *Germany*; but, finding the emperor resolute, he, and the confederate cities, renewed their intrigues with the king of the *Romans*, who promised to find the emperor sufficient employment in the empire. *Frederic* coming to the knowledge of those parties, made his son the principal object of his resentment, and easily detached the pope from his interest.

In the year 1236, he once more marched into *Italy* with an army. Such of the cities and states of *Lombardy* as could not resist, submitted to him; but the most powerful among them, encouraged by the assistances they expected from the king of the *Romans* and the *Venetians*, and depending upon a rebellion in *Germany*, refused him admittance. The pope took part with the emperor on this occasion, and issued fulminations against all the adherents of *Henry* who should abett him in his rebellion. None were so hardy as to do it; and the young prince, being seized, by his father's order, was shut up in *Apulia*, where he died. *Frederic*, duke of *Austria*, who had been the main instrument of *Henry's* rebellion, still was in arms against the emperor; who gave a commission to the dukes of *Bohemia* and *Bavaria* to make head against him, till his affairs in *Italy* should permit him to return to *Germany* and reduce him in person.

Frederic, being now friends with the pope, had little to apprehend in *Italy*; and, returning to *Germany*, he entered the duke of *Austria's* dominions, and took his capital, *Vien-*
na; where he founded the university which still subsists in

that city: and his son *Conrade* was elected, and crowned, king of the *Romans* at *Spire*. He then returned to *Italy* with a very numerous army, and there found the confederacy against him more powerful than ever. *Frederic's* great failing was his arbitrary disposition towards those states whom he considered as lawless usurpers of his authority. The pope advised him to moderate measures, and to confirm the privileges that had been granted them by *Frederic Barbarossa* and other emperors. *Frederic* rejected this counsel. He forced his way into *Pavia*, and, to strike the greater terror into his opponents, he abandoned several other places, which had been in the confederacy, to storm and pillage.

Defeats
the *Milane-
nese*.

The confederate army, commanded by *Tiepolo*, son to the doge of *Venice*, was then lying at *Milan*, and as numerous as that of the emperor, who attacked and defeated them after a most bloody battle, which lasted for several hours. Ten thousand of the confederates were killed; and *Frederic* ordered the chief prisoners who fell into his hands to be put to death, as traitors, by common executioners. This victory, great as it was, was far from being decisive. The city of *Milan* was populous, strong, and rich; and *Frederic* forbore to attack it till he could reduce other places. After being inactive for a time at *Cremona*, he reduced some towns in *Piedmont*; and confirmed some of the *Lombard* cities, which were in his interest, in their antient privileges, in an assembly at *Pavia*. *Mantua* being among the strong cities which *Frederic* had reduced in *Italy*, none of any consequence now held out against him but *Milan*, *Bologna*, *Alexandria*, and *Brescia*.

Frederic was now arrived at that precise crisis of power in *Italy* which had always rendered the holy see the enemy of the *German* emperors. He had made his natural son, *Enzo*, a young man of great accomplishments, count, some call him king, of *Sardinia*; which the pope pretended to be a fief of the holy see. He had published some decrees for the reformation of ecclesiastical tribunals, and had seized the revenues of certain vacant bishoprics in *Sicily*. In short, all his conduct pointed at an absolute independence upon his holiness.

The *Milaneze*, all this while, were preparing for a vigorous defence; but offered, through the mediation of the pope, to submit to *Frederic* if he would confirm their privileges. Nothing could appease him but an unconditional surrender, and they resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity. *Gregory* gave up all other considerations, that he might make head against the emperor. He reconciled himself to the *Romans*, who were as jealous as he was, of *Frederic*, and entered their capital in triumph; and then he publicly declared himself the patron and protector of the *Lombard* confederacy. *Frederic* despised all he could do, and dismissed the cardinals and messengers sent to him by the pope, without

without deigning to give them a hearing. His holiness then had recourse to his usual arms. He solemnly excommunicated the emperor, and sent an excommunicatory bull against him to be published by the archbishop of *Mentz*, and others, all over *Europe*. Those bulls are conceived in terms of rancour and malice not to be credited were they not existing. The pope there accuses *Frederic* of rebellion against *Jesus Christ*; of atheism; and of having declared, that the world had been deceived by three impostors, *Jesus Christ*, *Moses*, and *Mahomet*; but that the two last had supported their glory to the ends of their lives. *Frederic*, in his manifestos, was little behind hand with his holiness, whom he termed, The great dragon, who was the forerunner of *Antichrist*; *Balaam*, the prince of darkness, and such other epithets.

The pope, to give force to his excommunications, endeavoured to interest *St. Lewis*, of *France*, in his favour; and offered to transfer the imperial crown to his brother *Robert* of *Artois*; but *Lewis* not only rejected his proposal, but intimated, That his holiness had no power to dispose of crowns. *Frederic* ordered his chancellor, the famous *Peter de Vineis*, to read, at the head of his army, his answer to *Gregory's* invectives; and they were heard with loud applauses: and he then ordered it to be circulated all over *Germany*, where it raised an universal spirit of detestation against his holiness, and united the inhabitants in their allegiance to *Frederic*. The great objects of the latter's resentment were now the *Romans*, instead of the *Milanese*. He had expelled, out of *Naples* and *Sicily*, all the ecclesiastics, of every denomination, who favoured the pope; and had forbid his letters to be received in any part of his *Italian* dominions. He kept a secret correspondence with the *Gibelin* party at *Rome*, where the other party formed a crusade against him, and wore the cross accordingly.

Before *Frederic* could march to *Rome*, he was defeated, by repulsed the *Milanese*, at land; and by the *Venetians*, who had seized from *Rome*, *Ravenna*, at sea. This weakened his army, and gave such spirits to his enemies in *Rome*, that he was repulsed in attempting to enter that city, and obliged to retire towards *Naples*. During his march, he ordered all the prisoners who had taken the cross against him, to be put to death with tortures. Having recruited his army in *Naples*, and ravaged the *Beneventine*, he again entered the *Milanese*, intending to besiege that city. Practice and discipline had, by this time, rendered the confederates good troops; and the *Milanese* fought a pitched battle with this great emperor, in which his army was entirely routed; and he himself must have been taken in the pursuit, had he not ordered the bridges over which he fled towards the *Placentine* to be broken down. In *Tuscany* he recruited his army; and the wars between the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins* in *Italy* raged now with redoubled fury.

The
pope's
fleet de-
feated.

Such of the *Christian* states as thought that *Frederic* had pushed his resentment against the pope too far, sent him liberal supplies, especially *England* and *France*; and, a general council having been indicted at *Rome* by the pope, against the emperor's express command, the *French*, and other prelates, embarked on board the combined fleets of the pope and the *Genoese*; which were beaten and destroyed by the emperor's fleet: and three cardinals, with many archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastics, were made prisoners. This was a terrible blow to the papal interest, because, without those prelates, the assembly could not have had the face of a council. In this critical period died the pope, and he was succeeded by *Celestine IV.* who lived but eighteen days after his election. *Frederic* pressed the cardinals to chuse another pope, which they refused to do till their brethren were released. *Frederic* complied with their request, but, in the mean time, they took such measures, that their choice fell upon *Innocent IV.* the friend and favourite of *Frederic*. It is said, on good authority, that he rejected, on this occasion, the congratulations of his nobility, upon *Innocent's* promotion; "because," said he, "in the pope I must lose the friend." The event did justice to his penetration. *Innocent* began his pontificate by taking steps to oblige the emperor to leave *Italy*; and he not only demanded restitution of all the towns that he had taken from the holy see, but that *Frederic* should do him homage for the kingdom of *Naples*. The latter offered to leave their differences to the arbitration of the kings of *England* and *France*; but *Innocent* rejected that proposal, though he offered to have a personal conference with *Frederic*; which the latter agreed to; but his holiness invented pretexts for declining it, and fled to *France*, where he convoked a general council to be held at *Lyons*.

Frederic
summon-
ed to the
council at
Lyons.

Innocent summoned the emperor to appear at this council, to purge himself from the crimes alledged against him: and he complied so far, that he sent his ambassadors to the council; where they cleared his conduct to the satisfaction of all its impartial members. This did not prevent his being excommunicated, and a bull issuing, commanding the princes of the empire to proceed to a new election, but reserving the disposal of the crown of *Naples* to his holiness. *Frederic* received the news of this audacious proceeding with a mixture of rage and contempt, openly declaring that he withdrew all obedience from the see of *Rome*. Though *Innocent* repented of his having carried matters to such an extremity, yet perseverance was now his only safety. He intrigued so artfully in *Germany*, that some of the electors chose *Henry*, the landgrave of *Thuringia*, king of the *Romans*; and, the majority of the meeting being ecclesiastics, the people of *Germany* called him "The king of priests."

The

The pope solicited supplies from all the powers of *Christendom* to support this election; and succeeded so well, that he presented *Henry* with five and twenty thousand marks in silver to enable him to make head against *Conrade*; whom he defeated. He then made an irruption, but with no success, into *Frederic's* paternal dominions; and was killed by an arrow while he besieged *Ulm*. The advantages obtained in the field against a pope, seldom, in those days, silenced the spiritual thunder; with which *Frederic* found himself so affected, that he went to *France* to justify his conduct in person; leaving the administration of his affairs in *Italy* to his favourite son *Enzo*, king of *Sardinia*. The *Guelphs* made so good a use of *Frederic's* absence, that they surprized *Parma*; the news of which reaching him while was on the road, the emperor hurried back, and laid siege to that important city, which baffled his most vigorous attempts. He therefore endeavoured to take it by famine, and formed a new kind of a blockade, by building another city opposite to it called *Victoria*; which, in a short time, became as populous as *Parma* itself.

In the mean while, *Frederic* unaccountably applying himself more to his diversions than the affairs of war, the papal party chose *William*, count of *Holland*, king of the *Romans*; him, and, as such, he was recognized by the cities of *Cologne*, *Mentz*, and *Straßbourg*. The history of *Frederic*, at this time, becomes very mysterious. We are told, that, while he was intent upon this ridiculous siege of *Parma*, his enemies prevailed upon his first minister, *Peter de Vincis*, and his chief physician, to poison him. *Frederic*, though we know not by what means, discovered the conspiracy; and, the effects of the poison being clearly proved, by its being administered to a malefactor, who died of it, the physician was executed, and the minister's eyes were put out. *Frederic's* ruling weakness was for women, and those punishments might have been the consequence of some female intrigues, though the apparent causes were as we have here related them. The sequel proves that *Frederic* had given himself entirely up to a life of sensuality. He lived at *Victoria* in as much seeming security as if he had been in the capital of the empire, but still continued the siege of *Parma*.

The pope's legate, *Gregory Monte Longo*, who conducted the defence of that city, was apprized of *Frederic's* way of life; and made so furious a sally, at the head of the *Parma-ans*, that the imperial army was cut in pieces. *Frederic* himself, half naked, escaped, with difficulty, to *Cremona*; and his admired city of *Victoria* was levelled with the ground. This defeat served to rouse *Frederic's* spirit; and, his party being still very strong in *Italy*, he was preparing to retrieve it, when he received an account, that his darling son, *Enzo*, was taken prisoner by the *Bolognese* in an unadvised attempt he made upon their city.

The fate of *Enzo* is another of those events which characterize the spirit of that age and country. However unequal the *Bolognese* were to *Frederic's* power, yet *Enzo* was a king and a *Gibelin*; and those republicans, for so they then declared themselves, had the glory of defeating and making him their prisoner. A glory which they prized so much, that, by a public decree of their commonwealth, it was enacted, That *Enzo* (who, according to *Sigonius*, was but twenty-five years of age, and, by far, the most graceful man of his time) should be kept in perpetual imprisonment, and maintained at the public charge, be the ransom proposed for him ever so great. *Frederic*, who was passionately fond of him, offered immense sums for his deliverance; but they were rejected: nor could all his power and paternal affection, ever free *Enzo* from his prison. This blow dispirited *Frederic* so much, that he retired with his army to his kingdom of *Naples*; where he began to think seriously of his latter end, finding that the pope was too firmly protected by the king of *France* for his army to reach him at *Lyons*, which *Frederic* attempted.

His death, This was the last expedition of his long and tumultuous reign. While he was busy in recruiting his army, he was seized by a fever, which carried him off, on the seventeenth **testament;** of *December*, 1251, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. By his last will, which is said to be still extant, he left the kingdoms of *Naples*, *Jerusalem*, and *Italy*, and all the rights he had in the empire, to his son *Conrade*. He bequeathed the principality of *Tarentum* to *Mainfroi*, another of his natural sons. He left to his grandson *Frederic*, by his eldest son *Henry*, the dutchy of *Austria*, which he had erected into a kingdom; but the creation was deemed to be void on account of his excommunication. His eldest daughter was unfortunately married to the landgrave of *Thuringia*, and his second to the landgrave of *Hesse*.

and character.

As to *Frederic's* character, it may be collected from the good and bad qualities of his predecessors; but he inherited qualities of both kinds that were peculiar to himself. He seems to have been a free-thinker, in the utmost extent of the word, with regard to religion; insomuch, that he took *Mahometans* and infidels into his pay; as thinking no set of men were so detestable as the *Guelphs*. With an irresistible propensity to pleasure, he was active, brave, and indefatigable. Had he been succeeded by princes of equal learning and abilities with himself, the house of *Medicis*, and the *Italian* patrons of learning of the fifteenth century, would not have been deemed the revivers of literature; but *Frederic's* death brought with it a barbarism which those *Italians* had the glory to reform. He encouraged true learning as much as his contemporaries and successors did the miserable jargon which they termed learning; and he was so far above the vulgar prepossessions of the age, that he had recourse to the *Arab*

Arab authors; which he ordered to be translated for the propagation of the fine arts and true literature, as he did several of the antient *Greek* writers, particularly *Aristotle*, that fountain of science. His cruelty towards the *Guelphs* of *Italy* is unpardonable, but he could not view the papal usurpations in any other light but as so many attempts to erect a ridiculous, illiberal, and illiterate hierarchy above all civil power. His notions of government seem to have been vast and comprehensive, but founded upon injustice and despotism. By the same principles upon which he deprived the *Lombard* states and cities of their rights and privileges, and attempted to revive the seat of the *Roman* empire in *Italy*, he might have called upon the kings of *France* and *England*, and the other powers of *Europe*, to become his vassals, because their countries had formerly belonged to the *Roman* empire; nor is it unreasonable, had he succeeded in his ambitious schemes, to suppose that he actually would have done so. Some writers of good note have said that *Frederic*, in his last illness, was stifled by his wicked son *Mainfroi*.

27. Conrade IV.

MANY writers have here introduced an inter-regnum; but, though the times were troubled, as the right of empire still subsisted in *Conrade*, who had been twice crowned king of the *Romans*, and had maintained that dignity with undaunted resolution, we shall treat of him as the immediate successor of his father. Uncertainty of history.

We have already mentioned his having been defeated by the landgrave of *Thuringia*, commonly called, The king of the priests; and an accident happened to him, at that time, which plainly discovers the slavish subordination of the civil to the ecclesiastical power; or, rather, the triumph of superstition over humanity itself. After the above defeat, he fled to *Ratisbon*, where he put himself under the protection of the bishop; and, that consecrated monster, conspiring with the abbot of *St. Emeran*, sent some assassins to murder him in his apartment in the night-time. *Conrade* had changed his bed, and, in the dark, the assassins killed two of his domestics; but, during the fact, *Conrade* was alarmed with the noise, and escaped to his army, which was encamped without the walls. Next day, the bishop and abbot were apprehended, tried, and convicted; but *Conrade* durst not venture to punish either of them capitally; for the bishop was only imprisoned for life; a punishment which, according to the papal doctrine of those times, the civil power had no authority to inflict; and the abbot was deprived of his benefice.

Disputes
between
Conrade
and the
count of
Holland.

William, count of *Holland*, who, as we have already mentioned, had been chosen king of the *Romans*, in opposition to *Conrade*, continued still to be supported by the pope and the princes of *Germany* who were disaffected to the house of *Suabia*. *William* was then no more than twenty years of age, and, being engaged in a war with the countess of *Hainault*, on account of her husband's succession, he was, by *Conrade*, forced to fly to the pope at *Lyons*, where his holiness confirmed him king of the *Romans*; promised to give him the imperial crown at *Rome*; and preached up a crusade of the *European* powers and *German* princes against *Conrade* and his brother *Mainfroi*, who acted as his deputy in *Italy*.

Disorders
in *Ger-*
many and
Italy.

Conrade was so well supported by his party in *Germany*, that he thought himself safe in undertaking an expedition into *Italy*, though he and all his adherents stood excommunicated by *Innocent*. The pope's agents exerted themselves so strenuously, that *Naples*, *Capua*, and *Aquina*, refused to submit to his allegiance. *Conrade* reduced *Naples* after a siege of eight months, but found himself embroiled with the court of *Rome*, who had offered the imperial crown to *Charles*, count of *Anjou*, brother to the king of *France*. Powerful as the pope was then in *Europe*, he was a fugitive from *Rome*, from whence the citizens had expelled him; but, through their natural inconstancy, they now recalled him; and he appeared there at the summit of pontifical glory. *Conrade* was sensible of his power, and endeavoured secretly to form a party in *Rome* against him; but, failing in that, he sued for an accommodation; which was rejected by *Innocent*, who excommunicated both him and *Ezzelino*. The latter was a free-booter, and had been a successful commander under *Frederic II*. Under a pretext of acting sometimes for the pope, and sometimes for the emperor, he made himself master of *Verona* and *Padua*; and might have laid the foundation of an independent power in *Italy*, could he have acted with the smallest degree of moderation; but, such was his cruelty, that he was, by the *Italians* in general, termed, The son of the Devil. After an uninterrupted course of robberies, for forty years, he was taken prisoner, in consequence of the crusade the pope had preached up against him; and died raving mad, to the great joy of the *Romans*.

Death of
Henry,
king of
Sicily.

Conrade did not long enjoy his conquest of *Naples*, for he died on the twenty-first of *May*, 1254. Some time before his death, he had sent for his younger brother, prince *Henry*, to whom his father had bequeathed the kingdom of *Sicily*, who died likewise; and his death happening at so critical a time, has given room for some authors, who make no allowances for the change of climates, and the accidents to which youth are exposed, to suppose him to have been poisoned by *Conrade*. It is more probable that *Conrade* himself was poisoned by *Mainfroi*. *Conrade*, at his death, left, by his wife
Elizabeth

Elizabeth of Bavaria, a son, *Conradin*, who was no more than three years of age, and *Mainfroi* became his guardian.

William, count of *Holland*, continued, all this time, to act Progress as king of the *Romans*; and omitted nothing that could engage the subjects and vassals of the empire in his interest. He gave the investiture of *Turin*, and the chief fiefs of *Savoy* towns and *Piedmont*, to the count of *Maurienne*; from whence the family of his present *Sardinian* majesty may be said to date its greatness. As *Frederic II.* had applied his cares towards literature, *William* extended his towards commerce. The union of the hans-towns had rendered them rich, powerful, and independent; and the feudal-law, which is ever an enemy to trade, introduced a most pernicious distinction between the landed and the commercial interest in *Germany*. Every petty prince, or land-holder, under the pretext of being the superior of his tenant, robbed him of the honest gains he had acquired by trade; and exacted tolls upon all commodities and manufactures that went from place to place, either by land or water. The cities of *Mentz*, *Francfort*, *Cologne*, *Worms*, and *Spire*, associated together to defend themselves against those depredations; and in this they were encouraged and protected by *William*. The benefits arising from this confederacy were so visible, that, in a short time, many towns, not only of *Germany*, but *Flanders*, sued for admission into it. Some noblemen, of enlarged ideas, who saw themselves enriched by the wealth of their subjects through commerce, forwarded the institution; and, in about twelve months after its commencement, it included no fewer than threescore towns. *Lubec*, *Hamburgh*, and *Bremen*, the original associated hans-towns, at this time, were engaged in a quarrel with the king of *Denmark*, who was murdered by his brother *Abel*; and therefore they could not exert themselves in this confederacy, which had great consequences for the good of *Germany*. The projectors of it, to whose memory history has been ungrateful, established a paper credit, which supplied the place of money, and answered all the purposes of commerce. The bills of one city of the confederacy passed current in another, and the cause of one city or town became that of the whole. Thus, in *Germany*, a commercial republic was settled about the year 1254. It would be no difficult attempt to prove that this noble institution was confirmed by the troubles of *Germany*, which was now without a head; and, had they not happened, it never could have been established. Succeeding emperors and princes of the empire looked with a jealous eye upon this association, but they never could entirely ruin it, for its remains subsist to this day.

Germany, at this time, was under the influence of the civil and religious differences that had so long distracted *Italy*. The *Gibelin* faction refused to acknowledge the count of *Holland* for emperor, because his election was effected merely by the

and the
Teutonic
knights.

the papal interest; but they chose no other emperor: The knights of the *Teutonic* order laid hold of this opportunity to convert the pagans of *Prussia* and *Brandenburg*; for one third of *Germany* and *Hungary* at this very time were pagans. They succeeded, by the assistance of fire and sword. A king of *Bohemia* headed them, and two of the *Prussian* chieftains were beaten into baptism; and *Koningsberg* was, at his request and direction, repaired, or rather refounded, by the *Teutonic* knights. But a very extraordinary scene was, at this time, forming in *Italy*.

Success of
Mainfroi
against the
pope.

Mainfroi, as guardian to young *Conradin*, administered the affairs of *Sicily*, which belonged to his ward. The pope claimed *Sicily*, and excommunicated *Mainfroi* for not giving up his administration. Young *Conradin*'s claim, and that of the pope, were equally destructive of *Mainfroi*'s scheme, which was that of seizing *Sicily* for himself; and he resolved to establish it by making himself serviceable to both. He found the papal interest in *Naples* and *Sicily* too strong to be crushed; and, by making proper submissions to the pope, he not only absolved from his excommunication, but confirmed him in his principality of *Tarentum*, and appointed him lieutenant to his holiness in that kingdom. The latter, however, was a disagreeable commission; and the pope, suspecting his true intentions, resolved to put him to the trial. A friend to his holiness being killed, *Mainfroi* was accused of the murder; and the pope cited him to appear before him as a criminal. *Mainfroi*, instead of obeying him, threw himself into the hands of the *Saracens* and defeated the papal troops.

Pope *Innocent* dying, at this time, was succeeded by *Alexander IV.* who pursued the maxims of his predecessor, and appointed the marquis of *Honebruc* his administrator for the kingdom of *Naples*; but *Mainfroi*'s interest there being superior to his, he submitted to a treaty; which the pope refused to ratify, and declared the throne of *Sicily* to be vacant. In consequence of this declaration, he offered it to *Edmund II.* son of *Henry III.* of *England*; which flattered *Henry*'s ambition so much, that he gave his holiness money, with which he recruited his army; but it was defeated by *Mainfroi*, who soon after made himself master of *Naples* and *Sicily*, while his holiness was obliged to shut himself up in *Viterbo*.

Distresses
of the
house of
Suabia.

All those incidents contributed to the ruin of the house of *Suabia*. *Mainfroi* acted only for himself, and not for his pupil. The pope was the declared enemy of both; and *William*, his king of the *Romans*, was at war with the *Friesslanders*, who refused to be subject to him as count of *Holland*, and, as such, he was himself a feudatory of the empire. This rebellion proceeded so far, that he disfranchised them from the privileges which their ancestors had obtained from *Charles the Great*, and marched an army into their country. In one of those unguarded moments in which great princes, often to
their

their cost, want to examine things with their own eyes, he went to reconnoitre a little fortress without any attendants. The ice on which he rode broke under him, and, not being known by the natives, he was killed, and buried as a common man. At the time of his death, which happened in 1256, he was not above twenty-five years of age, and had discovered great talents for government. Had it not been for the association of the free towns, which we have already mentioned, *Germany* must, at that time, have been entirely ruined; but they became so powerful by commerce, that the count-palatine, and several of the *German* princes desired, for their protection against the lawless violence that raged in every corner of the empire, to become members of their confederacy; which they obtained. Some of those confederates afterwards abused this excellent institution to their own ends; but, upon the whole, after the decease of *William*, count of *Holland*, whom some rank as emperor, the empire was not thought worthy of acceptance by any prince who knew its distracted state.

The archbishop of *Cologne*, who had been the principal *Richard*, agent in raising the landgrave of *Thuringia*, and the count of duke of *Holland*, to royalty, offered the imperial dignity to *Richard*, *Cornwal*, duke of *Cornwal*, brother to *Henry III.* of *England*. He chosen seems to have been a weak prince. He paid a vast sum of king of money, some say no less than seven hundred thousand the *Ro-* pounds, which is equal to as many millions at present, for *mans*. his title, invalid as it was; and released the archbishop of *Mentz*, who was prisoner to the duke of *Brunswic*, that he might concur in his election. *Richard's* electors were the two archbishops, the count-palatine, and his brother, with other princes of less note who had been bribed to give him their suffrages. The archbishop of *Triers*, and some other princes of the empire, chose *Alphonso*, king of *Castile*, who is so well known by the name of *the Astronomer*, to be their emperor, but *Richard* was crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle*; after which he was abandoned by his mock-greatness: for his money failing him, his venal electors formally withdrew from him their allegiance, and he was obliged to return to *England*. His election, however, ought to make a more distinguished period in history, especially that of *England*, than it does. When he left *Germany*, he committed the care of the empire to three vicars. He invested *Ottocar* (a name in common to all the kings of *Bohemia* since their attachment to the emperor *Otho*) with the kingdom of *Bohemia*; he received homage from *Guy de Dampier* for the county of *Hainault*; and, in short, he acted, in every respect, as the sovereign of *Germany*. It is true, having no patrimonial revenues in the empire, he could not support his authority; but some contemporary historians inform us, that he not only bore the title of king of the *Romans*, but acted as such, to the day of his death.

Alphonso,

Anarchy
of Ger-
many.

Alphonso, *Richard's* competitor, was under the same disadvantage of having no property in *Germany*. He was involved in a war with the *Saracens*, and could not repair to the empire in person. In other respects he exercised all acts of sovereignty; but the confusion, the misery, and anarchy that then prevailed in *Germany*, is inexpressible; as no law but the sword was known. The pope was applied to, to interpose his authority; but he preserved his importance, by siding with neither party. When some public spirited princes convoked assemblies for settling the government, they commonly ended in blood-shed; and his holiness put a negative upon the elevation of young *Conradin* to the imperial dignity, merely because he was the grandson of the emperor *Frederic II.* Self-preservation at last operated among the princes of the empire to give themselves a head. But all was in vain; rapine and anarchy had got too great a sway to be extinguished by any consideration. All they could do was to appoint a species of officers, called *austreques*, who had in charge to preserve the public peace, and to form confederacies together for the administration of distributive justice. Those *austreques* were found to be so useful, that their authority lasted for a long time, even after the restoration of the imperial dignity.

Charles of Anjou becomes king of the two *Sicilies*.

Young *Conradin* was the innocent victim of the public confusion. His uncle, *Mainfroi*, seized the title and kingdom of *Naples*, which the pope offered to *Charles of Anjou*, who accepted of the present, and was crowned, at *Rome*, by *Clement IV.* on condition of holding his kingdom as a fief of the holy see, and paying for it to the pope an annual tribute of sixty thousand ducats. *Charles* was joined by the *Italian Guelphs*, and *Mainfroi* was defeated and killed in a pitched battle near *Benevento*. *Charles*, though a brother to *Lewis*, king of *France*, to whom that ignorant age gave the appellation of *Saint*, was a monster of cruelty, and that too with the approbation of his holy brother, who never appears to have checked, but rather to have encouraged, him in his acts of inhumanity. He suffered the wife and children of *Mainfroi* to languish in prison, and then, by way of mercy, he put them to death; and permitted his army to commit all manner of enormities wherever he marched; but, at last, he became the peaceable possessor of the two *Sicilies*.

He is opposed by *Conradin*,

Conradin was educated under *Lewis*, duke of *Bavaria*, his maternal uncle, and, at the time of the *Anjouvine* usurpation, he was no more than sixteen years of age. The *Guelphs* were then all powerful in *Italy*; and the *Gibelins*, who dreaded an universal massacre, invited *Conradin* to come to their rescue. He set out accordingly with an army for *Italy*, attended by the duke of *Bavaria*, his father-in-law; the count of *Tirol*; and his beloved cousin the duke of *Austria*, whose inheritance was likewise in the hands of an usurper.

Though

Though *Clement IV.* who was then pope, dreaded *Charles of Anjou*, he was still in more fear of *Conradin*, and invested the former with the office of imperial vicar in *Tuscany*, as the holy see was *Matilda's* heir and executor. *Conradin* had the hearts of the *Italians*, and even the *Guelphs* favoured his claims upon the crown of *Sicily*, to which he had a most indisputable title. He defeated an *Italian* army that had been raised by *Charles*. He took the title of king of the two *Sicilies*, and, in right of his father, assumed that of emperor of *Germany*, to which he had no just claim, though he was received as such at *Rome* by *Honorius*, a senator, who was his relation; and by *Don Henry of Castile*, the governor of that city, a true knight-errant, who had been banished by his brother *Alphonso*, the nominal emperor. *Conradin* was likewise supported by the citizens of *Rome*, over whom that very pope who could thus dispose of kingdoms and empires, had very little influence; and by the *Moslems of Africa*, who, at the solicitation of their countrymen, the *Neapolitan Saracens*, lent him a fleet and money. *Charles of Anjou* had no dependence but upon his countrymen, who, by their wars with the *English*, were become much better soldiers than either the *Italians* or the *Germans* in *Conradin's* army. He went to *France*, from whence he brought a powerful reinforcement, and returning defeated *Conradin*, who was by this time master of *Naples*, in a pitched battle, so completely, that *Conradin*, his cousin of *Austria*, and *Don Henry of Castile*, fell into the hands of the conqueror.

The politics of those times were more barbarous than their manners. *Charles*, monster as he was, hesitated how he should dispose of his illustrious captives. Pope *Clement*, tho' himself upon his death-bed, advised him to put them to death; and the heads of *Conradin*, and his beloved cousin of *Austria*, were accordingly struck off in the market-place of *Naples*, after a formal sentence had been pronounced upon them by a prothonotary of *Charles*. *Conradin*, when he appeared on the scaffold, cut off, as he was, from all resources of human justice, threw his glove among the numerous spectators, desiring that it might be carried, as a signal of revenge for his death, to his cousin *Peter of Arragon*. The glove was taken up by the chevalier *Truchses de Walbourg*, who fulfilled the dying bequest of the unfortunate young prince, whose head was struck off while he was kissing that of his cousin of *Austria*, who had been first beheaded, and watering it with his tears. Those, and some other executions, put a period to the illustrious house of *Suabia*, with which we shall conclude this volume.